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**ELEMENTS OF
RURAL SOCIOLOGY**

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EDITED BY

SEBA ELDRIDGE

Department of Sociology, University of Kansas

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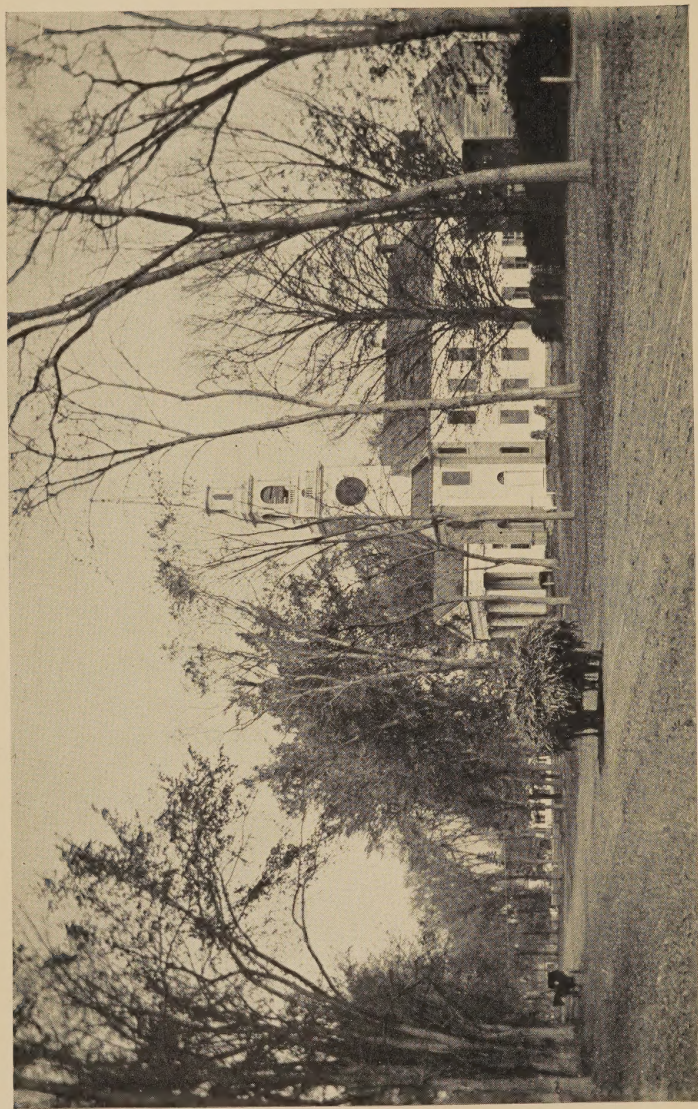
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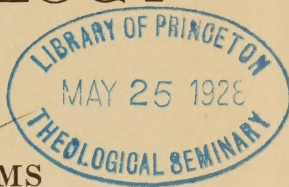
ELEMENTS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

BY

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and Its Making*," "*The Rural Community: Ancient
and Modern*," "*Society and Its Surplus*," etc.



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TO MY FATHER,
IN HIS DAY, A MASTER FARMER

PREFACE

Several good texts in rural sociology are already available. This one is therefore offered not to supply a deficiency but to contribute a viewpoint and an emphasis that seem to be needed.

The viewpoint of the work is twofold, involving, first, a definite and original concept of society and sociology, and, second, an approach to country life in part from the angle of the urbanite. The concept entertained appears both in the outline of the book and in the treatment of its materials. Briefly stated, society is thought of in terms of energy manifest organically, materially and culturally in a unity which we call the human group. Sociology thus becomes the study of the behavior of the energy of such groups. Altho with the limited data available on rural conditions but little more than a suggestion of the idea has been possible, it is hoped that others will find the notion stimulating and the method of treatment valuable.

In taking into consideration the urban point of view, the author has had in mind the needs of a growing class of students in rural sociology who are of town and city origin. In his own experience the majority of those studying the subject have been of this class. Three-fourths of them at The Massachusetts Agricultural College and more than ninety per cent of them at Oberlin College are of this type. Hence there has arisen the problem of interpreting rural society to those with an urban background. This text has been in a measure the outgrowth of an effort to meet that problem. It is passed on with the suggestion that others having a similar problem may find it particularly useful. However, this approach has not been stressed so as to sacrifice the value of the work for those who have no such problem.

The book contributes an emphasis as well as a viewpoint. The emphasis has been put upon the development of community life in the belief that the essential problems of rural society and their solution center largely in this question.

The list of selected readings accompanying each chapter include chiefly such titles as will most easily furnish materials needed to supplement the text. Constant reference has been made to my own work, *The Rural Community; Ancient and Modern*, and to Phelan's *Readings in Rural Sociology* as sources of illustrative materials in the first instance and of more ample discussion in the other. These two books by themselves will afford a fair working library in connection with the text. Naturally a better one will be secured if all the starred titles can be added to the shelf.

Grateful acknowledgment is here made to many authors and publishers for the use of excerpts from their works.

Special mention for permission to use copyright material is due *The Yale Review*, Yale University Press, George H. Doran Company, National Industrial Conference Board, Institution of Social and Religious Research, The Macmillan Company, G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Century Company, Doubleday, Page & Company, Alfred A. Knopf, The University of Chicago Press, The Survey Associates, Inc., *American Economic Review*, American Library Association, Ginn and Company, and *The Popular Science Monthly*.

NEWELL LEROY SIMS

Oberlin, Ohio
February, 1928

EDITOR'S NOTE

The present volume offers a thoughtful, comprehensive treatment of the problems, both theoretical and practical, ordinarily designated by the term rural sociology. It represents a painstaking examination of the monographic materials on these problems that have been accumulating in recent years, the results of which are organized according to a carefully formulated theory of the factors at work in rural life. Especially noteworthy is Professor Sims' analysis of rural attitudes, the characteristics of the rural community, and the status of American farmers considered as an economic class. His contributions to these and other phases of the subject throw much new light on the difficult problems confronting the farmer, and the conditions affecting such solutions thereof as may be possible. The book merits a cordial welcome on the part of all who are seriously concerned in the future of the farmer and his community.

S. E.

CONTENTS

PART I—INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	RURAL SOCIETY AND SOCIOLOGY	3
	Our Dual Civilization—Social Evolution and Sociology—The Rise of Rural Sociology—The Field of Rural Sociology—The Particular Subject-Matter of Rural Sociology—Some Requirements for a Pure Science of Rural Sociology—Ruralist Versus Rurbanist	

PART II—THE VITAL ELEMENT

II	THE RURAL PEOPLE	29
	Rural and Urban Distinguished—Numbers and Classes—Distribution—Increase and Decrease of Rural Population—Density of Rural Population—Sources of Gain and Loss	
III	PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RURAL PEOPLE	54
	Sex Distribution—Age Distribution—Ethnic Elements—Vitality of the Rural People	
IV	THE MENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RURAL PEOPLE	83
	How Farmers Ranked in the Army Tests—Rural Mental Deficiency—The Country Population and Talented Men and Women—Do Country and City Furnish Different Types of Ability?	
V	MOVEMENTS OF THE RURAL PEOPLE	113
	Population Movements Within Rural Territory—Population Movements Between Rural and Urban Territory—Causal Factors in Population Movements—Effects of Population Movements on Rural Society—Remedial Measures	

PART III—THE CULTURAL ELEMENT	
CHAPTER	PAGE
VI THE TRADITIONAL ELEMENT	153
Our Social Heritage and Its Importance— Agrarian Culture—Civilization, Agricultural at Bottom—Agriculture, the Basis of Urban Cul- ture—Urban Attitude and Superiority	
VII THE PRIMARY TRADITION	162
Tradition Classified—Three Levels of Agricul- tural Art—The Land System—Tenantry in Dif- ferent Sections—Tenantry Situation Summarized —The Effects of Tenantry	
VIII THE PRIMARY TRADITION (<i>Continued</i>) . . .	189
Farm Work and Labor Customs—Woman's Work on the Farm—Children's Work and Child Labor— The Hired Man on the Farm—The Farmer's Marketing	
IX SOME GENERAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDES OF THE COUNTRY PEOPLE	215
Meaning of Rural Mind—Factors in the Genesis of the Rural Mind—Characteristic Mental Atti- tudes of the Farmer—Changing Attitudes	
X THE RURAL FAMILY	246
Number, Size and Distribution of Families— Marital Conditions—Place of the Family in Rural Society—Customs and Characteristics of the Farm Family—Problems of the Rural Family	
XI THE FARM HOME	263
The Whole Farm the Home—Housing—Modern Conveniences and Farm Homes—Needs of Farm Homes	
XII PASSING ON THE SOCIAL TRADITION OR EDU- CATION	277
Transmitting the Agricultural Art—The Farmer's Attitude Toward Schooling—Rural Illiteracy and Schooling—Education Through Literature—Edu- cation by Demonstration—Purpose of Rural Edu- cation—The School and Community Functions	
XIII THE RURAL SCHOOL; ITS STATUS AND IM- PROVEMENT	303
Number and Type of Schools—The Little Red School House and Its Equipment—Rural Teachers	

Contents

xiii

CHAPTER		PAGE
	—School Term and Attendance—The Betterment of Rural Education	
XIV	RURAL RELIGION	325
	Nature of Religion—Nature Elements in Our Religion—Difference Between Urban and Rural Religion—Institutional Religion—Church and Social Change—The Church of the New Day	
XV	THE RURAL CHURCH	338
	General Facts—A Regional View—Reasonable Standards—Community Churches	
XVI	RURAL PLAY AND RECREATION	367
	The Nature of Play—Conditions Determining the Character of Play—The Function of Play—Social Change and Rural Play—Rural Play Inventoried—The Shortcomings and Needs in Rural Recreation—Improving Rural Recreation	
XVII	RURAL SANITATION AND HEALTH	402
	The Chances of Death in Rural Society—Neglected Rural Sanitation—Neglected Rural Sanitation an Urban Menace—Causes of Neglected Rural Sanitation—Means of Improving Sanitation and Health—Rural Health Organizations—The Rural Hospital and Medical Aid	
XVIII	THE MAJOR SOCIAL PROCESS AND THE FARMER	429
	The Major Process Explained—Urbanocracy—City Versus Country—Natural Harmony	
XIX	RURAL CHANGE	445
	Methods of Change	
PART IV—THE MATERIAL ELEMENT		
XX	FARMERS' WEALTH AND INCOME	461
	Material Energy—Producing Wealth—The Wealth Inventoried—Income in Agriculture—Distribution of Income—The Problem of Incomes	
XXI	THE FARMER'S STANDARD OF LIVING	485
	Definition of Standard of Living—Sundry Factors Determining Standards of Living—Standard of Living and Farm Expenditure—An Adequate Standard of Living—How Judge Ability to Afford an Adequate Standard?—Improving the Farmer's Standard of Living	

PART V—THE STRUCTURAL ELEMENT

CHAPTER		PAGE
XXII	THE ANCIENT AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY Why It Concerns Us—The Village Community— The Saxon Village—The Manor—Village Decay —The Ancient Village Today—The Russian Vil- lage—Sociologic Consequences of Communal Life	511
XXIII	COLONIAL AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL COM- MUNITIES Colonization—New England Villages—The Vil- lage Community in the West	532
XXIV	THE PRESENT DAY RURAL COMMUNITY . The "Rurban" Area—The Neighborhood—The Rural Community Defined—The Regrouping of Rural Life	552
XXV	THE COUNTRY VILLAGE A Distinct Type—Origin of Country Villages— Numerical Importance of Country Villages—Sa- lient Characteristics of Country Villages—Rela- tions of Villages and Farms	587
XXVI	PLANNED COMMUNITIES A Great American Blunder—Unsettled Lands— The Federal Government May Correct Our Blun- der—Some Successful Planned Communities— Merits and Demerits of Compact Farming Com- munities	609
XXVII	FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION—COÖPERATIVE ASSOCIATION Secondary Grouping—Making the Most of the Old Map—The Rise of Coöperative Organization —Types and Method of Organization—Problems of Coöperative Organization—Effects of Co- operative Organization	630
XXVIII	RURAL ORGANIZATION, PRINCIPLES AND PROBLEMS The Nature of Social Organization—The Func- tion of Organization—Personality and Organiza- tion—Adequate Organization—Some Leading Rural Organizations—The Basis of Organization —Community Organization	652
INDEX		683

Part I

INTRODUCTION

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

I

RURAL SOCIETY AND SOCIOLOGY

OUR DUAL CIVILIZATION

THE fact does not escape even the most casual observer that our civilization has two major aspects, a rural and an urban. The two complement each other, else there would be no civilization at all as we know it. At the same time, they fall apart and oppose at so many points that each becomes a world by itself. The student of society must therefore give them separate consideration. Inevitably and unfortunately, he is pretty apt to approach the study of either world with a set of stereotypes acquired in but one of the two spheres. He will see thru either the eyes of a ruralist or those of an urbanite. In neither case will he see the social order sane and whole. But it behooves the intelligent citizen, be he countryman or cityman, to understand how the other lives and thinks, what his problems are, and what sort of civilization he is promoting. If it be his privilege to acquire such understanding, his mind set will naturally undergo modification, his outlook become less provincial, and his citizenship more vital.

This diversity of outlook upon society opens into two phases of sociology and brings a host of problems upon us. That fact was vividly borne home to the writer in an experience of many years ago. It was his lot, a countryman born and bred, to travel in company with one who was city born and bred in a journey across a good portion of the continent. The person, tho highly cultured, had scarcely

ever before set foot beyond the confines of the urban district whence we departed. As we left the suburbs and factories behind and reached far into the midst of corn and wheat fields, meadows and woods, my companion remarked, "I didn't know there was so much vacant space in the United States." Again and again as the great open country rolled before us in all its varied phases ere our destination was reached, there came many similar remarks about "the wide uninhabited spaces," "what could be done with so much land," and "who could bear to live so far away from anywhere." And I became impressed with the fact that my companion's mental picture of the United States was one of city streets and stores, factories and stockyards, crowded tenements and misery, fine boulevards and palatial dwellings, suburbs with parks and slums with playgrounds, crowds of people shopping, walking, parading, riding, thronging theaters and churches, going and coming mid din and noise by night and by day. This picture, I discovered, was, to be sure, not of one continuous city. There were many cities, but they were not far apart and the space between was made up of gardens whence came things to eat. The railways and highways connected these cities and thus with brief intervals led from place to place. In the picture there was almost no "vacant space" without houses. There seemed to be scarcely any allowance for fields of grain, tasselled corn, whited cotton, cattle on a thousand hills, or orchards ripe with fruit. The source of food seemed to be gardens clinging to the city outskirts. The people were thought of as virtually all dwelling in some town or city. There was absolutely no appreciation of the fact that there dwelt in that "vacant space" thirty millions of the American nation carrying on its most important and largest single industry. It was not understood that the toil of these millions made possible the cities, fed them, furnished them with raw materials to manufacture, and supplied them with much labor and new life. There was no knowledge that these millions lived and labored under conditions altogether different from those with which my companion was familiar. In brief,

the picture represented our country as a city or a series of cities with green fringes of relatively little importance round about.

In contrast with this was my own picture of America. It was of farmsteads and rich acres, deep woods and templed hills, and schoolhouses at the crosswoods; ploughed fields, growing crops and harvests, grazing sheep and cattle, broad roads leading by numberless farm homes. It was a picture full of men and teams plowing corn and making hay, of women busy at housework, of animals squealing or lowing for their food, of people going now and then to villages for mail or to market, gathering occasionally for a picnic, and assembling on Sundays for worship. At the center of everything everywhere was the farmstead with other farmsteads around about on every hand. And out on the remote borders of this world were the cities, Buffalo, Chicago, Atlanta, Boston, Cincinnati, New York, New Orleans, Omaha, San Francisco. To these, in my picture, flowed the produce shipped from thousands of villages, and to these remote places one might sometime make a visit. These cities were at most but incidents in the social order as I saw it, noisy, grimy, vicious places. Their manner of life seemed unnatural, abnormal, undesirable; and why anyone who could escape from it did not was quite past understanding. The idle and the rich, the degenerate and the frivolous, the sweated and the miserable, mingled in futile striving, seemed indeed to demonstrate that man had made the city but God the country.

The contrasts presented in these two pictures may seem a bit unusual and extreme, and yet I am persuaded they do not seriously misrepresent two rather common and important viewpoints. Those who, looking with urban minds, see the city as the center and the farms of the nation the circumference of society, and those who, seeing as countrymen, behold the picture reversed, are reacting only as their respective experiences direct them. Part of the task of sociology is to widen this experience so that the social order may be comprehended in its wholeness with the urban and rural phases properly evaluated and related.

An urban and a rural sociology are each needed to correct prevalent astigmatic viewpoints. No student can count his knowledge of society sufficient for the demands of American citizenship unless it includes rural sociology. Those who hail from rural districts and expect to return thither to live either on the farm or in the village need this discipline along with their general sociology. And those who are of the city and look to urban careers need the study of country life in addition to that of urban conditions and problems. Until of late, as we shall proceed to show, there has been only an urban sociology, but now the rural is being developed to render its full mead of service in the understanding of human association. The emergence of the latter is tied up with the evolution of society. Certain phases of this may well be sketched in order that we may have the proper background for our study.

SOCIAL EVOLUTION AND SOCIOLOGY

Cities have long existed. They played an important rôle in the civilizations of antiquity. In Assyria, Egypt, Greece and Rome they became powerful influences, but in other large areas of the old world their significance was not so great. And nowhere in antiquity did they attain relative greatness in size of population. Where they dominated the civilizations of which they were a part, it was due to a military class that centered its régime in them, rather than to the concentration of the sources of wealth and vast masses of people. When, however, industrial and commercial civilization in contrast to political or military began to rise, the city rose with it to a new place in the social order.

At the close of the Middle Ages, as near as one can roughly date it, this change was taking place. Trade and manufacture were supplanting conquest and plunder among European peoples, and this new mode of activity meant the creation of cities. From the feudal manors to the towns came villeins to labor for wages, from the towns trade routes reached out to other towns to bring goods till

by the gravitation of peoples and wealth to these centers the latter began to gravitate to the center of the social order. Thus we see the cities becoming dominant over the state and the urban-industrial civilization becoming well established by the Fifteenth Century. Subsequently, as mechanisms were invented and manufacturing processes revolutionized urban development, the cities attained to new and undreamed of power. Growing as if by magic under the impetus of factories and workshops and massing together great hordes of human beings, the cities of the Nineteenth Century began to face social, economic, political and moral problems both new and unprecedented. There were squalor and poverty, disease, degeneracy and crime on a scale and to a degree never before experienced by civilized man. The laws, agencies and institutions that had been created and had dealt with these problems under other conditions found themselves completely baffled by the new order. Wealth was accumulating as never before, but at the terrible cost of wide-spread human decay and degradation. Laborers ground down by the iron law of wages found themselves in a new villenage infinitely worse than that of the old feudal system. For bad as that system was, it did provide a living where the wage system assured nothing. The bitter cry of misery arose only to be drowned by the whirl of machines and the traffic of growing city streets. In the midst of it all, however, new humanitarian forces were striving to be born and receive recognition. Workingmen, for instance, were restless and aspiring to a new freedom thru organization. New theories of the cause of poverty and new agencies of relief were likewise in the making. Moreover, new adventures in experimental social organization, such as that of Robert Owen, were under way. Out of this awakening of thought and effort along many lines came a new science, called Sociology. Born of endeavors to improve the intolerable lot of man and the desire for systematic self-direction in place of the social drift, both practical and theoretical Sociology came into being. It was the child of an urban-industrial civilization. Both August Comte, the grandfather of the science, and

Herbert Spencer, its father, sought the laws of human association amid the chaos and complexity of existing conditions. And numerous reformers endeavored to formulate programs in harmony with such principles as could be discovered or suggested.

Naturally enough, having been produced by conditions created by urban life, sociology was first concerned with city problems. In America, where it has had its chief development and greatest vogue, its interests remained urban until less than twenty-five years ago. Poverty and relief, population and immigration, class conflict, crowd behavior, vice, housing conditions, social stratification, institutions and the organization of metropolitan areas were the chief stock in trade of the science. The existence of rural society was recognized, but that was about all. As yet there was no body of knowledge pertaining to it and not much interest in it.

THE RISE OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

The same forces that brought about the rapid ascendancy of the city were everywhere affecting rural society. In the United States their operation was long retarded by exceptional conditions. But it was inevitable that sooner or later they would be felt. Their coming into play and the results can best be shown by pointing out the stages of rural development.

About twenty years ago Professor J. B. Ross described three stages in the transformation of the Middle West.¹ Later, Dr. Warren H. Wilson extended the idea to the development of the whole country in a work entitled, *The Evolution of the Rural Community*.

The first stage was the pioneer period, dating from the earliest settlements to about 1800 in the East, to 1835 and later in various sections of the Middle West, and to the nineties in the Far West and Southwest. During this period, particularly in the great Mississippi Valley, every

¹ J. B. Ross, "The Agrarian Revolution in the Middle West," *North American Review*, September, 1909.

important movement was directed toward the land. Farms were being carved out of a vast public domain. In wilderness and on prairie everywhere rural society was aborning. Except at the latter end of the period on the Far Western frontiers, farming was a self-sufficient occupation. It was an age of homespun, handicraft and hoe-farming.

✓ *The second stage, called the "Land Farming Period,"* began by 1800 or earlier in New England and the East. In the Middle West it succeeded the pioneer era around 1835 to 1840 and generally ran its course by about 1890. This has also been called the "classical period" of rural society, for well-established homes, schools, and churches prevailed. Prosperity was beginning. The crudities and hardships of the pioneer economy had given place to comfortable living. It was the heyday of country life. Families were large, institutions thriving, a virgin soil was producing bountifully, and a sturdy and well-satisfied people gave a wholesome neighborhood life. Cities were also flourishing and beginning to attract young countrymen. There was a marked urban drift in the East, but in the Middle West only an occasional person deserted the farm. What little migration there was could be described as a movement of individuals rather than of families.

However, the forces of change were at work preparing a new and less favorable era. There had been remarkable developments in means of transportation by both land and water. Steamships were ploughing the seas and railways were girding the country. A transportation revolution had occurred, opening up world markets for farm products. At the same time, the desirable free land was becoming rapidly exhausted with the disappearance of the western frontiers. Meantime, urban industries were multiplying and expanding and calling for labor to man them. There was a general gravitation of village shops to the great centers. The full force of the industrial revolution was being felt in America. Simultaneously, machinery was being introduced into agriculture. The mower, the reaper and binder, the sulky plow, the grain drill, and the power-driven thresher led the way for numerous devices to follow.

The agricultural process was being transformed from hoe-farming and a pre-machine state to machine farming. An agrarian revolution was taking place. The productive capacity of the farmer was being multiplied many fold and the need of labor curtailed in the same measure. Thus rural society was being carried to a third stage.

The third stage, known as the "Exploiter Period" began about 1890 in the Middle West and spread over the country until 1920. It was characterized by a land boom and speculation in values. When there was no more free land to be had, values began to rise. They doubled, trebled, quadrupled, as townsmen and farmers bought and sold not primarily for agricultural purposes but for profit. Commercial farming supplanted agriculture for home consumption and home making. Tenancy grew apace as the cost of land soared. Absentee landlordism became common. A great exodus of families from the country to the city set in. This exodus has continued to rise like a swelling tide up to the present. *Pari passu* there came a great unsettlement almost everywhere among farmers. This was marked by shifting from high to low priced land and by the moving to and fro of tenants. Schools and churches suffered loss and declined. In new sections of the country abandoned farms appeared. The whole period was one of rural social decay.

It was in this period that rural sociology arose. As general sociology appeared when city life brought forth a host of problems, so rural sociology was born when country life became seriously maladjusted. It was a peculiar set of agrarian problems that led to it—problems that were especially American. Hence rural sociology as such is an American creation.

These problems need to be clearly grasped in order to see why they gave rise to a new sociology. Change and unrest have almost never been absent from American country life. Again and again, antedating the exploiter period, agrarian problems sprang up. For a generation preceding the Civil War there was agitation and political conflict over access to the public lands. Following the Civil War,

in the seventies and eighties, came the problems of agricultural depression, railway rates, credit, money, prices, farm mortgages, and all that gave rise to the Granger movement. Economic conditions were critical and one solution after another was sought. Wide-spread organization such as the Grange and Farmers' Alliance kept the cause of the farmer before the nation. But these problems did not lead directly to any science of rural sociology. The reason was that they were chiefly economic. Important as they might be, their sociologic consequences were not generally destructive of the rural social order.

In the late eighties and much more in the nineties rural problems became something more than economic. They began to involve the family life, institutions, quality of population, and the community. So long as bad economic conditions did not drive people off the land, institutional and community life was not seriously disturbed. No one was alarmed over the situation. But when farmers moved to town and left abandoned farms or turned them over to transient renters; when schools and churches closed their doors; and when the country came to be looked upon by those who remained in it as an undesirable dwelling place, then the situation became critical in a most fundamental way. It began to present a social problem of the first magnitude, and men began to recognize the fact that something was wrong.

In New England and New York a few magazine writers and public minded men were the first to direct attention to these conditions. They pointed to deserted farms, decadent hill towns, agricultural decline, folk depletion, and social degeneration. They found the chief cause of these in social drainage to the cities and to the West. They talked of "keeping the boys on the farm," and urged a "back to the farm" movement. In the Middle West occasionally an editor of a farm journal or a Grange leader became aware of the social drift. Noticeable among those who intelligently comprehended what was happening in the country and expressed themselves about it, were Liberty

Hyde Bailey, Dean of the New York College of Agriculture, and Kenyon L. Butterfield of Michigan. To these two men, master and disciple as it were, is due much of the pioneer work in creating a general interest in the sociology of country life and in projecting the science itself. It was Dean Bailey who first formulated a clear statement of the problem of rural society in other than essentially economic terms. He emphasized the distinctively human and social when he declared the problem to be that of "developing and maintaining on our farms a civilization in full harmony with the best American ideals."

Until the second decade of the present century there was not much known about rural society. A considerable periodical literature, a few monographs, and doctors' dissertations on various phases of rural life had appeared. But this fragmentary and unorganized material had not been integrated into a body of knowledge that could be called a science or even a science in the making. A course in the subject had been offered at the University of Michigan and perhaps in a few other schools of higher learning. But neither the agricultural and private colleges nor the universities had taken serious cognizance of the field.

President Roosevelt's Commission on Country Life seems to have been the agency that first stimulated general interest in the subject. Doubtless prompted by his own experience and the current discussions of the problems of the farmer in the press, at farmers' institutes and in other circles, Roosevelt was led to appoint a committee to make a study of the problem. This was done in 1907. It was viewed as part of the conservation movement the program of which the President was championing. In the introduction to the official report of this committee, which was published in 1911, the purpose of the commission is fully set forth. It is stated that "The commission was appointed because the time has come when it is vital to the welfare of the country seriously to consider the problems of farm life. . . . The problems of farm life have received very little consideration and the result has been bad for those who

dwelt in the open country, and therefore bad for the whole nation." ²

The commission was significantly headed by Dean Bailey, with whom were associated representative men from various sections of the country. They carried on investigations and held hearings. The report which was finally submitted to the President gave great impetus to the development of rural sociology. In fact it is not far wrong to say that this report virtually heralded its advent.

That report discovered and emphasized eight major deficiencies in the life of the countryside. Specifically these were:

1. Soil depletion brought about by careless farming.
2. An inadequate supply of skilled farm labor.
3. Land speculation.
4. Poor highways, handicapping the marketing process and the education of country children.
5. Marketing conditions that made the farmer a victim of railways and middlemen.
6. Deficiencies in health protection of rural families.
7. Overwork of farm women, causing many to abandon the country for town and city.
8. Rural school inadequacy.

Obviously these points covered many phases besides the distinctively human side. Nevertheless they all have their bearing on the life of the farmer.

Following the publication of this report, a rapid development took place. Many agencies became interested. Church missionary societies, college departments, and individuals began making field surveys in various localities to discover the facts. Courses were introduced into college and university curricula until today they are being given in some five hundred institutions. Methods of investigation adapted to the rural field have been worked out and are being applied to the gathering of information. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture has set up a research department that is fostering and assisting in extensive surveys.

² *Report of the Commission on Country Life*, pp. 9-10.

The Purnell Act of Congress, in 1925 authorizing the Agricultural Experiment Stations to use funds for economic and social research, further enlarges the possibilities. Some private agencies, notably the Institute of Social and Religious Research, are likewise working in the field. Withal competent sociologists are organizing the data as it becomes available into a body of classified knowledge that begins to take shape as a science. Thus rural sociology, tho yet young and immature, has attained to wide recognition and popularity. It promises to grow in influence with the further refinement and accumulation of knowledge.

THE FIELD OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

The field of rural sociology is the study of association among people living by or immediately dependent upon agriculture. Open country and village grouping and group behavior as distinguished from larger urban aggregates and their behavior is its concern. Society whether rural or urban has the same common elements that must always be considered. These are four, viz., the *Vital element* or the people themselves; the *Cultural element* or the accumulated and accumulating traditions, habits, mores, techniques, institutions, beliefs and attitudes; the *Material element* or the accumulated goods, mechanisms, advantageous alterations in the physical environment, and stored up utilities called wealth; and finally the *Structural element* or achieved organization including forms of dwelling or acting together. Strictly speaking, this element belongs under the Cultural, but because of the great significance that attaches to social organization and structure we have for the sake of emphasis assigned it to a separate category. The fact that these elements vary both qualitatively and quantitatively and in their modes of combination makes the difference between societies. Wherefore, there are differences between rural and urban society, and hence a rural as distinguished from an urban sociology.

Rural sociology cannot, of course, ignore these common elements, as they relate to society in general, including

urban society. In fact, at its present stage of immaturity overmuch attention is given to the contrasting features of urban and rural life. Properly speaking, this is comparative sociology rather than distinctively rural sociology. Be it so, it is the best that can be offered under present circumstances. Inasmuch as the emphasis tends to be comparative, it may be well at this point to sketch some of the outstanding differences between urban and rural society. To do this will anticipate to some degree what will appear at many angles in subsequent chapters of this book, but it will also facilitate the student's understanding of what the rural field includes. In pointing out the differences let it be noted that we shall have in mind distinctly American conditions.

1. There are differences in the *composition* of urban and rural groups. Numerically the city presents masses in congested areas, the country small numbers in isolation. The age and sex distribution is not the same. Nor are the two ethnically alike. The city is heterogeneous in its racial elements, while the country is normally fairly homogeneous. In mental quality and physical stamina other divergences appear. Nor do men associate in the same manner. Urban contacts differ both in quantity and quality from rural. In the one case they are frequent, transient, and formal; in the other, relatively seldom, but full, intimate, and regularly recurring. Rural association is familial, communal, primary, and permanent, but urban is individual, secondary, and more largely functional.

2. In *cultural heritage* the city has almost infinite variety and richness, whereas the country has sameness and poverty. There are hundreds of urban occupations, techniques, and pursuits of a widely divergent nature, against a score or so closely related ones in the average rural community. There are many urban codes of behavior whereas the country tends to support but a single one.

3. The wealth of the city is relatively unlimited compared with the meager accumulations of any rural area. The bulk of it is intangible and fluid, in contrast to the tangible and fixed form wealth assumes in the country.

Distribution in the city runs to extremes and shows glaring disparity, but in the country it strikes a low average and tends to equality.

4. Urban structure is multiple and complex, but rural is not extensive and is simple. The latter is almost wholly territorially determined, while the former is based primarily on interest lines. The activities of urban groups are highly organized, but those of rural are largely lacking in formal arrangement. The city dweller cannot escape conformity to structure; the country dweller hardly needs to give heed to it at all.

From these differences and the combinations to which they give rise, it must be clear that urban and rural society are unlike and their sociologies, perforce, more or less distinct.

THE PARTICULAR SUBJECT MATTER OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

The subject matter of rural sociology is usually thought of as the problem or the several problems arising from living in the country. A social problem implies something unsolved, unsatisfactory—unadjusted or maladjusted—for which remedies, means of improvement, or solutions are desirable. Back of all there are assumed norms of human life and association by comparison with which shortcomings are discovered, and hence the existence of problems realized. Thus in the last analysis the subject matter of sociology is social adequacy. This in a particular sense is the subject matter of rural sociology.

There are two ways of viewing the subject. One we may call the particularistic; the other the pluralistic method. The first tries to comprehend everything under one problem. So we hear of "the rural problem." In the beginning of the country life movement men described conditions in this way. Thus Dean Bailey said, "It is the problem of developing and maintaining on our farms a civilization in harmony with the best American ideals;" and President Butterfield, expressing the same idea in other language, said, "The farm problem in its most fundamental

aspects is the problem of maintaining a standard people upon our farms."

Others have been more concerned about the causes of maladjustment and thus have defined the problem in different terms. Sir Horace Plunkett, an Irish statesman and leader, wrote in 1910 a book entitled "Rural Life Problems In The United States," and claimed the weak spot was in the business methods on our farms. There is need, said he, of "better farming, better business, better living," but if we are to have that which is the real desideratum, "better living," the approach must be thru "better business." This he held could be secured only by "coöperation." Thus the farm problem and its solution resolved themselves into the question of developing coöperative habits and agencies.

Dr. C. J. Galpin, leaving the economic aspects out of account on the assumption that the agricultural scientist and economist will deal with them, states the social problem as, "How shall the rural population liberate itself from the restrictions and repressions upon its manner of life and labor . . . so as greatly to extend its acquaintance with persons and increase its contacts with the human mind."³ Everything turns, in his judgment, upon increasing the number, the variety and the quality of contacts for the isolated countryfolks. He would have mental touch with other than farmers for the man, the woman, the youth, the child, so that the narrow experience of the farm may be broadened and enriched; multiplication of contacts between farmers themselves and with non-farmers; deepening of the quality of contacts so that the minds of farmers may become dynamic and filled with the culture of the wider world.⁴ So restricted freedom of contact is the problem and extending contacts the solution.

There has undoubtedly been a tendency in these analyses to oversimplify. Thus there is a fallacy in saying the rural problem is to keep a standard population on the soil. Even tho the view avoids the "back to the land" notion, it remains too circumscribed. Likewise, lack of coöperation

³ C. J. Galpin, *Rural Life*, p. 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

does not comprehend all the difficulties. However much a thoroughgoing coöperative organization might accomplish, there are conditions it would scarcely touch. The same strictures apply to the statement that the problem is one of isolation and is to be solved by multiplication of contacts. Contacts are being increased today with good and bad results, but the promise is not for a solution of all the difficulties of country life.

A more adequate statement that may be called unitary rather than particularistic may be proposed. We call it unitary because it tries to summarize the whole situation without ignoring a multiplicity of causes and phases. According to this view, the rural problem arises from social instability and its solution lies in a process of stabilization. The population is not stable. It is unsettled, shifting much from community to community within the rural area, and even more from that area to urban centers. City drift and rural migration are, however, but symptoms of deeper disorders. There can be no stabilization of the population unless these are corrected. Another phase of instability is institutional. Schools fall short of sufficient numbers, and are closed up or must be reorganized where population is impermanent. Churches disintegrate and must shut their doors. The family is unsettled by virtue of the departure of the children. Community organization rises and falls with the uncertain constituency and leadership.

The cultural status of the average neighborhood is likewise a fluctuating factor where citizenship is not permanent. Farm owners give place to tenants who will move tomorrow. With the men having no fixed stake in the land and the women having their eyes on some urban haven of retirement, the agricultural technique, the neighborly spirit, the urge to improve the community are sure to sag.

Underneath all is economic instability. Land values have long been on a speculative scale. Traded in by men who have no interest in country life, farms have fluctuated in price till the whole rural economy has been upset. High values in one section and low ones in another have fostered extensive migrations. Extreme values have promoted the

rapid growth of tenantry. With this land situation has gone instability in the price of farm products. Assured markets with fair returns have been wanting. In consequence there has been no certainty of a reasonable income or an adequate standard of living. Stabilization, therefore, seems to comprehend much of the problem of rural society. Economic stabilization merely because that happens to be basic is not the key to the solution of the difficulties. Equally essential is a demographic, communal, cultural, institutional and organizational stabilization, since all hang together in reciprocal relation.

The pluralistic method of analysis sees many more or less independent problems where the particularistic observer sees but one. As a recent writer has put it, "The rural problem is not one problem but many problems combined and interwoven to such a degree that a single definition is impossible and for which a single solution cannot be found."⁵ City drift and rural decline, rising tenantry and landlordism, church decadence, school and educational inefficiency, recreational poverty, isolation, insanitary living and poor health protection, individualism and non-coöperation, and inadequate organization are among the chief problems that concern the rural sociologist.

Those who persist in the pluralistic analysis have not yet emancipated themselves from the birth-process of this field of study. That process was naturally synthetic. From the endeavors of all sorts of agencies seeking to improve rural conditions the data have been assembled and wrought into a loose-knit body of knowledge. Education, religion, agricultural economics, farm management, domestic science, hygiene, aided by the good roads movement, the conservation program, and numerous other reform efforts, have each contributed material.⁶ The result is a conglomerate of many arts, sciences, and reform programs. It is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise under the circumstances. A variety of unsatisfactory conditions came to light and began to clamor for interpretation and solution.

⁵ C. C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology*.

⁶ H. B. Hawthorn, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, p. 6.

Pure sociology was not sufficiently mature and experienced to furnish the needed aid. Its method was not adapted to the new field. The data of the rural order were different, and, naturally, pragmatic interests dictated that they be handled in a manner different from the customary procedure. So we have the study of a lot of problems instead of a consistent sociological treatment.

What has just been said is not by way of condemnation, for it is about the best that could be done or can still be done, for that matter, till our knowledge is much more complete than it is. A pure sociology of country life is highly desirable, but he who undertakes to produce it must be fully aware that only a very tentative work is as yet possible.

SOME REQUIREMENTS FOR A PURE SCIENCE OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

As with sociology in general, *the first requirement* is a clear concept of what society is, and of how sociology is to be delimited. Sociologists do not always agree on these points, but most of them understand society to mean the phenomenon of human grouping, and sociology to be the study of that grouping as such. When, however, they get down to content and details, the disagreements begin to increase. Hence definition is always needed.

According to the writer's view, society is indeed human grouping. However, as pointed out above, this grouping always involves more than the association of a number of people. For they are never associated apart from culture, wealth and organization. Hence society must be thought of in terms of people, culture, wealth and structure. Assuming society to be thus constituted, what is sociology? We have elsewhere defined it as the science of group energy and power.⁷ Specifically, it treats "of the genesis, development, extent, modes, distribution, integration, conservation, dissipation, degeneration, elevation, direction, general influence, and behavior of energy manifest in social forms."

⁷ N. L. Sims, *Society and Its Surplus*, p. viii.

More simply, it treats of the behavior of groups as energy entities. Naturally there are many aspects to such behavior and many legitimate modes of treatment. One mode seeks to measure and evaluate it; hence we have sociology called a science of adequacy. This is an especially useful way of looking at rural grouping.

Thus we come to a *second requirement*; if a pure sociology is to result, group behavior must be approached from a unitary viewpoint. And if it is to be a comprehensive sociology, this viewpoint also must be comprehensive.

So far there has been but one attempt to produce a rural sociology from a unitary standpoint. Under the title, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, Professor H. B. Hawthorn has made this attempt. He looks at rural grouping with respect to socialization. The latter he construes as "the process by which a country civilization of culture and high living standards is built."⁸ Unitary approaches of this sort are correct and the outcome is true sociology. One may cavil over the adequacy of particular principles or processes employed, but not over the method. What constitutes an adequate viewpoint depends upon how comprehensive we wish our sociology to be.

It would seem that rural sociology must eventually comprehend the total behavior of rural groups as energy entities. This will involve something more than the process of socialization, even tho that be made to include ever so much. The ensuing chapters of this work will attempt merely to outline the subject from this more comprehensive viewpoint. Little more can be done than to point the way along which an adequate sociology of country life can be developed. As yet the data out of which to create it are not available.

Wherefore, a *third requisite* for a rural sociology is more scientific knowledge. This is being gathered but the task of accumulating it is peculiarly slow and difficult. Sociological data are always widely scattered in time and space, and that of American rural society singularly so.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

Compact urban groups with many organizations keeping records lend themselves to study with comparative ease. But not so country life; it can be made to give up sufficient facts from its far-flung and varied areas only as organized agencies spend much money and effort in surveys. Fortunately, the Federal Census, the United States Department of Agriculture, and a few expert private and semi-public agencies are at work in the field. Eventually we may hope for enough facts to make possible a real science of rural sociology.

RURALIST VERSUS RURBANIST

We began this chapter by describing contrasting impressions of the social order. We may conclude it by orientating sociology with respect to two opposing attitudes.

The ruralists represent one attitude. They would like to see the farmer self-sufficient and independent of the urban world. They would have him utilize the rural resources at hand and maintain a civilization as distinct as possible from the city. This attitude is widely prevalent among farmers themselves. Evidence of it appears in both conscious and unconscious expressions. There are certain fears lest the urban corrupt rural ways and undermine moral standards. Antipathies toward urban people and traditions are manifest. Downright antagonism to city interests and institutions is shown. Boorish customs and manners are sometimes glorified. Such movements as the Ku Klux Klan and the anti-evolution campaign reveal not a little of this ruralism rampant. Some of this amounts to protective coloration with a rural inferiority complex underneath.

Not only the rank and file, but leaders also have this ruralistic attitude. Not a few in the farm organization movement have it. Likewise some writers, teachers, and sociologists entertain this viewpoint.

The rurbanists think the country and the city must co-operate, that they are naturally dependent, and that everything must be done to harmonize them. They hold that no

good can come to either from isolation. The city needs food and raw material which the country alone can supply, and the country needs made things, the comforts and luxuries which are furnished by the city only.

There can be no doubt that conditions are playing into the hands of the rurbanists and destroying the foundations of ruralism. The day was when the American farmer was independent. Once as one wrote, "At this time my farm gave me and my whole family a good living on the produce of it and left me one year with another hundred and fifty silver dollars, for I never spent more than ten dollars a year which was for salt, nails, and the like. Nothing to eat, drink, or wear was bought, as my farm provided all.⁹ No longer than a half century ago a poet could with some truth say:

Let sailors sing of ocean deep,
Let soldiers praise their armor,
But in my heart this toast I'll keep,
The Independent Farmer.

But today all that independence is gone. Economically the farmer has become quite as dependent upon the city as the city is upon him. Nor is he culturally self-sufficient any more. The arts and techniques he once commanded are gone. Political power has passed from his hands. The process of change has brought social differentiation, specialization and interdependence. The situation must be accepted, and country and city alike must recognize that each is a part of the whole and must coördinate their activities for the common good.

The bearing of this situation upon sociology brings us back once more to the idea of adequacy. Standards are inevitably set by the more dynamic and effective social groups. This has made the urban the pace-making group of the Great Society. Consciously and unconsciously the rural is being measured and judged by its norms, and at the same time the rural group is tending more and more

⁹ Quoted from "The American Museum in 1787" by L. MacGarr, *The Rural Community*, p. 30.

to accept these criteria. Rural education, religion, morals, health, business, work and recreation are all being subjected to the testing of urban standards.

The result is rural urbanization. Sociology is therefore on the side of the rurbanists, since it is intolerant of isolation, retardation, impuissance, or whatever in any way signifies inadequacy. It does not, however, grant that whatever is, is right and give its approval to all the urbanizing process. Far from it indeed. It is also on the side of the ruralists in many things. While recognizing the impossibility of a segregated country life, it does not believe that it can or should become a duplicate as far as possible of city civilization. If true to the ideals of justice and humanity, sociology will not sanction the subordination of rural to urban interests. It would approve harmony but no *Pax Romana* such as the city would impose. In a competitive civilization where might in the last analysis makes the only right there is, sociology would exhort the ruralists to exalt the country and mobilize its forces to combat the city. For only as the rural order preserves its uniqueness in efficiency and utilizes its energies to its own advantage can there be any balance between the two phases of our civilization.

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Part II

THE VITAL ELEMENT

II

THE RURAL PEOPLE

THE first and the last item of interest to the student of country life is the people themselves. Altho society, as it is, consists of more than the living personalities who compose, vitalize and make it a going concern, these living beings obviously constitute the most important element. A careful analysis of the population is, therefore, first in order.

RURAL AND URBAN DISTINGUISHED

The Census Bureau has drawn the line between rural and urban at aggregations of 2,500 people. The rule is to consider all residing in incorporated places of 2,500 or more inhabitants as urban dwellers. All outside such places are rural. There is one exception to this rule in the case of three New England states, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, where it is not the practice to incorporate small aggregates of population as separate municipalities. Hence in these states any "town," that is, township in the Mid-Western sense, having 2,500 or more inhabitants is classified as urban. Specifically, then, the rural population consists of all who reside in unincorporated territory and in all incorporated places with fewer than 2,500 inhabitants, except in the three states mentioned, where it consists of all who dwell in "towns" whose total population is under 2,500.

The census classification is obviously a purely quantitative one. Formerly other quantitative bases were used; the dividing line once being drawn at 8,000 and later at 4,000. If qualitative rather than quantitative differences were to be considered, these earlier classifications commend

themselves as preferable to the one in present use, since the larger aggregates normally have more truly urban qualities. But none based primarily on numbers can be altogether satisfactory. Occupational and psychological differences would give a truer basis of distinction. Fortunately, the 1920 census attempted in a measure to approach this by enumerating the farmers for the first time under a separate category. Despite its shortcomings, it will, however, be necessary to follow the census classification in presenting data on the rural people. And throughout this chapter it will be instructive generally to contrast the urban with the rural groups.

NUMBERS AND CLASSES

The 1920 census assigned 51,406,017 persons or 48.6 per cent of the total population of the United States to the rural group.

TABLE 1.—URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES: 1880-1920.¹

Class	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880
Total Number	105,710,620	91,972,266	75,994,575	62,947,714	50,155,783
Urban	54,304,603	42,166,120	30,380,433	22,298,359	14,358,167
Rural	51,406,017	49,806,146	45,614,142	40,649,355	35,797,616
Total Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	51.4	45.8	40.0	35.4	28.6
Rural	48.6	54.2	60.0	64.6	71.4

Table 1 and Figure 1 show the numerical size of the rural group in contrast with the urban for the last five census periods. It should be observed that the line of division here employed is 2,500.

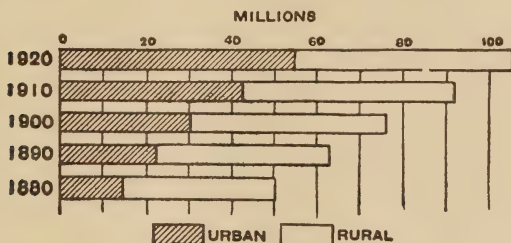
The rural population as above described is made up of three classes, viz.: farmers, rural industrialists, and villagers. These three classes are not absolutely exclusive but approximately so.

1. *The farmers* include all those living or laboring on farms. Specifically, by farmer the census means, "all

¹ *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. I.

persons actually living on farms without regard to occupation, and also those farm laborers (and their families) who, while not living on a farm, nevertheless live in strictly rural territory, outside the limits of any village or other incorporated place.”² This group, as enumerated, therefore includes some who, while residing on farms, are engaged in non-agricultural pursuits. They consist, however, chiefly of the sons and daughters of farmers who have taken up other occupations. Strictly speaking, there are a

FIGURE 1.—URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION: 1880-1920.³



few farmers found within urban territory, for such areas include some lands devoted to agriculture. The total number of such farmers in 1920 was 255,629 or 0.8 per cent of the whole number classified as farmers. Places of 2,500 to 10,000 had 166,543 persons of this class, cities of 10,000 to 25,000 claimed 36,131, and cities of 25,000 and upwards included 52,955. However, over 99 per cent of the farm population resides in rural territory.⁴

This is the most important class, for it is the most numerous and the one responsible for the chief characteristics of rural society. In 1920 there were in this class a total of 31,614,269 persons, constituting 29.9 per cent of the entire population of the United States. Moreover, it accounted for 61 per cent of the rural population. Estimates for January 1, 1927, put the number of farm dwellers

² *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 891.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 892.

at but 27,892,000, or a decline of 3,722,629 since the 1920 census.

An agricultural census is being taken every five years. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimated the decrease from 1920 to 1925 of those resident on farms to be 2,632,476.

2. *The rural industrialists* include all those of the rural group who are engaged in mining, lumbering, fishing and other non-agricultural pursuits in the country districts. In 1920 this class numbered 11,078,186 or 10.3 per cent of the total population and 21.5 per cent of the rural population.

3. *The third class* involves the village dwelling portion of the rural folk, or all those living in incorporated places of less than 2,500. The total number of such places was 12,858; in 1920 these included 8,969,241 persons. They comprised 8.5 per cent of the population of the nation and 17.5 per cent of the rural population.

If, however, we use the term village with more latitude, making it include all aggregations of population from 25 to 2,500, regardless of whether incorporated or not, the village class becomes somewhat more numerous than indicated above. Even though it overlaps the other classes to some extent, there can be no harm in viewing it for the moment in this more comprehensive way. The total number of such villages in 1920 is estimated from Rand McNally's Atlas to be 51,403.⁵ Of these, 18,381, ranging in population from 250 to 2,500 and averaging 534, included approximately 12,858,521 people.⁶ Of these 10,239 were incorporated and account for 8,509,659 of the 8,969,241 persons included in incorporated communities of all sizes under 2,500 inhabitants. The other 2,619 incorporated places were hamlets of less than 2,500 inhabitants. The remaining places are unincorporated and number 8,142 with an aggregate population of 4,348,862.⁷ Thus the total village population amounts to over 25 per cent of the entire rural group. In addition to these which were villages

⁵ Morse & Brunner, *Town and Country Churches in the U. S.*, p. 39.

⁶ C. L. Fry, *American Villagers*, p. 27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

proper, there were some 34,422 hamlets having from 25 to 250 persons with an average of 121. They are estimated to have embraced approximately 4,143,998 persons. Thus viewed, the total hamlet and village class aggregates 33.5 per cent of the rural population. This would leave 66.5

TABLE 2.—URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION, BY SECTIONS AND DIVISIONS: 1920.^s

SECTION AND DIVISION	Urban	Rural	Per cent urban	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION	
				Urban	Rural
United States	54,304,603	51,406,017	51.4	100.0	100.0
The North	40,314,312	23,367,533	63.3	74.2	45.5
New England	5,865,073	1,535,836	79.2	10.8	3.0
Middle Atlantic	16,672,595	5,588,549	74.9	30.7	10.9
East North Central..	13,049,272	8,426,271	60.8	24.0	16.4
West North Central..	4,727,372	7,816,877	37.7	8.7	15.2
The South	9,303,828	23,821,975	28.1	17.1	46.3
South Atlantic	4,338,792	9,651,480	31.0	8.0	18.8
East South Central..	1,994,207	6,899,100	22.4	3.7	13.4
West South Central..	2,970,829	7,271,395	29.0	5.5	14.1
The West	4,686,463	4,216,509	52.6	8.6	8.2
Mountain	1,214,980	2,121,121	36.4	2.2	4.1
Pacific	3,471,483	2,095,388	62.4	6.4	4.1
East of the Mississippi River	41,919,939	32,101,236	56.6	77.2	62.4
West of the Mississippi River	12,384,664	19,304,781	39.1	22.8	37.6

per cent or approximately 34,413,000 of the rural group in what is strictly the open country. This latter number, if at all correct, exceeds by between five and six millions the total population reported by the census as living on farms. The excess is to be accounted for by a considerable number who dwell outside of villages on parcels of land too small to be counted as farms by the census enumerators, and by

^s *Fourteenth Census, Vol. I.*

a larger number clustered in little cross-road hamlets of less than 25 population.⁹

DISTRIBUTION

Needless to say, there is the widest variation in the relative proportions of rural and urban population in the several sections of the United States. Table 2 gives the census data showing the general distribution. Figure 2 indicates the variation in this distribution from state to state.

It is at once obvious that the urban population is much more sectionalized than the rural, since three-tenths of it is found in the Middle Atlantic division and over half in this and the East North Central division. There is thus a distinct urban zone lying in the Northeastern part of the United States. This zone is at once the urban and the industrial belt of America. It stretches from the Atlantic on the East practically to the Mississippi River on the West, and varies from 150 to 200 miles in width. Within this zone, which is confined to the ten states, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, there dwell 33,653,066 urban people. This number is 2,000,000 in excess of the entire farm population of the nation. A glance at Figure 3 will show the distribution of the total urban population, and incidentally this urban-industrial zone.

The distribution of the rural people can be readily seen by consulting Figures 4, 5, 6. Figure 4 shows the village population in incorporated places of less than 2500. Figure 5 shows the entire rural group living outside incorporated places. In this latter group farmers and industrialists of the open country and many villagers also are lumped together. However, Figure 6, which shows the number and distribution of farms, will also serve to indicate approximately the number and distribution of the

⁹ Morse & Brunner, *op. cit.*

FIGURE 2.—PER CENT URBAN IN TOTAL POPULATION, BY STATES:
1920 AND 1910.^{9a}

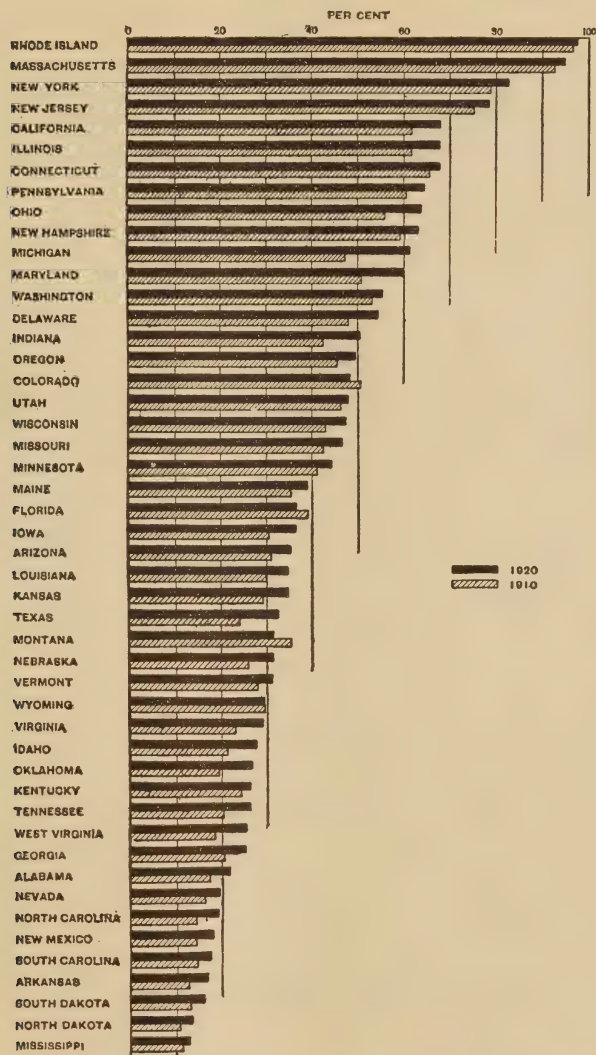


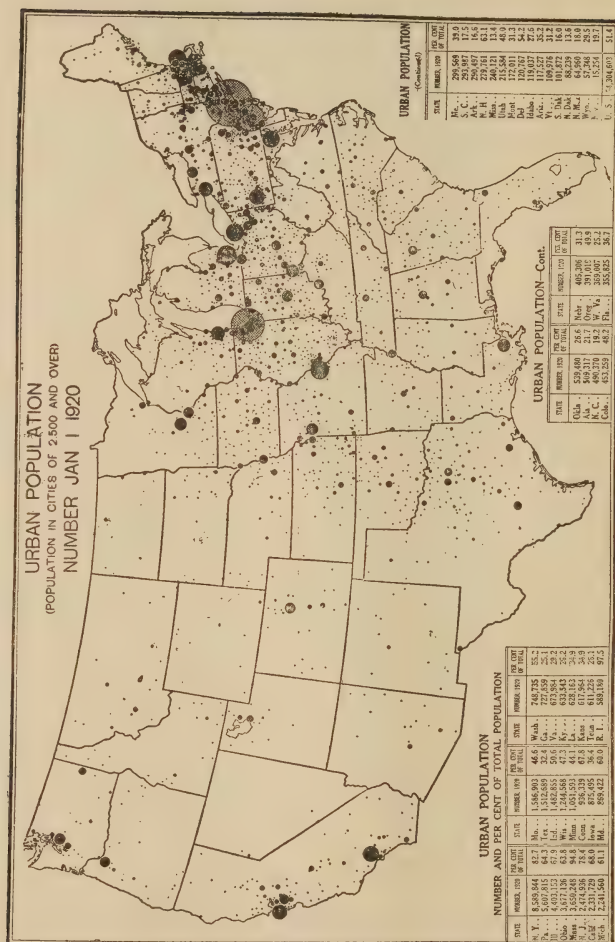
FIGURE 3.—URBAN POPULATION.¹⁰¹⁰ Separate, from Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture, 1921, p. 98.

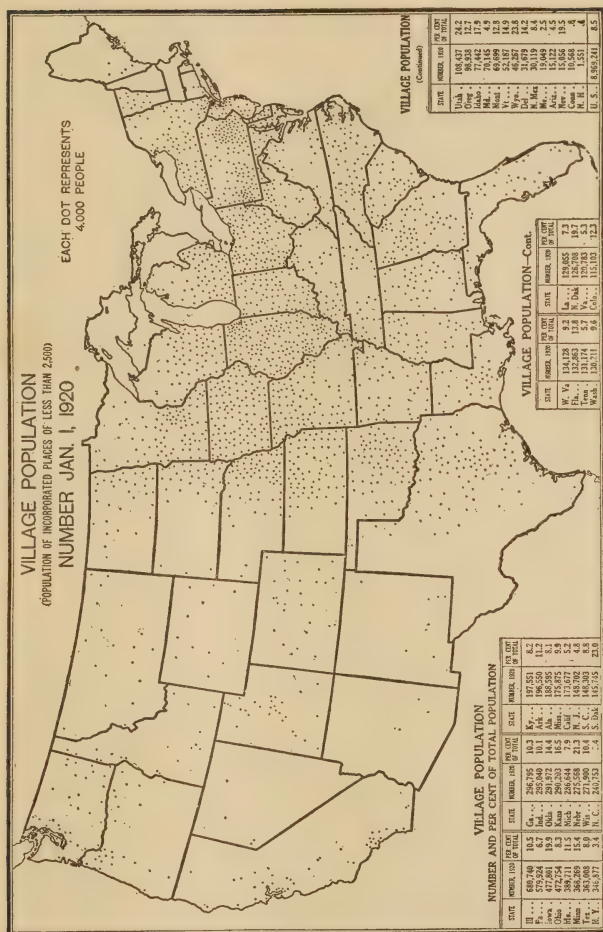
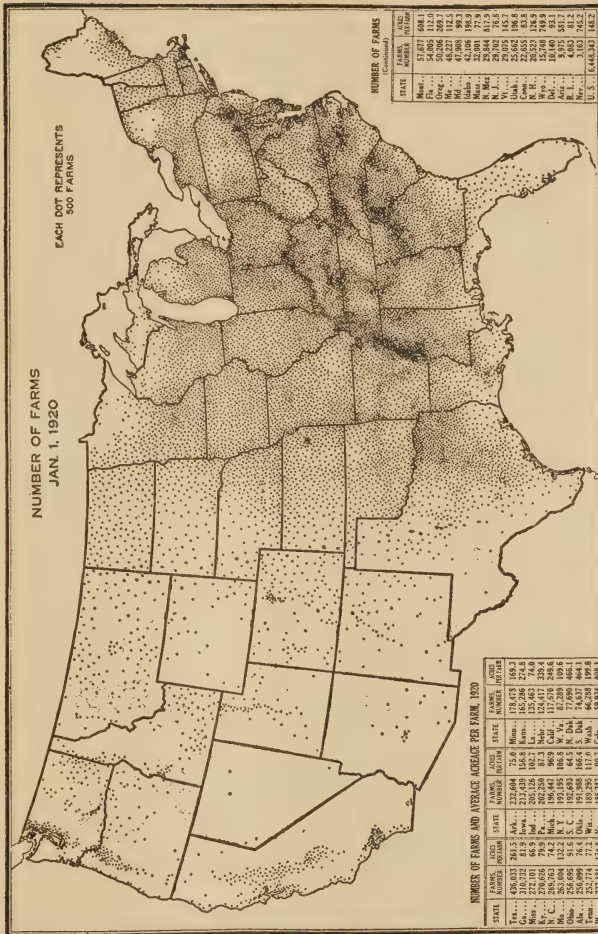
FIGURE 4.—VILLAGE POPULATION.¹¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

FIGURE 6.—NUMBER OF FARMS.¹³



¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

total farm population, if each dot is understood to represent 2,500 to 3,000 people.

Figure 4 reveals the fact that the village population tends to be greatly concentrated in two or three sections. If all places unincorporated as well as incorporated, having from 250 to 2,500 people were shown on the map, this tendency would appear even more pronounced. It would also show many villages in New England, which looks blank on this map since it is not the practice to incorporate villages in those states. The Middle West, the Northwest, and the Prairie regions are distinctively the rural village strongholds. The South has relatively the fewest. In the "Colonial" region the villages run larger in size than elsewhere and enroll a larger proportion of the population. They are, however, generally industrial rather than agricultural.¹⁴

The distribution of hamlets, i.e. places of 25 to 250, is not shown on any of the accompanying maps, but hamlets occur rather uniformly thruout the whole country. However, they are most numerous in the Southwest, and the least so in the Pacific and Southern regions.¹⁵

From Figure 5 it is apparent that the open country population is relatively higher in the South than in any other general region. In the Colonial region it is proportionally the lowest. Naturally, the open country population varies numerically in direct ratio to the importance of agriculture in any region. It also varies somewhat as the type of agriculture varies. In Table 3 the number of rural people per square mile for each state in order of rank is indicated.

Figure 8 shows the general density of the rural population.

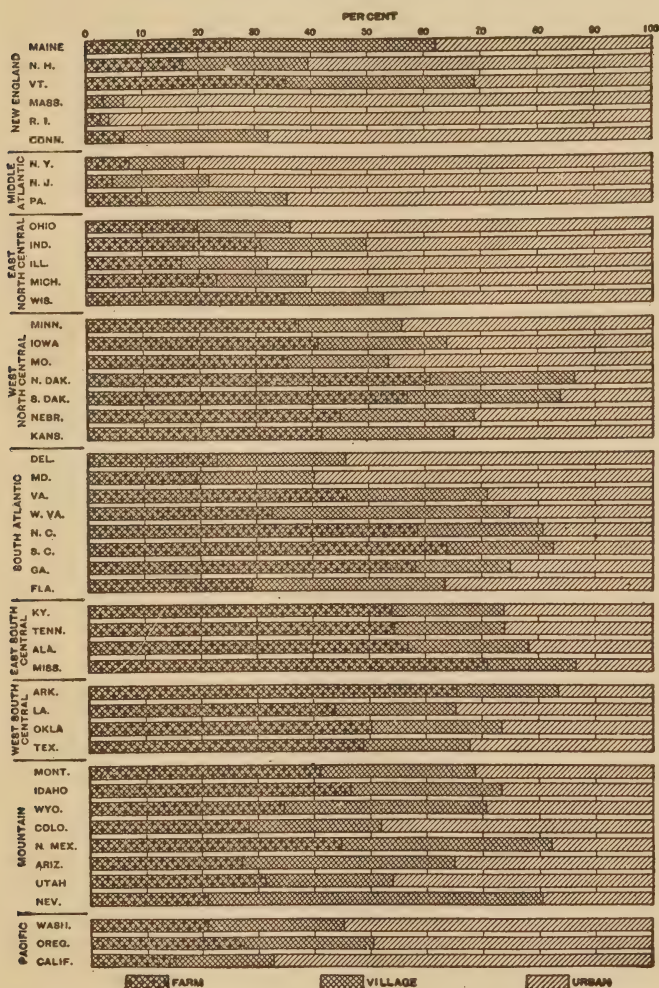
INCREASE AND DECREASE OF RURAL POPULATION

In considering the increase or decrease of rural population the fact must be borne in mind that the rural area is always decreasing whereas the urban area is always in-

¹⁴ Morse & Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

FIGURE 7.—FARM, VILLAGE, AND URBAN POPULATION—PER CENT OF TOTAL IN EACH CLASS, BY STATES: 1920.¹⁶



¹⁶ Leon E. Truesdell, "Farm Population of the United States," *Census Monographs VI*, p. 58.

creasing. This is because, with the growth in population, small incorporated villages pass into the urban class, thus adding to the urban territory and subtracting from the rural. To be sure, some incorporated villages lose population and pass from the urban to the rural group, but these are few in number. Cities are also constantly reach-

DENSITY OF RURAL POPULATION

TABLE 3.—RURAL POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE BY STATES IN ORDER OF RANK: 1920.

Connecticut	92.2	Michigan	24.8
New Jersey	90.6	Massachusetts	24.4
Pennsylvania	69.4	Oklahoma	21.4
Maryland	58.4	New Hampshire	17.3
Delaware	52.0	Minnesota	16.5
Ohio	51.1	Maine	15.7
South Carolina	45.6	Kansas	14.1
West Virginia	45.5	Rhode Island	12.1
Kentucky	44.4	Texas	12.0
North Carolina	42.4	Nebraska	11.6
Tennessee	41.4	Florida	11.2
Virginia	40.6	Washington	9.1
Indiana	40.2	North Dakota	8.0
New York	37.7	California	7.0
Illinois	37.2	South Dakota	7.0
Georgia	36.9	Colorado	4.7
Alabama	35.9	Oregon	4.1
Mississippi	33.4	Idaho	3.8
Arkansas	27.8	Utah	2.8
Iowa	27.5	Montana	2.6
Vermont	26.6	New Mexico	2.4
Missouri	26.4	Arizona	1.9
Louisiana	25.8	Wyoming	1.4
Wisconsin	25.1	Nevada	0.5

ing out and incorporating rural environs. Hence in calculating the change in rural population, it becomes a question whether one should compare the same area for two census periods or merely the areas designated as rural at each period. The results obtained by the two methods are somewhat different. Thus, using the first method, the area designated as rural in 1920 had a population of 48,779,082

in 1910, and 51,406,017 in 1920, or an increase of 2,626,935 or 5.4 per cent. By the second method, where the area designated as rural in 1920 was less than the area so designated in 1910, the rural population was 51,406,017 and 49,806,146 respectively, giving an increase of about 1,599,871 or 3.2 per cent.

To make it clear just how important this difference is, it should be noted that 474 villages that were rural in 1910

TABLE 4.—DENSITY OF RURAL POPULATION, BY DIVISIONS: 1920.¹⁷

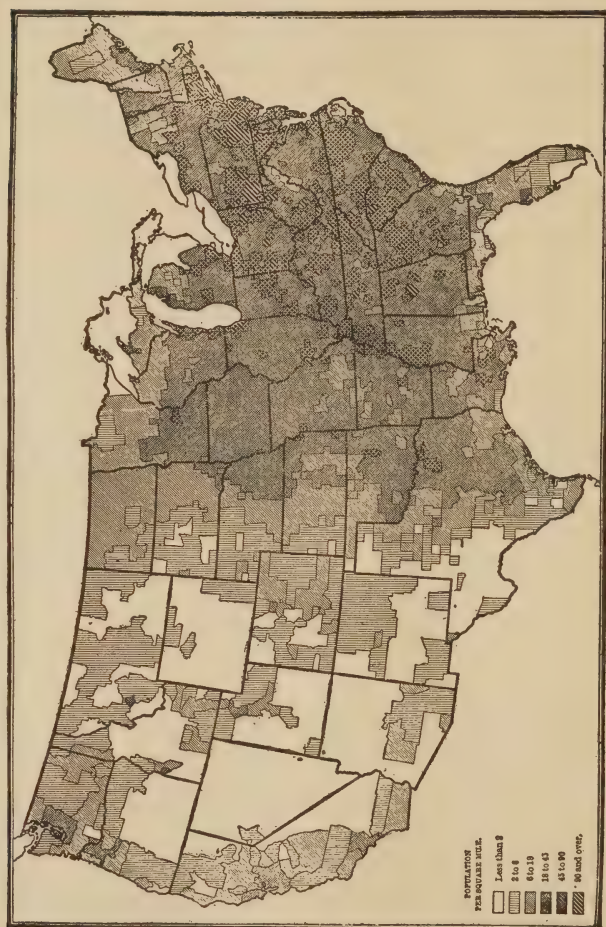
DIVISION	Land area in square miles.	RURAL POPULATION	
		Total.	Per square mile.
United States	2,973,774	51,406,017	17.3
New England	61,976	1,535,836	24.8
Middle Atlantic	100,000	5,588,549	55.9
East North Central	245,564	8,426,271	34.3
West North Central	510,804	7,816,877	15.3
South Atlantic	269,071	9,651,480	35.9
East South Central	179,509	6,899,100	38.4
West South Central	429,746	7,271,395	16.9
Mountain	859,009	2,121,121	2.5
Pacific	318,095	2,095,388	6.6

had become urban by 1920. In many cases the actual change in population was very small, for so long as a village has a population of 2,499 it is rural, but if one more person is added it becomes urban. Altho the change in absolute numbers may have been small, the actual subtraction from the rural group by the process involved during the period 1910-1920 was relatively large. At the least calculation, 1,185,000 people passed from the rural to the urban area.¹⁸

Despite these facts, the Census Bureau customarily uses the second of the two methods in compiling its data. And

¹⁷ *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. I.

¹⁸ Wm. S. Rossiter, *Census Monographs I*, pp. 75-76.

FIG. 8.—RURAL POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE: 1920¹⁹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

it will be convenient for us to conform to this practice in this work.

With 8,000 taken as the dividing line between urban and rural, the Census Bureau published a table in 1903, showing the rates of increase for the urban and rural groups from 1790 down to date, together with the ratios between them. The table, with data added for the last two census reports is reproduced below:

TABLE 5.—RATE OF INCREASE OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION, WITH 8,000 AS THE DIVIDING LINE, 1790 TO 1920, TOGETHER WITH RATIO BETWEEN THE RATES.

DECADE	RATE OF INCREASE OF POPULATION		RATIO OF PER CENT OF INCREASE OF URBAN TO THAT OF RURAL
	Per cent urban	Per cent rural	
1910-1920	25.7	5.4	4.1
1900-1910	32.8	11.2	2.9
1890-1900	37.0	14.1	2.6
1880-1890	60.2	14.5	4.2
1870-1880	41.1	27.2	1.5
1860-1870	59.1	15.6	3.8
1850-1860	75.1	29.9	2.5
1840-1850	99.3	30.0	3.3
1830-1840	68.2	30.1	2.3
1820-1830	82.0	31.0	2.6
1810-1820	23.1	33.1	1.0
1800-1810	69.3	35.0	2.0
1790-1800	60.4	34.2	1.8

Obviously, from the beginning the cities of the nation have been growing much more rapidly than the country. However, since 1880 the rate of growth has generally declined for both, altho in greater degree for the country.

Taking 2,500 rather than 8,000 as the dividing line between country and city, Table 6 gives the rates of increase and the ratios between the rates from 1880-1920.

During this period of 40 years each census has revealed an absolute loss of rural population in a number of agri-

cultural states. The census of 1890 showed eleven such states, that of 1900 twelve, that of 1910 six, and that of 1920 fifteen. Estimates of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture for January 1, 1927, indicates that there has been a steady loss of agricultural population since 1920, for the United States as a whole. The total loss aggregates nearly three and three quarters millions.

TABLE 6.—RATE OF INCREASE OF RURAL AND OF URBAN POPULATION WITH 2,500 AS THE DIVIDING LINE, 1880 TO 1920, TOGETHER WITH THE RATIO BETWEEN RATES.

DECADE	RATE OF INCREASE OF POPULATION		RATIO OF PER CENT OF INCREASE OF URBAN TO THAT OR RURAL
	Per cent urban increase	Per cent rural increase	
1910-1920	28.8	3.2	9.0
1900-1910	38.8	9.2	4.2
1890-1900	36.2	12.2	3.0
1880-1890	35.2	13.5	4.1

Figure 9 shows those states sustaining a loss of agricultural population as revealed by the 14th census. Figures 10 and 11 show the county areas that declined during the last census period. In these maps we get a more detailed picture of the situation.

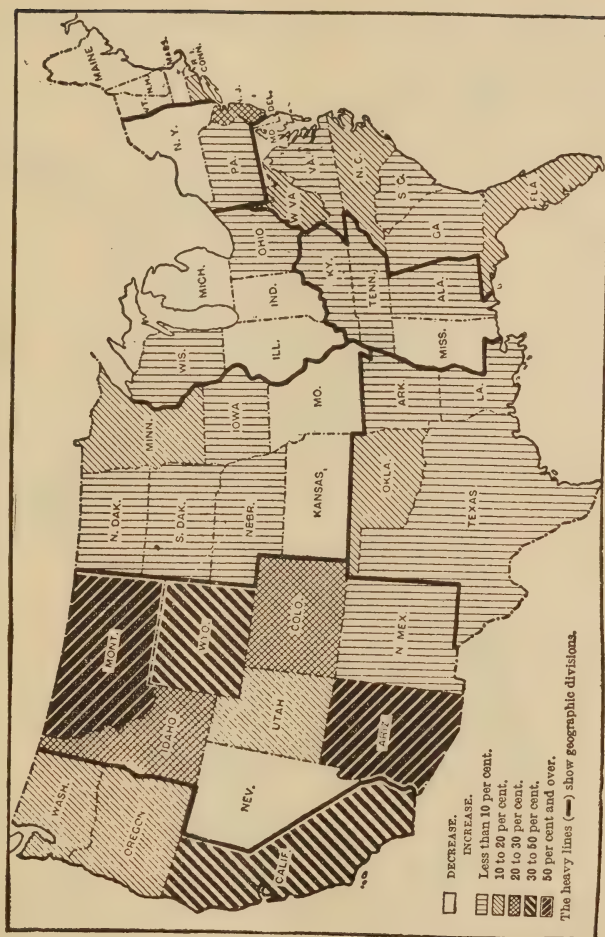
SOURCES OF GAIN AND LOSS

Professor J. M. Gillette has worked out a method of calculating the gains and losses and net increase of rural population.²⁰

By the use of this method he obtains the results in Table 7 for the decade 1910-1920:

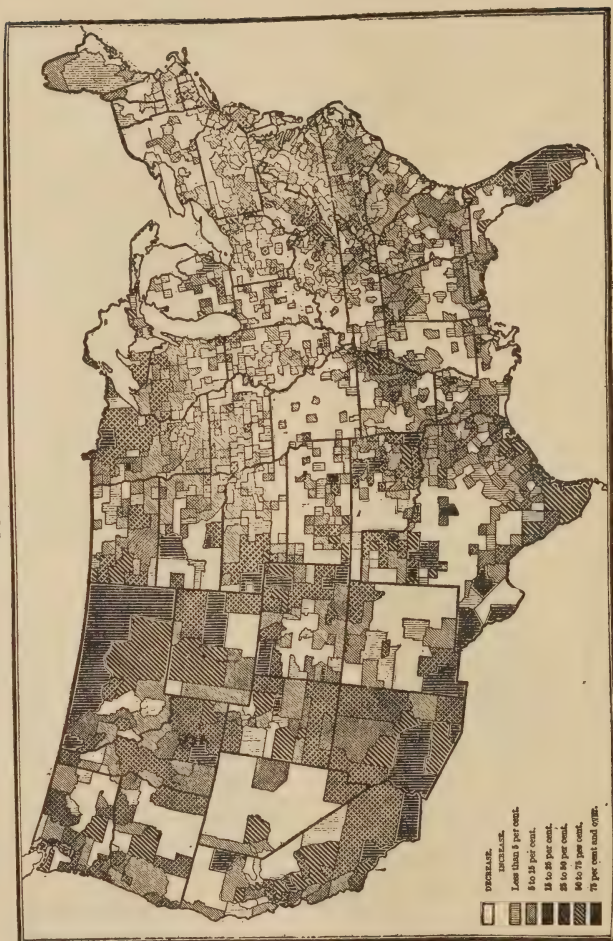
²⁰ See *A Study in Social Dynamics*, American Statistical Ass'n, Vol. XV, 363-381.

FIGURE 9.—PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE IN POPULATION OF TERRITORY RURAL IN 1920, BY STATES: 1910-1920.²¹



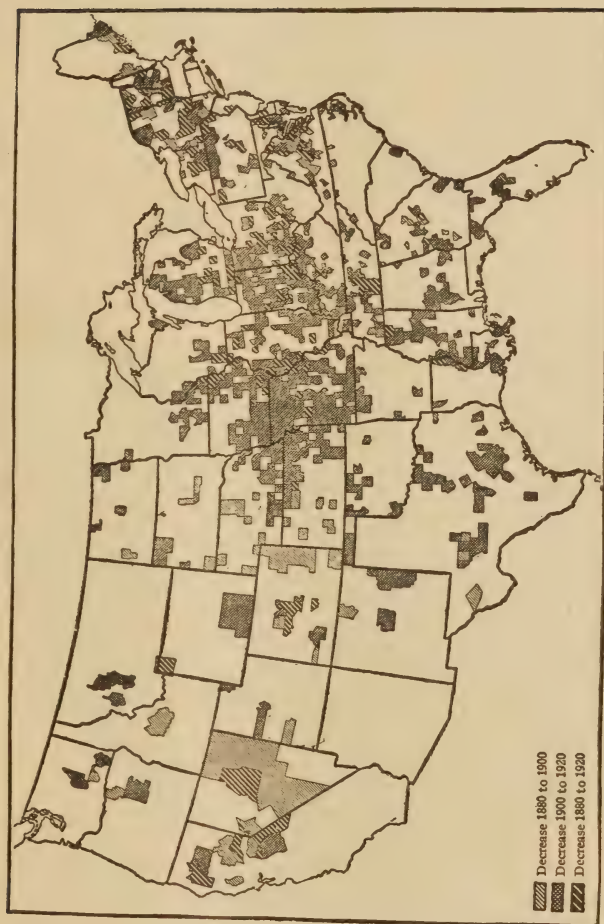
²¹ *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. I.

FIGURE 10.—PER CENT OF INCREASE OR DECREASE IN TOTAL POPULATION, BY COUNTIES:
1910-1920.²²



²² Rossiter, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

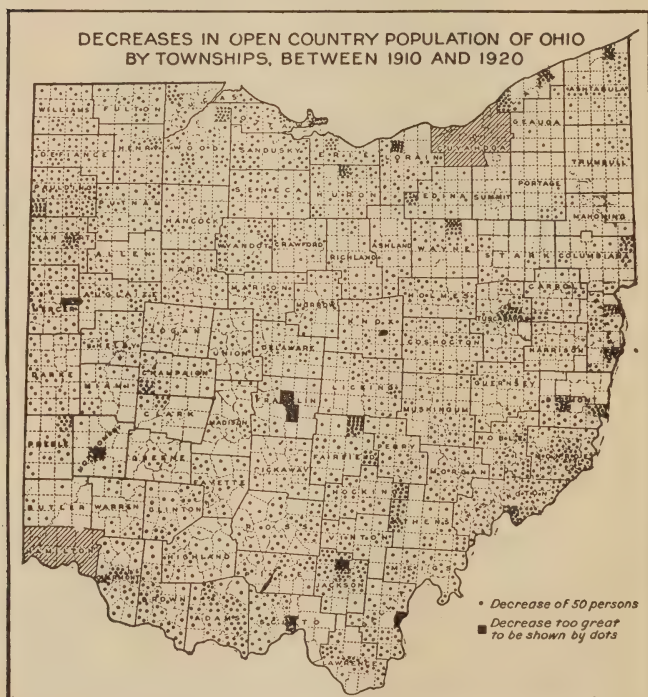
FIGURE 11.—COUNTIES IN WHICH POPULATION DECREASED: 1880-1920.²³



²³ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

TABLE 7.—SOURCES OF GAINS AND LOSSES IN RURAL POPULATION :
1910-1920.²⁴

FACTORS	GAINS	LOSSES	DIFFERENCES
Immigration	754,000		
Natural Increase	7,087,000		
Incorporation		990,000	
Rural Migration		5,584,000	
Net Gain			1,267,000
Census Increase (difference)			1,600,000

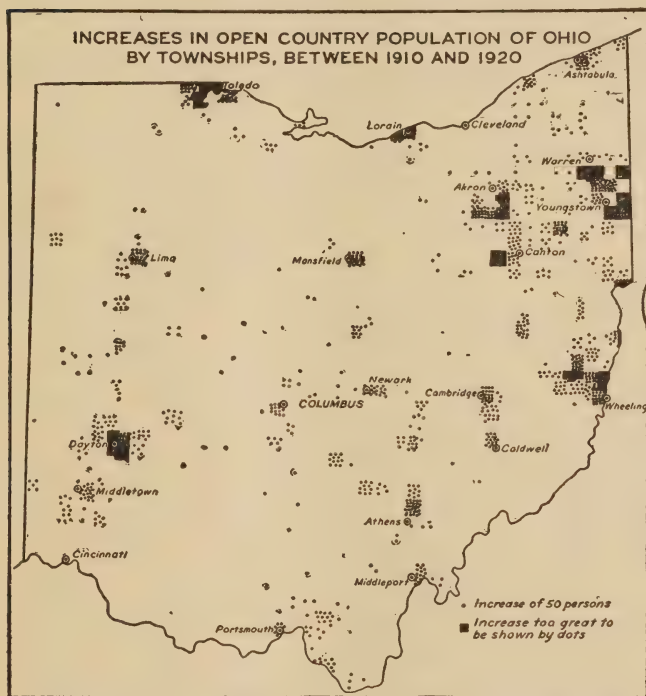
FIGURE 12.—DECREASES IN COUNTRY POPULATION.²⁵

²⁴ See J. M. Gillette, *An Estimate of Rural Migration and Other Sources of Urban Increase*, Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XIX, p. 189.

²⁵ C. E. Lively, *Journal of Farm Economics*, July, 1924.

The discrepancy in the gain attributed by the census and that calculated by Professor Gillette arises from the use of different methods in estimating the several factors. The lack of complete data for the country dwelling population for 1910 permits only rough estimates of gains such

FIGURE 13.—INCREASES IN COUNTRY POPULATION.²⁶



as are shown. Perhaps it would be safe to say that the true figures lie midway between those of the census and Gillette.

The sources of gain and loss can best be determined by more detailed studies of specific cases. A few studies of this sort have been made. We may cite one which has

²⁶ *Ibid.*

been made of Ohio by Professor C. E. Lively. Leaving out of account the two counties of the state which are largely occupied by the cities of Cincinnati and Cleveland, Professor Lively analyzed the change in the open country population of the remaining 86 counties embracing 1,317 townships between 1910 and 1920. He found that 315 showed increase, 994 decrease, and 4 no change in open country population. Figures 12 and 13 show the situation as discovered by Professor Lively.

The causes assigned for the gains and losses as analyzed by Professor Lively are given in the following table.

TABLE 8.—CAUSES OF INCREASES AND DECREASES BY TOWNSHIPS TENTATIVELY ASSIGNED.²⁷

CAUSES	NUMBER OF TOWNSHIPS	PER CENT
Increases	315	100.0
Moderate shift in industrial unincorporated village and open country population	224	77.1
Expansion of cities without incorporation	63	20.0
Changes in mining population	17	5.4
Decline of seven villages formerly incorporated	7	2.2
Unexplained	4	7.3
Decreases	998	100.0
Moderate shift in agricultural unincorporated village and other open country population	943	94.5
Incorporation of 58 villages	21	2.1
Incorporation of large cities	13	1.3
Changes in mining population	9	0.9
Unexplained	12	1.2

The total decrease of the open country population in this state was 20,440, whereas the unincorporated villages gained 17,335. The loss of open country population seems to be closely correlated with the fact that the number of farms declined by 13,844.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

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- *4. ROSSITER, WM S. "Increase of Population in the United States 1910-1920," *Census Monographs I*, 1922.
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III

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RURAL PEOPLE

SEX DISTRIBUTION

THE rural population of the United States has more men than women. American agriculture is essentially a male occupation demanding the labor of males in greater degree than of females. This fact is especially noteworthy as regards the hired labor on the farms. Some specific facts in confirmation of the foregoing statement have been brought out in a study of the farm population of eight selected counties, where it appears that there is an average of 165.8 males to every 100 females.¹

Urban occupations in contrast to rural offer better opportunities for women undertaking self-support, hence many gravitate to the cities. This is conspicuously true of residential and textile manufacturing cities. When we turn to metal working and commercial centers, there we find more men. However, the demands of the various types of cities so check against one another as to give practically an equal number of men and women in the whole urban area. This is indicated in Table 9.

Some interesting facts relative to the rural village, that is, places ranging from 250 to 2,500, have been brought out by the studies made in the several sections of the country by The Institute of Social and Religious Research. Thirty-four villages in the Middle Atlantic states showed 88 males to 100 females as compared with 111 males to 100 females on the farms and 96 males to 100 females in the selected

¹ "Farm Population of Selected Counties," Department of Commerce, *Bureau of the Census*, 1924.

cities of that section. Forty-four Southern villages showed 94.3 males to 100 females compared with 93.6 males to 100

TABLE 9.—SEX DISTRIBUTION BY MAJOR DIVISIONS, 1920.

DIVISION	MALES PER 100 FEMALES			
	Total population	Farm population	Rural population	Urban population
United States	104.0	109.1	108.0	100.4
New England	98.5	111.7	104.8	96.9
Middle Atlantic	101.4	110.6	106.5	99.7
East North Central	105.7	111.5	108.6	103.9
West North Central	106.1	114.5	110.4	99.5
South Atlantic	101.2	103.6	103.9	95.4
East South Central	101.1	103.8	103.4	93.8
West South Central	105.8	107.9	107.9	101.0
Mountain	115.7	119.5	122.0	105.5
Pacific	113.9	126.6	128.4	106.1

females for ten selected cities of the Southern section. In 65 Middle Western villages there were 95 males to 100 females whereas the farms showed a ratio of 113 to 100 and

TABLE 10.—SEX DISTRIBUTION BY COLOR AND NATIVITY, 1920.

CLASS	MALES PER 100 FEMALES	
	Rural	Urban
Total	108.0	100.4
White	109.0	100.5
Negro	101.2	95.4
Native White Total	106.7	96.9
Native Parentage	106.3	98.6
Foreign Parentage	110.4	95.0
Mixed Parentage	107.2	92.5
Foreign-born White	141.8	115.9
Indians and Others	126.6	276.9

ten cities a ratio of 99 to 100. The 34 villages of the Far West showed 105 males to 100 females as compared with

TABLE 11.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF FARM, RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION BY MAJOR DIVISIONS, 1920.

DIVISION	PER CENT OF TOTAL											
	Total population			Farm population			Rural population			Urban population		
	Under 10 yrs.	10-21 yrs.	21 yrs. and over	Under 10 yrs.	10-21 yrs.	21 yrs. and over	Under 10 yrs.	10-21 yrs.	21 yrs. and over	Under 10 yrs.	10-21 yrs.	21 yrs. and over
United States	21.7	20.7	57.6	25.7	24.7	49.5	24.6	23.0	52.4	19.0	18.5	62.5
New England	19.7	18.3	62.0	18.8	19.8	61.4	19.7	18.6	61.7	19.6	18.2	62.1
Middle Atlantic	20.6	18.9	60.4	20.1	21.4	58.5	22.2	19.9	57.8	20.1	18.6	61.3
East North Central	20.2	19.1	60.7	22.5	22.5	55.0	21.8	21.1	57.1	19.2	17.9	62.9
West North Central	21.2	20.8	58.0	24.9	23.6	51.5	23.4	22.3	54.3	17.4	18.3	64.2
South Atlantic	24.9	23.6	51.6	28.6	26.8	44.6	27.6	25.2	47.2	18.7	20.0	61.3
East South Central	24.9	24.2	50.9	27.5	26.3	46.2	26.9	25.3	47.8	18.2	20.5	61.4
West South Central	24.4	24.4	51.2	27.9	27.0	45.1	26.8	25.8	47.4	18.7	20.9	60.4
Mountain	23.1	20.2	56.2	26.9	22.9	50.2	25.5	21.1	53.4	19.0	18.8	62.2
Pacific	17.2	16.9	65.9	21.1	20.1	58.7	20.3	18.6	61.2	15.3	15.9	68.8

107.7 males to 100 females in eight cities of that region. Thus in all sections, save the Far Western, there is a marked disparity between the number of the sexes in the villages. The outstanding characteristic of the villages in so far as sex distribution is concerned is that they are neither urban nor rural, but in a class by themselves.

The masculine character of rural society holds with respect to every age group as well as each color and nativity class. Table 10 shows this for various classes by color and nativity. The sum total excess of males over females for 1920 aggregated over 1,988,000.

AGE DISTRIBUTION

Altho rural society is unbalanced in so far as the number of the sexes is concerned, it is more normal than urban as regards its age groups.

An inspection of Table 11 will reveal that in the age groups up to twenty-one years the farms in particular and the rural group in general have a greater number than the urban districts. This holds true for every section of the country except New England.

TABLE 12.—MORE DETAILED AGE DISTRIBUTION, 1920.

AGE GROUP	PER CENT IN EACH GROUP		
	Total	Rural	Urban
Under 5 Years	10.9	12.3	9.7
5-9 Years	10.8	12.3	9.3
10-14 Years	10.1	11.6	8.6
15-19 Years	8.9	9.7	8.2
20-44 Years	38.4	33.8	42.7
45 Years and Over	20.8	20.2	21.4
Age Unknown	00.1	00.1	00.1

On the basis of the distribution indicated in Table 12, 100,000 urban dwellers compared with 100,000 rural people

would show the numbers in each age group as indicated in Table 13.

TABLE 13.—NUMBER IN EACH AGE GROUP OF 100,000 URBAN COMPARED WITH 100,000 RURAL PEOPLE.

AGE GROUP	URBAN	RURAL
Under 5 Years	9,700	12,300
5-10 Years	9,300	12,300
10-15 Years	8,600	11,600
15-20 Years	8,200	9,700
20-45 Years	42,700	33,800
45 and Over	21,400	20,200
Age Unknown	100	100

This difference between city and country in age grouping is not peculiar to America. It is more or less typical, I take it, of the western nations generally. In Germany, for example, there is a situation analogous to our own. This is shown in the following table.

TABLE 14.—AGE GROUPING PER 1,000 POPULATION IN URBAN AND RURAL GERMANY.

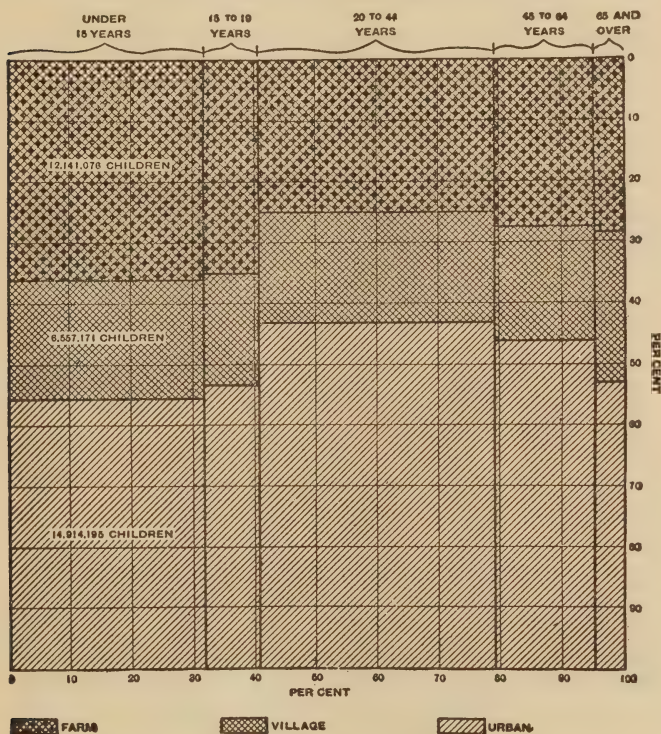
AGE GROUP	IN LARGE CITIES	OUTSIDE LARGE CITIES
Under 16 Years	305	380
16-30	301	243
30-50 Years	264	226
50-70 Years	111	131
Over 70 Years	19	29

Even tho the urban districts had more than half the total population of the nation in 1920, the country districts claimed an excess of nearly two and a third million children under ten years of age, and a total excess of children and youth under twenty years of over four millions.

Taking the farm population alone, the 1920 census showed 25.7 per cent were children under ten years of age.

Comparing the 30,000,000 farm people with an equal number in our cities, there would be 2,000,000 more children among the farmers. This means several things. For one

FIGURE 14.—POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE SEVERAL AGE GROUPS BY CLASS (FARM, VILLAGE, AND URBAN): 1920.²



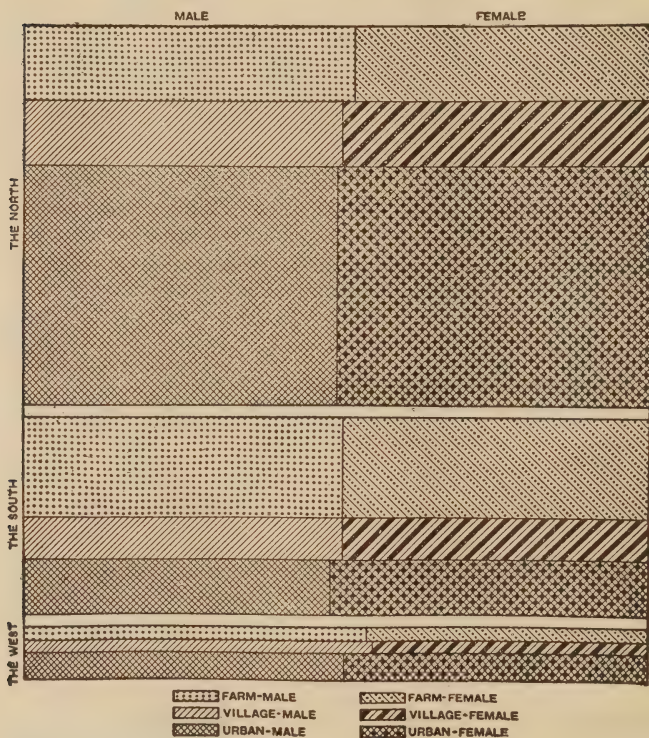
thing, it means a $6\frac{2}{3}$ per cent excess of non-producers in the country. It also means that a heavier burden of dependency is borne by the average farm family and a greater burden by the rural community for education.

The study of villages above referred to discloses the very

² Leon E. Truesdell, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

interesting fact that in those of the Middle Atlantic region there is a preponderance of elderly people. Only one-third of the men and women are between the ages of 20 and 45, while over one third are 45 or more.

FIGURE 15.—FARM, VILLAGE AND URBAN POPULATION OF THE NORTH, SOUTH, AND WEST, BY SEX: 1920.³



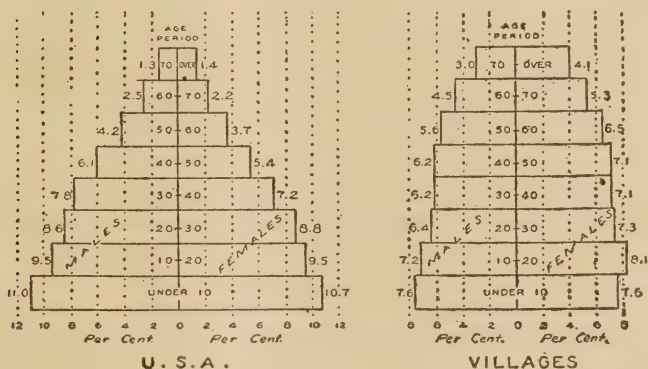
In the cities of this section four persons out of every ten are between 20 and 45, while only one-fourth are over 45.⁴ The villages of the Middle West show much the

³ Leon E. Truesdell, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁴ *American Village Studies*, Part I, pp. 4-5; *A Census Analysis of Middle Atlantic Villages*, by C. Luther Fry, Institute of Social and Religious Research.

same conditions. They average 30 per cent in the group 45 or more, in comparison with an average of 23.5 per cent in this group for the cities.⁵ In the Southern villages the age distribution was normal, that is, about the same as for the population of the United States as a whole. In the Far West the villages showed a slight excess of the elderly group over the normal per cent for the United States.⁶

FIGURE 16.—AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF THE 34 VILLAGES OF THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES AND OF THE UNITED STATES.⁷



There are outstanding differences in the age distribution as between the foreign-born group and the general rural population. But the foreign-born do not show any great difference in age grouping as between urban and rural except in two cases. There is a preponderance of urban dwellers in the class 20-44 years of age and a preponderance of rural dwellers in the class 45 years and over.

The significant difference between the urban and rural population in general as regards age lies in the fact that the former is a more dynamic and hopeful group because

⁵ *Ibid.*, Part III, p. 70.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Part IV, p. 125.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 7. Reproduced by permission of the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

it is more largely composed of those in the productive years of life. The rural group with more children and

TABLE 15.—AGE DISTRIBUTION FOR TOTAL POPULATION, NEGRO AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITES IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS, 1920.

AGE GROUP	TOTAL PER- CENTAGE IN ALL CLASSES		PERCENTAGE AMONG NEGROES		PERCENTAGE AMONG FOREIGN-BORN WHITES	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Under 5 Years ..	12.3	9.7	12.7	7.5	0.5	0.3
5-9 Years	12.3	9.3	14.1	8.2	1.5	1.2
10-14 Years	11.6	8.6	13.7	8.2	2.6	2.4
15-19 Years	9.7	8.2	11.2	8.7	3.4	4.0
20-44 Years	33.8	42.7	32.4	49.5	44.6	55.0
45 and Over	20.2	21.3	15.8	17.5	47.3	37.0

aged tends to be more deliberate, cautious and conservative, as is natural where more dependents are involved.

ETHNIC ELEMENTS

The ethnic and national composition of the rural population is an important factor in the rural situation. From the standpoint of primary races the rural group is more heterogeneous than the urban, for, as will be observed by consulting Table 16, one-sixth of the farm dwellers are colored whereas less than 7 per cent of the urban group were so classified in 1920. The colored races, being chiefly composed of the Negroes, are largely localized in the South. In this section fully one-fifth of the farms are occupied by Negroes. In 1920 there were 925,708 Negro farm owners, managers, and tenants, representing a total of 5,112,253 persons. Of these, 5,044,489 were found in the three southern divisions of states. The remainder of the colored farm population to the number of 188,362, composed of Indians, Japanese, and Chinese, were scattered thruout the country but mainly in the western states.

TABLE 16.—PER CENT OF VARIOUS ELEMENTS IN THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT TO COLOR AND NATIVITY, 1920.

CLASS	United States population	Farm population	Rural population	Urban population
White	89.7	83.2	86.0	93.2
White, Native	76.7	78.6	79.5	74.1
White of Native Parentage	55.3	66.6	65.9	45.2
Native-born White of Foreign Parentage		4.6	8.5	20.8
Native-born White of Mixed Parentage		4.6	5.0	8.1
Foreign-born White	13.0	4.7	6.5	19.1
All Colored	10.3	16.8	14.0	6.8
Negro	9.9	16.2	13.4	6.6

The foreign-born white stock in rural America is not large, being less than half as numerous as the colored population. In 1920 the foreign-born whites constituted but 6.5 per cent of the total rural population and but 4.7 per cent of the actual farm group. If, however, the American-born children of the foreign stock are included, then 20.1 per cent of the rural population must be classified as of foreign origin. Practically the same per cent of the farm dwellers are likewise of foreign origin. Figure 19 shows the distribution of the foreign-born rural stock.

As will be observed by consulting Figure 19, the stock of foreign birth is on the whole most numerous in the states along our northern border and the Pacific coast. When those born of foreign-born parentage are also counted, the following results are obtained. Washington has 41.5 per cent of its rural population composed of this element; Montana, 45.1; North Dakota, 68.1; South Dakota, 50; Minnesota, 64; Wisconsin, 55.3; and Michigan, 45.5. The Mountain and Pacific sections average high as do also New England and the Middle Atlantic states. In the Southern divisions this element is almost negligible; and one is impressed with the high degree of ethnic homo-

TABLE 17.—PER CENT OF FARM, RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION BY DIVISIONS WITH RESPECT TO COLOR AND NATIVITY.⁸

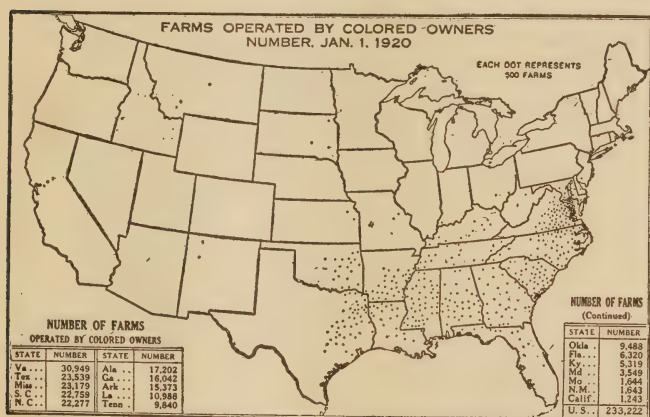
DIVISION AND STATE	PER CENT OF TOTAL											
	Total population			Farm population			Urban population			Rural population		
	Na- tive white	For- eign- born white	Col- ored	Na- tive white	For- eign- born white	Col- ored	Na- tive white	For- eign- born white	Col- ored	Na- tive white	For- eign- born white	Col- ored
United States	76.7	13.0	10.3	78.6	4.7	16.8	74.1	19.1	6.8	79.5	6.5	14.0
Geog. divisions:												
New England	73.6	25.3	1.1	87.3	12.4	0.3	70.7	28.0	1.3	84.5	14.9	0.6
Middle Atlantic	75.2	22.1	2.8	92.5	6.7	0.8	71.4	25.4	3.2	86.4	12.0	1.6
East North Central	82.5	15.0	2.5	92.3	7.1	0.6	77.3	19.2	3.5	90.6	8.4	0.9
West North Central	86.5	10.9	2.5	89.8	9.3	0.9	82.6	12.8	4.6	88.9	9.8	1.3
South Atlantic	66.7	2.3	31.0	63.1	0.3	36.6	68.4	5.1	26.4	65.9	1.0	33.1
East South Central	70.8	0.8	28.4	70.6	0.2	29.3	68.9	2.4	28.7	71.3	0.3	28.3
West South Central	74.8	4.5	20.8	73.8	2.7	23.5	74.3	7.4	18.3	74.9	3.3	21.8
Mountain	82.7	13.6	3.7	85.9	9.4	4.7	83.1	14.9	2.0	82.5	12.8	4.7
Pacific	77.6	18.6	3.8	78.6	15.8	5.7	76.9	19.7	3.4	78.8	16.7	4.5

⁸ *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. V, "Farm Population," p. 897.

geneity of the Southern whites in contrast to the marked ethnic heterogeneity of the white stock of the Northern states.

When the ethnic composition of the rural foreign stock is taken into account, this heterogeneity is not so important as one is inclined to think before making a careful analysis. Over 64 per cent of this stock originated in northwest Europe. It is from the British Isles, the Scandinavian

FIGURE 17.—FARMS OPERATED BY COLORED OWNERS, 1920.⁹



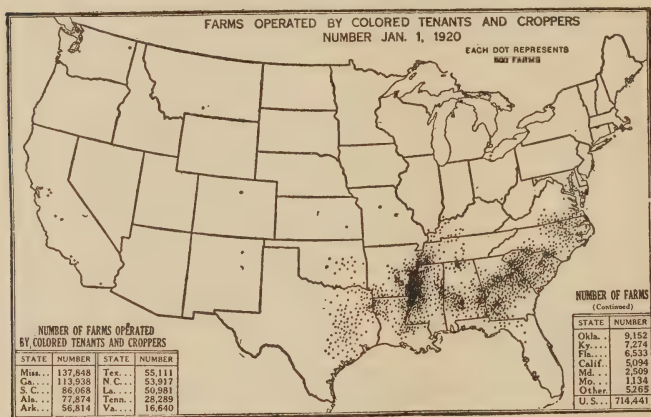
Peninsula, Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, Switzerland, and France. This means that it derives in general from the same sources as the bulk of the stock that originally settled America. The racial elements in rural America that are not of this original source constitute less than 8.5 per cent of the white population. Thus, better than 90 per cent of the white rural stock seems to be of one common blood. And 80 per cent of it may be said to be old American stock, for the total white group of foreign extraction is only 20 per cent of the whole. Incidentally,

⁹ From "A Graphic Summary of American Agriculture" by O. E. Baker. Separate from *Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture*, 1921, p. 95.

this situation presents a bold contrast to conditions prevailing in urban society, where less than one-half of the population is native white of native parentage and still fewer are the scions of the original stock that pioneered America.

To those who are wont to put much store by race as a societal force or civilization factor these facts will be full of meaning. Those racial dogmatists especially who

FIGURE 18.—FARMS OPERATED BY COLORED TENANTS AND CROPPERS, 1920.¹⁰

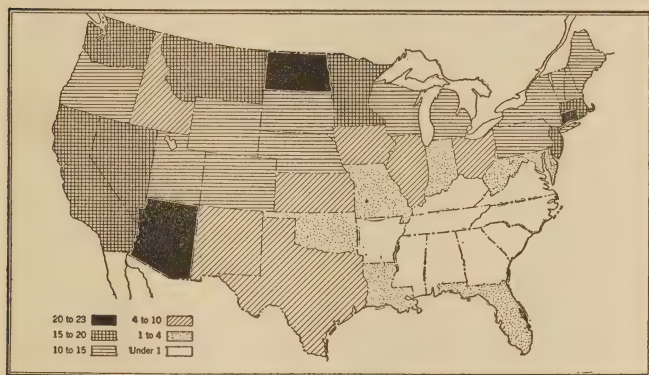


are suffering from a Nordic complex will see the hope of American civilization in its rural stock. But to those who have not become obsessed with the Nordic myth, no particular significance will be attached to the facts pointed out, for it is assumed that the race factor is of little sociological importance unless it chances to be a barrier to cultural assimilation. Altho one cannot ignore the peculiar difficulties in the process of assimilation under the conditions of isolation that prevail in the country, it is doubtful if there are any real grounds for racial discrimination on this score even in rural America.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

The evidence is clear that the old American stock of which so much is being made by race dogmatists was not preponderantly Nordic according to any of the standards of Nordicism that have been set up. In the first place, there are no pure races in Europe. Northwest Europe is peculiarly mongrel as the result of thousands of years of

FIGURE 19.—PER CENT RURAL POPULATION, FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, 1920.



stock mixing. Most mixed of all are the British Isles. Especially do those sections of England whence came the early colonists show an extremely hybrid population.¹¹ In the second place, the old Americans are now and were originally a mongrel lot as far removed from any pure racial strain as were their English forebears.¹² There is absolutely nothing from the standpoint of race purity to boast of in the old Americans. If there is any ground at all for pride, it lies in the fact that they were the most mongrelized of folks, for clearly it is such stocks that are and have always been the most fecund of culture and talent.

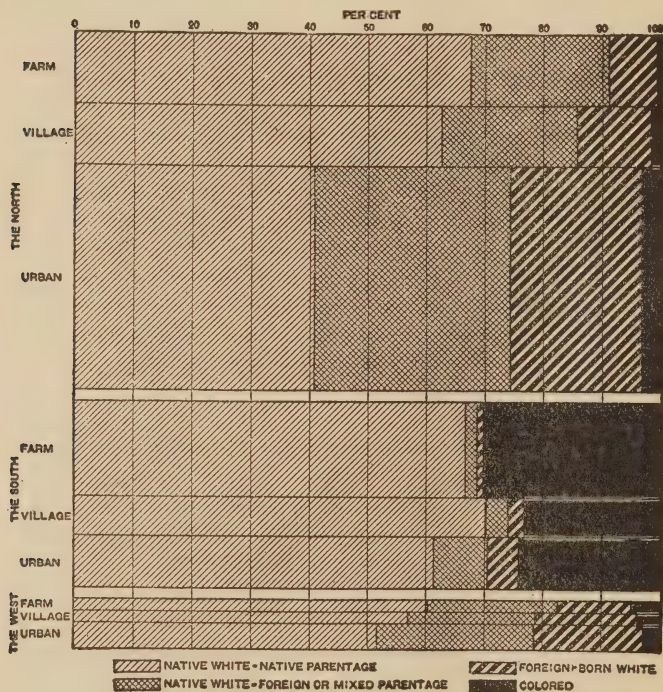
¹¹ F. G. Parsons, "The Color Index of the British Isles," *Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst.*, Vol. 50, 1920, pp. 159-83.

¹² Ales Hrdlička, *The Old Americans*, Baltimore, 1925.

VITALITY OF THE RURAL PEOPLE

The physical vigor and stamina or general vitality of any group is a sociological factor of primary importance.

FIGURE 20.—FARM, VILLAGE AND URBAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, BY RACE, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE: 1920.¹³



This can be measured by fecundity, mortality, and morbidity rates, and by other manifestations of physical energy.

Birth and death rates and the excess of one over the other afford one method of determining the vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data on births and deaths for

¹³ Leon E. Truesdell, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

the entire population, since only a part of the country is in the registration area. In 1920 only about 82.2 per cent of the population of the United States was living in territory where anything like a fairly accurate registration of deaths is made, and only 60 per cent of the population was found in a comparable birth registration area. Even at best the recorded data are incomplete and often untrustworthy. Whole regions, such as the Southern and Western states, are but meagerly represented in the registration; hence the birth and death rates for America are more or less estimates, and for the rural regions especially they are far more estimates than for the urban areas. The indirect methods that have to be employed in attempting to determine the rates cannot in the very nature of the case yield results that are much more than tentative and crude guesses. Bearing in mind the limitations of the data, we may nevertheless profitably employ a set of estimates of birth and death rates for the purpose of arriving at some conclusion regarding the vitality of the rural population. For our purposes the following table, compiled by Professor Gillette, is as good as any. In this we have the rural and urban rates compared and the natural increase of each group calculated. The process by which these rates were determined, weighed and adjusted according to age and sex distribution in the urban and rural areas, is a complicated one.¹⁴ At best the results only approximate the true conditions, but that is all that can possibly be done with the available facts. Were the census material of 1920 used, it is not probable that the figures would be materially altered.

Not only do the figures of this table indicate it, but every known fact bearing on the situation points to a far larger natural increase of the rural than of the urban population. From a careful study of the problem Professor Thompson came to the conclusion that in the space of a decade the rural population will increase by natural means 15 per cent, while the urban will increase by only 5 per

¹⁴ See J. M. Gillette, "A Study in Social Dynamics," *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. XV, New Series, No. 116, pp. 356-363.

TABLE 18.—RATES OF BIRTH AND DEATH, AND NATURAL INCREASE IN THE UNITED STATES FOR DECADE 1900-1910.¹⁵

Division	BIRTH RATE		TOTAL		DEATH RATE			RATE OF NATURAL INCREASE		
	Rural	Urban	Present Estimate	Children's Bureau Estimate	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
New England	21.0	24.4	23.6	24.4	16.0	17.1	16.9	5.0	7.3	6.8
Middle Atlantic	25.5	26.4	26.0	26.2	14.8	16.8	16.2	10.7	9.6	10.4
East North Central	25.2	24.7	25.2	24.2	12.8	13.9	13.4	12.4	10.8	11.6
West North Central	28.4	22.5	26.3	25.5	10.3	12.4	11.0	18.1	10.1	15.8
South Atlantic	34.4	25.4	32.1	31.2	15.5	19.4	16.4	18.9	6.0	16.0
East South Central	34.4	25.4	32.2	31.6	14.7	18.0	15.3	19.7	7.4	17.8
West South Central	36.4	27.0	34.1	32.2	12.5	16.8	13.4	23.9	10.2	21.6
Mountain	31.6	25.5	29.4	27.0	10.5	15.0	12.1	21.1	10.5	17.6
Pacific	24.6	20.4	23.1	19.9	12.0	13.8	13.0	12.6	6.6	9.8
United States	30.4	25.2	28.6	(27.1)	13.5	16.4	14.7	16.9	8.8	13.65

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

cent.¹⁶ This conclusion was reached thru a study of the ratio of children under 5 years of age to 1,000 women 15 to 44 years old in the urban and rural districts. On the basis of the 1910 census he found that in 36.6 per cent of the rural population there were 650 or more children per 1,000 women; in 52.5 per cent of it, 500 to 650 children; and in but 10.9 per cent of it less than 500 children per 1,000 women. Of the urban population only 25 per cent had more than 400 children per 1,000 women. The highest numbers were found in the Southern states, with the Middlewestern and Western next in order of rank and the New England and Middle Atlantic groups bringing up the rear. "Of the total white population," says Thompson, "in which the number of children exceeds 400 per 1,000 women, six sevenths live in rural districts and one seventh in urban."¹⁷ On the average there were 382 children under 5 years of age per 1,000 women in the urban and 603 in the rural districts.¹⁸

A subsequent study by the same author based on the 1920 census shows that there are on the average 391 children 0-4 years per 1,000 women 15-44 years in urban areas and 580 in rural. Thus the 12,756,691 white women of our cities have 4,995,277 children, whereas the 9,260,910 rural white women have 5,378,644 children of the age group under consideration, or a rural excess of 383,367 children. Putting the same facts in still another way, the rural white population, consisting of 44,200,831 persons, includes 12.2 per cent of children under 5 years of age, and the urban population of 50,620,084 persons includes 9.9 per cent of children of this age. The smaller rural group thus makes a better showing than the large urban group.¹⁹

Professor Thompson has compiled a very interesting table from the available data in order to show the proportion of children in the rural compared with the urban

¹⁶ W. S. Thompson, "Race Suicide in the United States," *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. V, p. 30.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ W. S. Thompson, "Rural Demography," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XIX, p. 156.

TABLE 19.—SHOWING THE PROPORTION OF CHILDREN 0-6 TO 1,000 WOMEN 18-44, ALSO OF CHILDREN 0-4 TO 1,000 WOMEN 15-44 AND TO 1,000 MARRIED, WIDOWED AND DIVORCED WOMEN 15- 44, 1920. ²⁰	PROPORTION OF CHILDREN 0-4 TO 1,000 M.W.D. WOMEN 15-44	PROPORTION OF CHILDREN 0-4 TO 1,000 WOMEN 15-44	PROPORTION OF CHILDREN 0-6 TO 1,000 WOMEN 18-44
<i>United States (white only):</i>			
Urban	629	391	
Rural	873	580	
<i>All Cities of 100,000 or more</i>	581	363	553
White		378	
Negro		189	
<i>Farm population of 8 se-</i> <i>lected counties</i>	900	594	
<i>Maine</i>			
Urban	642	378	
Rural	746	505	
<i>Pennsylvania</i>			
Urban	695	457	
Rural	943	621	
9 rural counties			916
25 counties not including places of 10,000 or more.			943
20 counties having no city of 10,000 or more			960
<i>Ohio</i>			
Urban	576	403	
Rural	781	526	
15 rural counties			844
34 counties not including places of 10,000 or more.			833
39 counties having no place of 10,000 or more			749
<i>West Virginia</i>			
Urban	607	400	
Rural	968	716	
6 mining counties not in- cluding places of 10,000 or more			1,108
12 rural counties			1,208
<i>Kentucky</i>			
Urban	439	338	
Rural	870	650	
7 rural counties			1,315
7 mining counties			1,133
<i>Kansas</i>			
Urban	516	366	
Rural	799	530	

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

population. It is to be noted that the rural group consistently shows more children than the urban in all the areas involved in this study. Table 19 is reproduced from Thompson's work.

A more adequate and convenient measure of vitality than the one just considered is found in the vital index. This is a statistical constant, which, better than any other, pictures the vital status of a population as a whole at any given time. Several methods have been used in calculating such an index, but the one employed by Professor Raymond Pearl seems to be the most convenient and satisfactory for our purposes.²¹ The idea involved is the ratio of births to deaths within a given time. The formula runs as follows:

$$\text{Vital Index} = \frac{100 \text{ Birth Rate}}{\text{Death Rate}}.$$

Whenever the ratio 100 Births/Deaths is greater than 100 the population is a healthy and increasing one. If the ratio is less than 100 the population is biologically unhealthy and of low vitality.

Professor Pearl has calculated four vital indices for urban, rural, and total births and deaths of the population in the Birth Registration Area, viz.: For native whites of native parentage, for foreign-born whites, for negroes, and for all whites. Limitations of space preclude reproducing many of the figures here, but we may cite those for a single year in order to show something of the relative vitality of the various elements of our population, and refer the students who care to pursue the subject farther to the source of the complete tables.²² Vital Index A, which is for the native whites of native parents, for the year 1915 is as follows: Rural, 141.1; Cities, 100.5; Total, 117.8. Vital Index B, which is for the foreign-born white stock, for the year 1915 is as follows: Rural, 215.4; Cities, 267.5; Total, 252.4. Vital Index C, which is for the negroes, for the year 1915 is as follows: Rural, 82.5; Cities, 93.1; Total, 91.4.

²¹ R. Pearl, "The Effect of the War on the Chief Factors of Population Change," *Science*, N. S., Vol. 51, 553-556, 1920. "The Vitality of the Peoples of America," *American Journal of Hygiene*, Vol. I, pp. 592-674.

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 648-651.

Vital Index D, which pertains to the entire white group, for 1915 gives the following: Rural, 179.0; Cities, 181.7; Total, 234.1. Comparing the indices of the various groups for this sample year, it appears that only for the native white stock is the value of the index higher for the rural than for the urban population. When these indices are calculated for a series of years, as Professor Pearl has done for 1915 to 1921, tho there are fluctuations from year to year, the general values and relations remain much the same.²³ The native stock continues to have a higher vital index in the country than in the city; the foreign stock a higher index in the city than in the country; and the foreign stock in both country and city to have a higher index than either the rural or urban native stock. And the rural Negroes, at least in the Southern registration states, as Pearl has shown in the paper cited, have a much higher index than those in urban districts.²⁴

These indices are misleading, however, unless the age distribution for country and city is taken into account. In the case of the native stock the female age distribution in the area considered was found to be distinctly less favorable for a high index in the rural than in the urban population. Nevertheless the rural group maintains an index of higher value than the urban in all the states included in the Birth Registration Area. In the case of the foreign stock the age composition of the female population even as with that of the native female population is more favorable to a high vital index in the cities than in the country. And in this group the city population fulfills the expectations and maintains a higher vital index than the rural and thus reverses the order of the native stock.

A graphic presentation of the facts just brought out will enable the student to comprehend the relative values of these indices at a glance. In Figures 21 and 22 are reproduced Professor Pearl's diagrams showing the vital indices for the native and foreign stocks in both the rural and

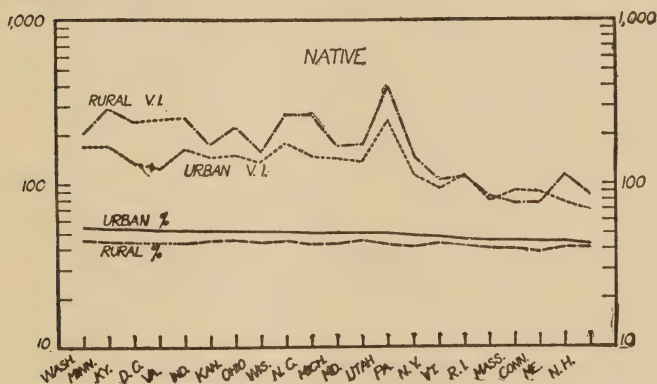
²³ Raymond Pearl, *Some Underlying Biological Factors in the Population Problem*. Paper read before the American Sociological Society, Dec. 28, 1923, at Washington, D. C.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

urban population groups of the Birth Registration Area as of 1918, together with the percentage of women 15-44 years of age in each group.

Obviously the vital index does not tell the whole story. It takes no account of disease and physical defects, but these are factors of primary importance, and any measure

FIGURE 21.—SHOWING (A) PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE-BORN WOMEN 15-44 IN URBAN POPULATION, (B) PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE-BORN WOMEN 15-44 IN RURAL POPULATION, (C) VITAL INDEX FOR NATIVE-BORN STOCK FOR URBAN POPULATION, (D) VITAL INDEX FOR NATIVE-BORN STOCK FOR RURAL POPULATION.²⁵

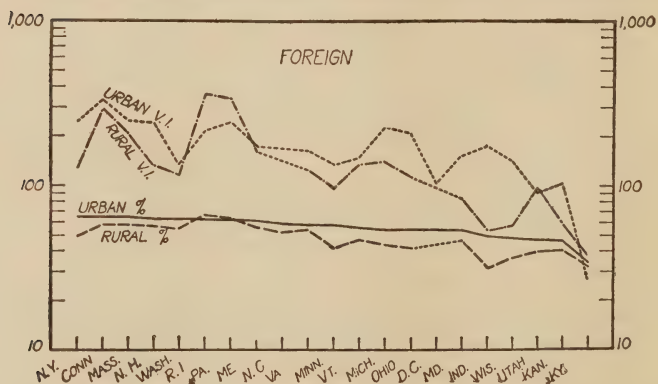


of the total vitality of a population must weigh them. Altho we shall fully treat the subject of health and sanitation in a subsequent chapter, reference to certain data tending to show how rural and urban dwellers compare with respect to defects and disease is necessary in this connection. An illuminating set of facts was gathered by the draft boards from the examination of recruits in the World War. In the following table, which is taken from the report of the Provost Marshall to the Secretary of War, a comparison is made of rejections among rural and urban recruits.

²⁵ Raymond Pearl, *op. cit.*, *American Journal of Hygiene*, Vol. I, p. 661.

The urban group was selected from boards in large cities, viz.: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Seattle, St. Louis, Cincinnati and New Orleans. The rural group was chosen from boards scattered thruout all the states where the number of registrants was less than 1,200. The results as indicated by the table are much more favorable for the rural than the urban registrants. The difference is nearly 5 per cent in favor of the rural.

FIGURE 22.—SHOWING (A) PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN WOMEN 15-44 IN URBAN POPULATION, (B) PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN WOMEN 15-44 IN RURAL POPULATION, (C) VITAL INDEX FOR FOREIGN-BORN STOCK FOR URBAN POPULATION, (D) VITAL INDEX FOR FOREIGN-BORN STOCK FOR RURAL POPULATION.²⁶



The urban rate of defects was 609 per 1,000; the rural, 528 per 1,000, among the men in the age group 21-31 years. One or two points may be specified. Obesity, for instance, was found to prevail in 2.37 cases to 1,000 of the urban recruits as compared with 1.49 per 1,000 cases among rural. Underweight for the city showed 31.3 per 1,000 and for the country 23.8.

A further study of the disqualifying defects among 45,000 rejects was made for eight urban and eight rural districts. The following table adapted from these data gives the average per cent rejected for each cause.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 663.

Out of the nineteen causes of rejection, the urban group exceeded the rural in ten and the rural made a worse showing than the urban in nine. The most striking difference is seen in the matter of developmental defects, where the superiority of the rural recruits is manifest. However, this advantage is practically offset by a better showing of the urban recruits as regards bones and joints. Other significant differences in favor of the rural group pertain to

TABLE 20.—RURAL AND URBAN PHYSICAL REJECTIONS COMPARED.²⁷

RURAL AND URBAN PHYSICAL REJECTIONS COMPARED	NUMBER	PER CENT OF EXAMINED
Total examined in 100 selected urban and rural regions	200,000	....
Rejected in 100 selected urban and rural regions	38,569	19.28
Examined in urban regions	100,000	....
Rejected in urban regions	21,675	21.68
Examined in rural regions	100,000	....
Rejected in rural regions	16,894	16.89

condition of eyes, ears, feet, etc., whereas the urban group is favored as regards the digestive tract, heart and blood vessels, teeth, thyroid, respiratory, and mental condition. On the whole, the Provost Marshall's conclusion that "the figures of both these studies indicate that a considerable physical advantage accrues to the boy reared in the country," seems fairly justified.²⁸

However, the Surgeon General expressed the opinion that the difference between city and country draftees was probably more apparent than real, since there was probably a more thorough examination given to the city recruits than to those in rural districts.²⁹ This may indeed be so, but there

²⁷ Second Report of Provost Marshal General to the Secretary of War on the Operations of the Selective Service System to December 21, 1918, p. 159.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

²⁹ *Bulletin No. 11*, Office of Surgeon General: Physical Examination of the First Million Draft Recruits: Methods and Results, p. 18.

are just as strong if not stronger reasons for thinking the figures comparable, and that they reflect the true situation in the differences indicated. In the first place, there was probably less haste in the examinations given in the rural

TABLE 21.—CAUSES FOR PHYSICAL REJECTIONS IN URBAN AND RURAL DISTRICTS COMPARED ³⁰

DISQUALIFYING DEFECTS	URBAN DISTRICTS AVERAGE PER CENT	RURAL DISTRICTS AVERAGE PER CENT
Total	100	100
1. Alcohol and Drugs	1.9	0.6
2. Bones and Joints	8.9	10.9
3. Developmental	9.7	6.3
4. Digestive System	0.2	0.3
5. Ears	5.8	4.4
6. Eyes	10.9	9.0
7. Flat Foot	9.3	7.4
8. Genito-urinary (venereal)	1.4	1.1
9. Genito-urinary (non-venereal)	1.2	1.5
10. Heart and Blood Vessels	8.9	10.4
11. Hernia	10.1	9.6
12. Mental Deficiency	1.5	3.9
13. Nervous and Mental Disorders	4.6	4.2
14. Respiratory (tuberculosis)	5.6	5.3
15. Respiratory (non-tuberculosis) ...	1.8	2.4
16. Skin	0.1	0.2
17. Teeth	5.9	6.7
18. Thyroid	2.0	3.4
19. Tuberculosis (non-respiratory) ...	0.1	0.1
20. Other Defects	0.7	0.5
21. Defects Not Stated	9.2	11.9

than in the urban district, for there was less pressure upon the examining physicians from numbers to be examined. And, tho the examiners may have been somewhat more competent in the urban than in the rural districts, it is reasonable to believe that the probability of greater care in examination in the rural districts tended to compensate for other shortcomings. In the second place, there is good

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

ground for accepting the findings at their face value, inasmuch as they are in substantial agreement with the findings of the German army with respect to its recruits. In the years before the war it was found that the larger the city the smaller the per cent of recruits able to pass the examinations, while the country districts showed the lowest per cent of rejections.³¹ Whether this was true of every year I have not determined, but the years consulted seem to be typical and indicative of the trend. Thus it seems reasonable to accept the figures showing that our rural recruits were physically fitter than the urban as correctly representing the situation.

Another source of light on the relative vigor of rural and urban dwellers is found in the study of children. A few years ago the National Council of Education made an extensive investigation of the health and physical condition of school children. From the statistics gathered the percentages of defects for urban and rural children were obtained. These appear in Table 22.

If the figures of this table give us a true picture of the situation, country children are markedly inferior in physical condition to city children. In fact, in many cases the defects are from 2 to 4 times as great and on the average they mount up close to double. Some doubt about the correctness of this picture is raised when we recall the fact that the army examinations tell a very different story. Moreover, other studies throw doubt on the correctness of Wood's findings. Taliaferro Clark, of the Public Health Service, reviewing numerous studies of city and country school children, concludes there is less difference than Wood has shown. Clark found fewer refractive defects in country than in city children.³² Where the doctors disagree there is ground for cautious judgment. Indeed, it is difficult to account for the change reversing the positions of the urban and rural groups between childhood

³¹ R. H. Gault, *Social Psychology*, p. 288.

³² Taliaferro Clark, "The Need and Opportunity for Physical Education in Rural Communities," *American Physical Education Review*, Vol. 24, No. 8 (Nov., 1919).

and practical maturity when country children are so handicapped at the beginning as the table shows. If the data are not wrong, then the explanation of the change must be sought either in the influence of environment or a selective death rate. We are reasonably certain that the death

TABLE 22.—SHOWING PER CENT OF DEFECTS, URBAN AND RURAL CHILDREN.³³

TYPE OF DEFECT	PER CENT OF CHILDREN	
	Rural	Urban
Mental	0.8	0.2
Heart Disease	0.74	0.40
Lung Disease	1.25	0.32
Unclean	1.7	0.17
Anemia	1.65	1.5
Spinal Curvature	3.5	0.13
Breathing Defects	4.2	2.1
Ear Defects	4.78	1.28
Enlarged Glands	6.4	2.7
Malnutrition	16.6	7.65
Eye Defects	21.0	13.4
Adenoids	23.4	12.5
Tonsils	28.14	16.42
Teeth Defects	48.8	33.58

rate is lower for the country than for the city for the particular age groups involved. Professor Gillette has calculated the weighted death rates for city and country, assuming that each has the other's age distribution. For the groups concerned in our problem his figures are as follows:³⁴

Age	Urban Rate	Rural Rate
Under 5.....	775	341
5 to 14.....	100	56
14 to 24.....	114	106

³³ Data adapted from Chart of New York State Department of Health prepared by Dr. Thomas D. Wood and based on reports of communities of over 500,000 school children in 1918.

³⁴ J. M. Gillette, *Rural Sociology*, p. 136.

Hence in the light of these data the change is hardly due to a more rigid weeding out of the defectives in rural districts. Then it must be the country has a better environment for outgrowing the defects of childhood, unless it be that the city has a worse environment for inducing defects in manhood.

In addition to what has already been mentioned not much is known about the relative morbidity of country and city populations. The United States Public Health Service has made some local sickness surveys, but they are too limited to form the basis for any general conclusions. One survey covered Rochester, N. Y.; another, Trenton, N. J.; and a third, parts of North Carolina. A brief statement of the findings may be submitted for what they are worth. In North Carolina a sample of about 2.5 per cent of the population was studied during the month of April, which is considered to be the most healthful in that latitude. This state is, of course, essentially rural. Nearly 3 per cent of its population fifteen years of age and over was reported to be sick. In Rochester, N. Y., it was less than 2.5 per cent. The more distinctly rural counties of North Carolina showed a higher rate of sickness than the urban districts. The rate for the whole state was 28.5 sick persons per 1,000; in the coast counties it was 26.5; in the middle upland counties, 28.6; and in the mountain counties, 37.4. The larger cities of the state varied from 21.6 in Greensboro to 33.4 in Raleigh.

It is not likely that a fair canvass of rural America would show any such results as found in North Carolina, for this state is not generally typical of the country at large. What results would emerge from such a canvass no one can guess, but it is doubtful, age grouping considered, if the urban population would show less illness than the rural. Still, there is a suggestion in certain facts brought to light from the army camps that the rural population does not resist infectious diseases as readily as the urban. Such diseases were less frequent in camps made up of city recruits. This was noticeably true with respect to measles, mumps, pneumonia, cerebrospinal meningitis, influenza and

scarlet fever. This difference between camps of urban and rural recruits may have significance and it may not, for many factors enter in. If the difference really exists, the explanation is probably to be found in the fact that city recruits are more apt to be exposed to such diseases than are those from isolated rural areas. Those unable to resist would tend to be more effectively eliminated in childhood and those surviving to acquire immunity; and thus the city recruits would make a more favorable showing.³⁵

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³⁵ See Love and Davenport, *Archives Internal Medicine*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 129-153.

IV

THE MENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RURAL PEOPLE

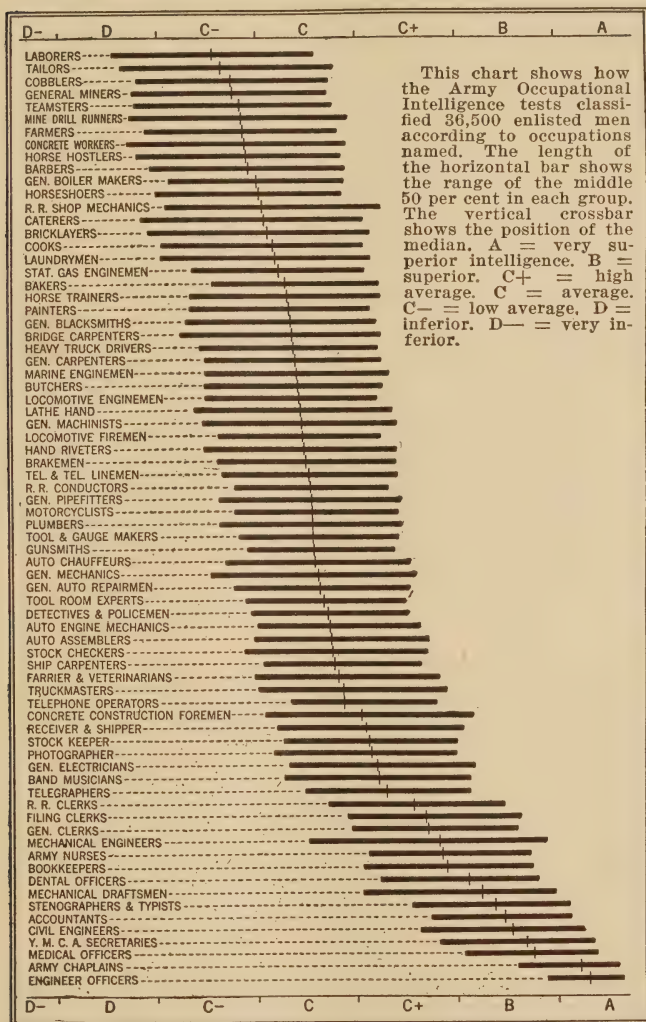
IN the preceding chapter the rural population was analyzed in its physical aspects. When, however, we undertake a similar analysis of its mental qualities, we are confronted with scarcity of data. Much has been done by way of measuring man physically because it is relatively easy to do this, but as yet the mental remains largely unknown because it is a difficult field to penetrate. About all we have by way of knowledge is a body of crude empirical opinion. To be sure, "mental measurements" have been undertaken. Indeed, they have become quite the vogue in educational circles, and "intelligence quotients," or I Q's, as they are referred to, are being calculated and used as the current coin of the educational realm. But perhaps no one, save the special pleader, the pseudo-scientist, and the uncritical popularizer, accepts them as true gauges of men's inherent mental capacities. For all that is measured by the testing processes in use, in so far as anything at all is even crudely and approximately measured, is "mental equipment," which seems to mean very largely experience. What men are born with is not and perhaps cannot be separated from what they have acquired; hence no existing test reveals man's mental nature as distinguished from his mental nurture. Individuals clearly vary in response to mental tests and the mechanisms in use measure the degree of this variability, but the cause of the variability is not measured. Hence the tests do not demonstrate a difference in native capacity. The cause of the variability is at least twofold. Much of it traces to difference in training and experience, but how much to difference in native endowment is not apparent in many cases.

HOW FARMERS RANKED IN THE ARMY TESTS

And yet numerous writers take the I Q's as a basis for classifying the population and proceed to give us the approximate numbers in the various grades along a scale ranging from the very superior to the very inferior. Those who are given to this sort of more or less harmful practice usually take their data from the army tests under which about 1,000,000 men of the draft were examined. As to these data more than has already been said is unnecessary, for nothing was measured by the army examinations save a certain kind of mental equipment. Hence, the findings are practically valueless as sources of conclusive evidence about the mental quality of the American people. Moreover, for our particular purpose of sizing up the rural group, they are of but little use, since there was no separation of urban from rural recruits. The only help that they do give is on purely occupational lines. A sample of the recruits were classified according to occupations and intelligence and in that sample we find farmers are included.

The following chart presents this classification and shows the farmers to be seventh from the bottom of the list of the seventy-four occupational groups in average intelligence. Their standing is a C— or “low average” intelligence. If this rating of countrymen in comparison chiefly with those engaged in urban pursuits were to be taken at its face value, there would remain little to say in their behalf. But this rating cannot be taken at its face value as representing the relative intelligence of the American farmer. There are several reasons for saying this. In the first place, the tests were of such a nature that urban experience would normally enable the individual to react more favorably to them than would rural experience. In other words, the tests were products of urban minds and tuned to catch the reactions of the urban-minded. Hence the farmer came to them with a handicap. In the second place, most all the capable farmers were kept at home to raise food, and it is not reasonable to think that the draftees from the country

FIGURE 23.—SHOWING THE RANK OF FARMERS IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER OCCUPATIONS IN THE ARMY OCCUPATIONAL INTELLIGENCE TESTS.¹



¹ From *National School Service*, February 15, 1919.

were at all a fair sample of the manhood of the farms. Most any group in this array of occupations was probably a fairer sample of its class than was the farming group. Even if we accept the ratings as they stand, it is easy to account for the low place given the farmer, for the tests sought to find those with quick reactions. And one would expect those from the city environment, where a premium is put on quickness, to show up better than those from the rural environment, where life is not speeded up. So we are not justified in taking this rating of farmers very seriously.

It must, however, be acknowledged that some support is given to the findings of the army tests as regards rural people by other mental tests. One that may be referred to here was made by Professor Hornell Hart in a study of a Middle West city of 50,000 population.² In this connection groups of children migrating to the city in question were tested and their quotients compared with those of children born in the city. There were 248 children from rural areas and small towns; 130 children from cities of more than 25,000 population; and 447 from the city under study. The average mental-test quotients of the three groups were as follows:

Group	Average Mental-Test Quotient
Families from rural areas and small towns.....	97.0 $\pm$.5
Families from other large cities.....	99.4 $\pm$.7
Families from the city itself.....	99.3 $\pm$.4

From these data there appears a difference of $2.3 \pm .6$ in the mental-test quotients of the children born and reared in the city and those migrating from rural and small town areas. The rural group are obviously somewhat inferior in ability as measured by these tests. In addition Hart says they were emphatically inferior in their school progress.

Altho there is a presumption that the rural stock that migrates to the city is of superior quality to that remaining

² Hornell Hart, "Urbanization of Population," in Louis I. Dublin's *Population Problems*, pp. 58-59.

behind, there is no way of telling whether the particular group studied by Hart was representative, super-representative or sub-representative of the rural stock. Moreover, in no case can we be sure the difference is not wholly due to a difference in the educational factors of rural and urban areas.

RURAL MENTAL DEFICIENCY

Another approach to our problem is the negative one. Thru bits of knowledge of one sort and another it is possible to form some estimate of the prevalence of mental deficiency among the rural people. Here the army examinations afford some help. It is estimated from the number of mental defects, that is, the feeble-minded discovered among the recruits, that the ratio 6.5 to 1,000 is approximately correct for men in the age groups 21-31 years. This is exclusive of those confined in state and private institutions.³ Whether this ratio holds uniformly for all age groups of the population and alike for men and women is not known. The presumption, however, is that it does not. As a matter of fact, it appears to be well established that the mortality among mental defectives is especially high in youth, with a frequency far greater among those under eighteen years of age than among those in age groups over eighteen years. Thus there would be fewer defectives in the more advanced age groups than in those of younger years. This being the case, it follows that there will normally be a greater percentage of mental defects in the rural than in the urban population, since the rural contains a larger proportion of youths and children under eighteen. Every age group, indeed, up to nineteen in the rural population has a considerably larger per cent of people than is shown by the urban population. This may be seen by consulting Table 13 in the preceding chapter.

On purely logical grounds it may therefore be asserted

³ See Dr. Pearce Bailey and Dr. Haber, "Mental Deficiency: Its Frequency and Characteristics in the United States as Determined by the Examination of Recruits." *Mental Hygiene* IV, 3, 1920, pp. 564-596.

that there are more defects in the rural than in the urban population. Entirely apart from any logical presumptions, there remains the fact that of the men rejected by the army boards "mental defectiveness" was the assigned cause on the average in 1.5 per cent of the cases among urban draftees as compared with 3.9 per cent among rural draftees. Since the age grouping is the same for both elements, the rural makes a positively poorer showing.

Certain surveys in a few localities and very limited in scope tend to substantiate the opinion that there is more mental defect among rural than among urban children. This is especially true as regards feeble-mindedness. One study, for instance, by Treadway and Lundberg of mental defects in a rural county of Delaware reveals in general a preponderance of defects among the rural as compared with the town children.⁴ Table 23 shows the facts as regards the white school children of this county. The figures of the table indicate an average of 1.28 per cent of mental defects for the country children in contrast to .87 per cent for the town children. There is no way of knowing to what extent these data are representative of the country at large. No general conclusions are, therefore, justified from such slender facts. But it is of some significance that these facts corroborate the army data and certain other studies, along with a good deal of empirical observation. A fairly strong presumption is, therefore, established that feeble-mindedness is more prevalent in the country districts than in the towns and cities.

At best one has to view the reports of all studies of this subject with a great deal of caution, for there are no standardized methods of measurement employed in the various surveys that have been made. Naturally there will be variation between communities and sections of the country as regards both rural and urban. Much of it will be real but some will be due wholly to the difficulty just mentioned. Thus for the whole population of this Delaware county about one-half of 1 per cent are estimated to be defec-

⁴ Walter L. Treadway and Emma O. Lundberg, "Mental Defect in a Rural County," 1919 Children's Bureau, *Publication No. 48*.

TABLE 23.—PREVALENCE OF MENTAL DEFECT IN WHITE SCHOOL CHILDREN.⁵

Locality	Number inspected			Number and per cent mentally deficient					
	Total	Boys	Girls	Total		Boys		Girls	
				Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
Whole county	6,004	3,014	2,990	67	1.11	46	1.52	21	0.70
East Side:									
Country	1,858	1,000	858	27	1.45	18	1.80	9	1.05
Towns	1,371	679	692	11	.80	6	.88	5	.72
West Side:									
Country	1,719	815	904	19	1.11	15	1.84	4	.44
Towns	1,056	520	536	10	.95	7	1.35	3	.56

tives.⁶ An Indiana survey of ten counties finds 1.65 per cent of the general population defective.⁷ In California, school surveys indicate one to four per cent of the children of school age are defectives.⁸ But since "defect" does not always mean exactly the same thing or at least is not measured by precisely the same method, these figures are hardly comparable. Thus an investigation in Ohio has this to say of its method: "In general no formal psychological tests were given, but the Suspected Cases were judged on a sociological basis with the possession of ability or inability to maintain existence accepted as the essential difference between the normal and feeble-minded persons."⁹ This same lax method was employed in the Indiana survey. So it is unsafe to talk in terms of exact figures about the relative amount of feeble-mindedness in country and town.

In addition to the presumption tentatively established by such facts as we have cited, there are certain other reasons that strengthen the probability that there are more mental defects in the country than in the town population. Not the least of these is the prevalence of inbreeding in isolated rural districts. Altho it is not known how much

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁷ *Mental Defects in Indiana; A Survey of Ten Counties*, State Board of Charities.

⁸ *Surveys in Mental Deviation*, p. 28.

⁹ Mina A. Sessions, *The Feeble-minded in a Rural County in Ohio*, p. 5.

feeble-mindedness can justly be attributed to heredity, it is pretty certain that much of it rises from this source, and inbreeding would tend to increase it. Again, in the drainage of the country population to the city, in so far as the culls of humanity are left behind, as they seem to have been in many cases, more mental defectives will normally appear. Thus there are hill towns in New England where scarcely a normal family remains. A study of one such town, whose population had fallen from a maximum of some 1,500 three or four generations ago to about 300, led the investigator who made the study to conclude that fully ninety per cent of the present population were abnormal. Other regions, as we have already stated, are showing the influence of a culling out process which presumably leaves a disproportionate number of defectives in the country.

The eugenists are disposed to argue that the very nature of country life is conducive to a lower mental type than is selected by the life of the urban environment, because the former is sheltering, whereas the latter exposes to merciless competition. Thus Professor Roswell H. Johnson says: "The contrast between the introvert who prefers the undisturbing quality of the country and the extrovert who is oppressed by what seems to him to be its colorlessness is probably the largest differentiating factor. Another factor is the relatively stabilized life of agriculture, where there is a well-known standard procedure readily learned by imitation. This is comforting to some limited minds who are uncomfortable when confronted with the new on all sides. The life of the agricultural laborer or hireling fits a still more inferior type, where there is little real responsibility, where the chores are definitely known and of a routine nature, and where his life is sheltered and aid is available to him in meeting his problems. In fact, some of the protective features of serfdom and slavery are available here, just as in the case of the domestic servant. These conditions draw to the country on the whole an intellectually inferior type as shown in the comparative mental test results referred to earlier. Of course, there is a contrasted current of retired business men, engineers, and the like,

who choose to retire to the peace of the country after an over-taxing life; but this contribution has little significance, since they usually retire after the child-bearing period of their wives, and their children have already built up the city habit and do not become actual country folk.”¹⁰

There is much truth in this statement, but it can be easily overemphasized, for it is open to question whether the country affords more of a sheltering environment for those of low grade mind than does the city. There are plenty of nooks and crannies in the urban environment where the inferior seek refuge. These shelters are different from those found in the country, but no one can say positively that they do not harbor as many inferiors as the country shelters do.

Notwithstanding the facts and presumptions so far established, data showing first admissions of the feeble-minded to institutions during 1922 do not indicate that the rural population is as defective as the urban. The following tables taken from a recent bulletin of the Federal Department of Commerce on “Feeble-minded and Epileptics in Institutions; 1923,” present the facts in detail. These data are from 139 state, city, Federal, and private institutions. There are 122 institutions for feeble-minded and 17 for epileptics represented in the list.

These figures are highly favorable to the rural group both for feeble-mindedness and epilepsy. In the case of epilepsy, the ratio of first admissions per 100,000 of the population in urban districts was 1.7 and in rural districts 0.9. In the case of feeble-mindedness it will be seen that the ratio per 100,000 of the population for urban districts is higher than for rural districts in every section of the United States with the exception of New England. Despite these data we cannot call the case settled in behalf of the rural community. For it is altogether probable that a much smaller proportion of the feeble-minded and epileptic groups are committed to such institutions from rural districts than from urban districts. Moreover, the states with

¹⁰ Roswell H. Johnson, “The Eugenics of the City,” *Publications American Sociological Society*, Vol. XX, p. 68.

TABLE 25.—FIRST ADMISSIONS TO INSTITUTIONS FOR FEEBLEMINDED DURING 1922, BY MENTAL STATUS, ENVIRONMENT, AND SEX.¹¹

MENTAL STATUS	Total number ^a	URBAN						RURAL					
		Number			Per cent distribution			Number			Per cent distribution		
		Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male
Total.....	7,259	4,615	2,610	2,005	100.0	100.0	100.0	2,239	1,214	1,025	100.0	100.0	100.0
Idiot	2,064	602	335	267	13.0	12.8	13.3	365	203	162	16.3	16.7	15.8
Imbecile	2,650	1,568	937	631	34.0	35.9	31.5	945	537	408	42.2	44.2	39.8
Moron	3,064	2,181	1,191	990	47.3	45.6	49.4	782	403	379	34.9	33.2	37.0
Unclassified feeble- minded	231	109	50	59	2.4	1.9	2.9	100	48	52	4.5	4.0	5.1
Not feeble-minded...	141	100	67	33	2.2	2.6	1.6	27	17	10	1.2	1.4	1.0
Unknown	109	55	30	25	1.2	1.1	1.2	20	6	14	0.9	0.5	1.4

^a Includes 405 first admissions whose previous environment was not reported.¹¹ *Bulletin Federal Department of Commerce*, "Feeble-minded and Epileptics in Institutions, 1923."

TABLE 26.—NUMBER OF FIRST ADMISSIONS TO INSTITUTIONS FOR FEEBLEMINDED DURING 1922 PER 100,000 POPULATION OF SAME SEX AND ENVIRONMENT, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS.

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	PER 100,000 POPULATION OF SAME ENVIRONMENT AND SEX					
	Urban			Rural		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
	8.5	9.6	7.4	4.4	4.5	4.1
United States.....	7.2	7.9	6.5	10.8	6.2	15.6
New England	10.2	12.0	8.3	8.6	8.8	8.4
Middle Atlantic	9.9	11.9	7.7	5.8	6.9	4.6
East North Central	6.0	6.6	5.4	4.8	4.7	5.0
West North Central.....	7.5	7.9	7.1	3.1	3.3	2.9
South Atlantic	1.6	1.9	1.3	0.5	0.7	0.2
East South Central.....	2.7	1.2	4.1	1.1	1.3	0.9
West South Central.....	5.3	5.9	4.6	4.2	4.8	3.6
Mountain	12.4	10.8	14.1	10.8	10.7	11.0
Pacific						

TABLE 27.—FIRST ADMISSIONS TO INSTITUTIONS FOR EPILEPTICS DURING 1922, BY ENVIRONMENT, TYPE OF EPILEPSY, AND SEX.

TYPE OF EPILEPSY	Total number ^a	URBAN						RURAL					
		Number			Per cent distribution			Number			Per cent distribution		
		Total		Fe- male	Total		Fe- male	Total		Fe- male	Total		Fe- male
		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female	
Total.....	1,421	571	338		100.0	100.0		463	305	158	100.0	100.0	
Symptomatic	224	109	57		18.3	19.1		56	35	21	12.1	11.5	13.3
Idiopathic	1,107	431	267		76.8	75.5		378	247	131	81.6	81.0	82.9
Not epileptic	57	10	13		2.5	1.8		19	13	6	4.1	4.3	3.8
Unknown	33	21	1		2.4	3.7		10	10	..	2.2	3.3	..

^a Includes 49 first admissions whose previous environment was not reported.

large urban populations have more adequate institutions of this sort and hence show a larger proportion of the classes in question under institutional care than do many states that are preponderantly rural. Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that owing to less adequate home facilities, city people are compelled to make greater use of institutions in the care of their mentally deficient than are country people. In view of these considerations it is therefore not reasonable to conclude that the advantage really lies with the rural population. Indeed, it is doubtful if the data from institutions are of sufficient significance to overthrow the presumption that there is more mental deficiency among rural than among urban dwellers.

From certain other sources we get light on the negative aspects of mental status in the country districts. These are data on commitments to institutions for the care of the insane, suicide rates, and perhaps other facts indicating the prevalence of pathological mental conditions among rural dwellers. In the case of suicide rates we have evidence of mental instability. Table 28 gives data for the past two census years. Table 29 gives the rate in detail for the several states and cities of the death registration area in 1920.

TABLE 28.—RATE OF SUICIDES PER 100,000 POPULATION FOR REGISTRATION AREA, 1910 AND 1920. MORTALITY STATISTICS U. S. BUREAU OF CENSUS.

	1920	1910
Registration Area	10.2	16.0
Registration States		
Total	10.2	15.3
Cities	12.0	17.9
Rural	8.5	12.4
Registration cities in non-reg. states....	11.7	21.2
All reg. cities.....	12.0	18.6

For the registration states in 1922, the urban rate was 14.3 suicides for 100,000 people, the rural rate 9.5. In virtually all districts the city rate outranks the rural rate

TABLE 29.—RATE OF SUICIDE PER 100,000 POPULATION, 1920, IN REGISTRATION AREA.¹²

	Cities	Rural
New England	10.42	10.93
Maine	8.83	11.03
New Hampshire	9.80	12.45
Vermont	12.50	12.45
Massachusetts	10.17	10.31
Rhode Island	10.17	7.76
Connecticut	11.12	11.56
Middle Atlantic	10.87	11.28
New York	11.13	12.92
New Jersey	10.98	13.25
Pennsylvania	10.50	7.66
South Atlantic	9.30	4.35
Delaware	10.00	5.31
Maryland	12.04	6.29
West Virginia		
Virginia	7.63	4.86
North Carolina	6.77	3.51
South Carolina	9.25	2.84
Georgia		
Florida	10.12	3.28
East North Central.....	11.42	9.86
Ohio	10.96	9.90
Indiana	11.87	10.98
Illinois	13.36	9.38
Michigan	9.81	9.58
Wisconsin	11.12	9.46
East South Central.....	10.25	4.66
Kentucky	13.89	6.54
Tennessee	8.04	4.71
Alabama		
Mississippi	8.82	2.72
West North Central.....	16.30	9.47
Minnesota	14.77	9.41
Iowa		
Missouri	16.38	9.02
North Dakota		
South Dakota		
Nebraska	18.73	10.15
Kansas	15.31	9.32

¹² Data compiled from *Mortality Statistics*, United States Census Bureau.

	Cities	Rural
West South Central.....		
Arkansas		
Louisiana	10.28	2.68
Oklahoma		
Texas		
Mountain	14.29	10.95
Montana	19.66	14.85
Wyoming		
Colorado	20.16	13.15
New Mexico		
Utah	13.04	4.86
Idaho		
Nevada		
Arizona		
Pacific	20.00	13.08
Washington	20.87	15.66
California	21.48	11.98
Oregon	17.66	11.59

by about 30 per cent. It will be observed that this table reveals different rates for the country and city, but the difference is not uniform. Thruout most of the New England and Middle Atlantic areas, the cities make a slightly better showing than the rural districts, but this order is radically reversed everywhere else. In twenty-seven out of thirty-four states included in the area, the rural rate is markedly lower than the urban. In New England, New York and New Jersey, the unfavorable showing of the rural group is apparently exceptional. The explanation may lie in the fact of an excessive drainage of the rural regions of these states by city migration leaving a decimated population of low-grade physical and mental quality to struggle against adverse conditions and growing discouragements. There are no data known to the writer that can be cited to substantiate this hypothesis but fairly wide general observation thruout the rural areas of the New England states are the basis of the opinion.

These figures may warrant the conclusion that the rural group is on the whole more stable mentally than the urban.

However, one cannot be sure that the difference between city and country is not due to environmental conditions rather than to the stock itself. Perhaps if the two groups were to change places, we might find the rates also changing. The city man in the country lanes, open fields and quiet villages might be quite as stable as the countryman is now and the countryman on the great white ways, the stock exchanges, and the strenuous social ladders might resort to suicide as often as does the city dweller. Homogeneous rural communities hold the individual to greater social responsibility than do cities. The rural codes and customs have direct and sustaining influence. Life is personal and its crises call out personal responses from neighbors. There is thus less chance of maladjustment than in the city, where primary groups do not come to the aid of the distressed.¹³

It is apparent, however, that not all city dwellers suicide so much more often than do their country cousins, for some cities have nearly as low rates as the lowest rural states. Thus Yonkers, 2; Norfolk, 5.1; Columbus, 5.4; Worcester, 6.6; Birmingham, 7.2; compared with Mississippi, 3.2; South Carolina, 3.5; North Carolina, 3.9; and Louisiana, 4.7; do not leave much to be said in behalf of the rural group. Again, other essentially rural states run much higher than many cities. Thus Washington, 18; Colorado, 15.7; Montana, 15.4; and Oregon, 13.8. Here again the explanation of such high rates is probably to be found partially in the fact that many people of low physical and mental health have migrated to these states seeking betterment. Furthermore, it is not unlikely that the cities of the East have furnished a large quota of these migrants. More likely, however, the main explanation is found in the fact that these states have a great excess of males over females in their rural population, since about 3 times as many males as females commit suicide.

In view of the widely varying rates both for cities and rural districts, it looks as tho many factors are at work

¹³ See Ruth Shonle, "Who Commits Suicide," *The Survey*, May 15, 1927, pp. 200-201.

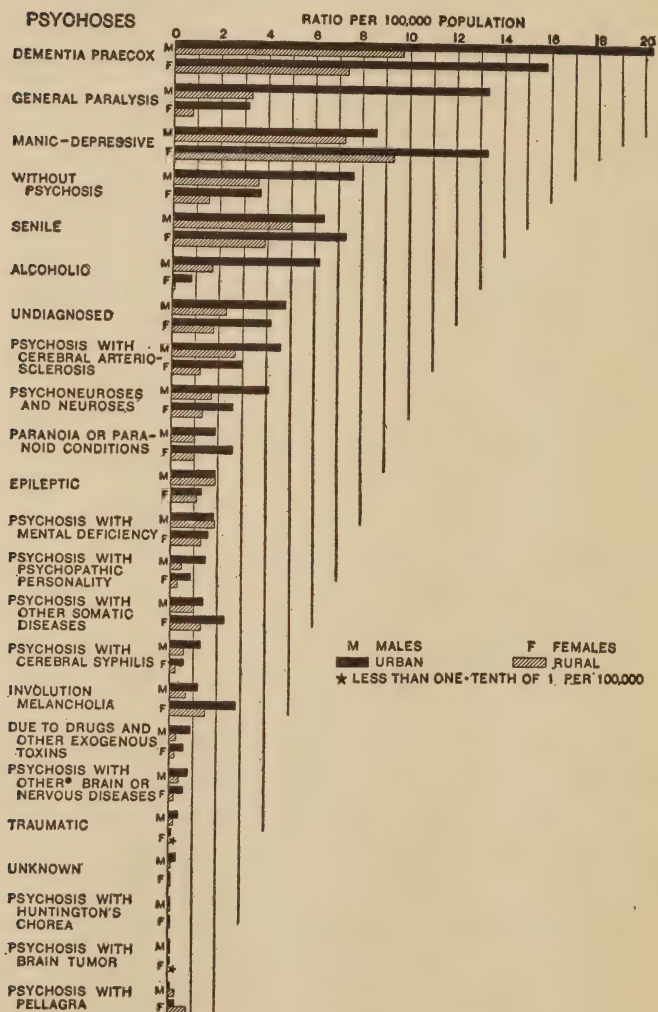
TABLE 30.—NUMBER OF FIRST ADMISSIONS TO HOSPITALS FOR MENTAL DISEASE DURING 1922 PER 100,000 OF GENERAL POPULATION, URBAN AND RURAL, OF SAME SEX, BY PSYCHOSES.¹⁴

PSYCHOSES	RATIO PER 100,000					
	Urban			Rural		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
All clinical groups....	78.8	89.6	67.8	41.1	46.4	35.5
Traumatic	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.2	a
Senile	6.9	6.4	7.3	4.5	5.0	3.9
With cerebral arterio-sclerosis	3.8	4.6	3.0	2.0	2.7	1.2
General paralysis	8.3	13.3	3.2	2.1	3.3	0.8
With cerebral syphilis ..	1.0	1.3	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.2
With Huntington's chorea	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
With brain tumor	0.1	0.1	0.1	a	0.1	a
With other brain or nervous diseases	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.2
Alcoholic	3.5	6.2	0.8	0.9	1.7	0.1
Due to drugs and other exogenous toxins	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.2
With pellagra	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.8
With other somatic diseases	1.9	1.4	2.3	1.1	1.0	1.3
Manic-depressive	11.0	8.6	13.3	8.2	7.3	9.3
Involution melancholia ..	2.0	1.2	2.8	1.1	0.7	1.5
Dementia præcox (schizophrenia)	18.1	20.3	15.8	8.6	9.7	7.4
Paranoia or paranoid conditions	2.3	1.9	2.6	1.0	1.0	1.0
Epileptic	1.6	1.9	1.3	1.5	1.9	1.1
Psychoneuroses and neuroses	3.3	4.1	2.6	1.5	1.7	1.3
With psychopathic personality	1.2	1.5	0.9	0.4	0.5	0.3
With mental deficiency..	1.7	1.8	1.6	1.6	1.9	1.3
Undiagnosed	4.5	4.8	4.2	2.0	2.3	1.8
Without psychosis	5.7	7.6	3.7	2.6	3.6	1.5
Unknown	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1

a Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

¹⁴ "Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease, 1923," *Bureau of the Census*, p. 49.

FIGURE 24.—NUMBER OF URBAN AND RURAL FIRST ADMISSIONS TO HOSPITALS FOR MENTAL DISEASE DURING 1922, BY SEX, BY PRINCIPAL PSYCHOSES, PER 100,000 OF THE POPULATION OF THE SAME SEX AND ENVIRONMENT.¹⁵

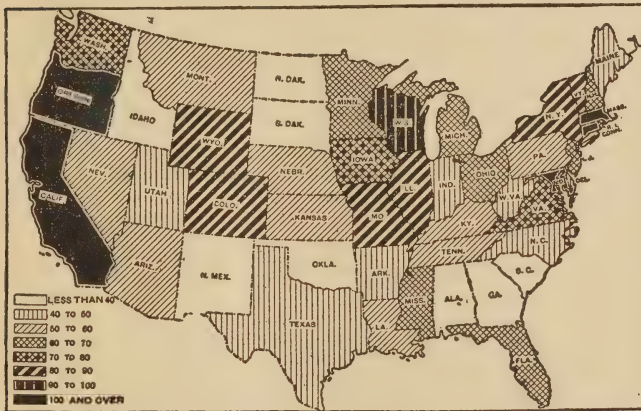


¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

causing suicide. That being the probabilities of the case, not overmuch stress should be placed on the figures that give an average in favor of the country.

On the relative amount of insanity in urban and rural districts the census report on patients in 526 hospitals for mental disease as of January 1, 1923, is available. Table 30 taken from this report summarizes the data for first admissions to hospitals. In Figure 24 this material

FIG. 25.—NUMBER OF FIRST ADMISSIONS TO HOSPITALS FOR MENTAL DISEASE DURING 1922, PER 100,000 OF THE POPULATION, BY STATES.¹⁶



is graphically presented. It will be seen that the rate of admissions is lower for the rural districts than for the urban in each group of psychoses except psychoses with pellagra. The latter group, however, is very insignificant. In many of the other groups it will be observed that the city rate is more than double that of the country. The average is nearly twice that of the rural districts. The rate in both areas is higher for males than for females. In general paralysis and alcoholic groups the rates for males are very much in excess of those for females. On the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

other hand, the females have a higher rate than the males in somatic diseases, manic-depressive, involution melancholia, and pellagra groups.

Altho these data are doubtless a close approximation to the true conditions, it must be recognized that urban people send a larger proportion of their insane to hospitals than do rural dwellers. From the cities the following groups in the order named lead, dementia-præcox, manic-depressive, general paralysis, and senile psychosis. From the country the first two also lead but the third place is taken by senile psychosis and the fourth by the group without psychosis.

There is a popular notion abroad that rural women are peculiarly subject to insanity. The data showing first admissions to hospitals give no ground for such belief. In only two psychoses, manic-depressive and involution melancholia, do females show higher rates than males in first commitments from the rural area.

Figure 25 shows the distribution of the insane committed to hospitals by states.

THE COUNTRY POPULATION AND TALENTED MEN AND WOMEN

Turning to the positive side of the question regarding the mental quality of the rural population, the student confronts a popular American myth telling him that the country districts are the source of the nation's great men and leaders. This belief has been widely affirmed by the orator and journalist and generally accepted as true. Moreover, there have been efforts to gather figures to prove it. In fact, every fragment of evidence lending support to this belief is apt to be seized upon by country life boosters to bolster up the myth. The following item, doubtless true enough as an isolated fact, is a typical instance of how support is given this myth by the way the bit of evidence is written up. "In Iowa it is good fortune to be the child of a farmer in so far as those abilities and attitudes which make for superior scholarship in high schools are con-

cerned. Bulletin No. 46, 1923, of the United States Bureau of Education, gives the results of a study of distinguished high school pupils of Iowa. Facts were obtained for 316 high school seniors who were rated as distinguished pupils. Of the 316 pupils earning this rating, 172 were children of farmers. This is 54 per cent of the total number. The farm population constitutes only 41 per cent of the total population of the state, so it is evident that the farm-bred children secure a higher representation among distinguished high school seniors than their numbers would lead one to expect. From all the facts presented in the complete study the general conclusion is reached that superior students in Iowa high schools come from country homes."¹⁷

Some years ago Dr. W. J. Spillman of the United States Department of Agriculture attempted to prove that the country districts had furnished the chief leaders of America. He found that 92 per cent of the presidents, 91.2 per cent of the governors, and 85.9 per cent of the cabinet officers were born on farms or in rural villages. He also found that 55.4 per cent of the railway presidents, 64 per cent of the House of Representatives, and 70.6 per cent of the Senate of that date (1909) were from the same source. For all six classes he calculated that the average per cent from the country was 69.4. While recognizing the meagerness of his data, Dr. Spillman nevertheless argued that since the figures are consistent with each other their correctness is confirmed.¹⁸

For the particular groups of leaders considered the facts may well be as Dr. Spillman represented. Indeed, one may go further and assert that in so far as absolute numbers go the majority of American leaders in practically all walks of life have probably been country born. An exhaustive study would no doubt demonstrate this to be true. Even so, nothing would be proved as to the relative mental quality of city and country people. For such figures are worthless unless they show the ratio of leaders to the numbers in each

¹⁷ *Rural America*, November, 1925, p. 15.

¹⁸ W. J. Spillman, *Science*, 30:40-5-7, Sept. 24, 1909.

class of the population. The absence of any such calculation in Dr. Spillman's work utterly negates its value.

More recently, with the use of better methods, conclusions have been reached to the effect that the country districts are not now nor ever have been as fecund of talented people as the city. In so far as can be discovered the country districts have never furnished even their proportionate share. In this they have not been worse in America than in the Old World. In fact, they have made a far better showing than have the rural districts of Europe, if we can trust the studies that have been made in this field. The most notable study of this question made in Europe was by Alfred Odin and published in his *Genese des Grands Hommes* in 1895. Odin inquired into the cause of genius in the cases of some five thousand most distinguished persons in the five hundred years of French history. Seven types of environments, viz.: physical, ethnological, religious, local, economic, social and educational, were considered. Under local, country and city were compared, and the city was found to be thirteen times more fecund of talent than the country. Eighty per cent of all distinguished men were found to have been born in the large cities of France.¹⁹

Another study of talent in England and Wales by R. Clyde White²⁰ shows in a general way somewhat the same thing as Odin found. The material used by White was the names in *Who's Who* in England of those born from 1851 to 1881. Calculating the number of leaders per 100,000 of the population for the rural and urban groups by decades, the following results were obtained:

DECADE	RURAL	URBAN
1851-60	3.08	6.70
1861-70	3.48	5.69
1871-80	2.32	2.38

¹⁹ See L. F. Ward's *Applied Sociology*, pp. 226-230.

²⁰ R. C. White, "The City-drift of Population in Relation to Social Efficiency," *The Journal of Social Forces*, November, 1923, pp. 17-23.

For the first two decades it will be observed that the rate of the city is about twice that of the country. In the last decade the two are about equal. The author suggests that the radical change in favor of the country in the last period is probably more apparent than real, for the country-born gentry get into *Who's Who* earlier than the city born who win place on merit. This being the case, in the course of a few more years it is likely the ratio will again approach that of the earlier decades.

When we come to those investigations which have apparently exploded the myth of rural supremacy in American leadership, there is first to be mentioned the work of Professor George R. Davies.²¹ In this was studied the problem of talent in relation to density of population. Making use of the names in *Who's Who in America*, *Who's Who in Science* and Cattell's list of Scientific men, and ranking the states in which these men were born according to density, Professor Davies discovered a high coefficient of correlation between the amount of talent and population density. The correlations varied from 0.59 to 0.76 depending on the sources used. Thus the conclusion is reached that urban districts are more fecund of talent than rural.

Dr. Scott Nearing's study of *The Geographical Distribution of American Genius* gives further light on the question before us.²² Nearing took the first 10,000 names in *Who's Who in America* for 1912-14 as the basis of his study. In his analysis it is shown that the twenty-seven leading cities of the United States in 1850, which had 20,000 or more population each, were the birthplaces of one-fifth or more of the eminent men during the period 1850 to 1880. During this period these cities had from one-twelfth to one-eighth of the total population of the United States. Their average was never over one-seventh of the total and yet they produced never less than one-fifth of the eminent persons. This fact seems significant when taken in con-

²¹ George R. Davies, *Social Environment*, pp. 106-107.

²² Scott Nearing, *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. 85, Aug., 1914, pp. 189-199.

nection with similar findings of Davies and others. However, it should be stated that Nearing reaches the conclusion that there is no absolute relation between urban population and the number of eminent persons. He says: "There is no absolute correspondence between the proportion of urban population and the proportion of eminent persons born. An analysis of the per cent of population which is urban shows that while New England is far in the lead of the other sections of the country, there are a number of states which report a large proportion of eminent persons born and a comparatively small proportion of urban population. The reverse condition is also true. Rhode Island, with the lowest proportion of eminent persons reported by any New England state, has the highest per cent of urban population (93.5) of any state in the union. New Hampshire, with the highest proportion of any New England state, has only 38.7 per cent of population urban. New Jersey, with a per cent of 53.7 urban, reports the lowest proportion of eminent persons of any state in the Middle Atlantic group."

Professor J. M. Cattell has studied American men of science as to their distribution and birthplace.²³ He selected a thousand leading men from the several fields of science in proportion to the total number of investigators in each science. Thus the following numbers were chosen from each field; chemistry, 175; physics, 150; zoology, 150; botany, 100; geology, 100; mathematics, 80; pathology, 60; astronomy, 50; psychology, 50; physiology, 40; anatomy, 25; anthropology, 20. The method of selecting the individuals was by asking ten leading representatives of each science to arrange the students of that science in the order of merit. By averaging the ten positions assigned to each man and calculating the average deviations of the judgments the probable order of merit for the students in each science together with data for the probable error of the positions of each individual were secured. A combined

²³ J. M. Cattell, "The Distribution of American Men of Science," *Science*, Vols. XXIV, pp. 658-665, 699-707, 732-742; XXXII, pp. 633-648.

list of the students of the different sciences was then secured by interpolation and the probable error calculated. The list contained 1,443 names, of which the first 1,000 were taken for investigation. Two studies of this type were made; one in 1903 and the second in 1910. The results were much the same, but we shall present the findings of the latter only.

Of the 1,000 leading scientists, 866 were found to be native to the United States. Of these, 224 were born in cities, which in 1860, or the approximate time of the birth of the men, had a total population of about 4,500,000. This population equalled about one sixth of the rural population, which was around 27,000,000 at that time. This urban sixth of the population produced more than a quarter of the scientific men. The urban birth rate of scientific men was 50 and the rural birth rate was 23.8, or less than half. Cattell's explanation of this is couched in the following sentence: "The superior position of the towns is doubtless due to a more favorable environment, but it may also be in part due to the fact that the parents of those scientific men were the abler clergymen and others of their generation who were drawn to the cities."

Following Odin's method Professor E. L. Clarke made a study of the thousand most distinguished American men of letters.²⁴ Under the category of occupations of the fathers of the literati he found 328 were sons of professional men; 151 were sons of commercial men; 139, of agriculturists; 48, of mechanical, clerical, and unskilled men; and 334 were sons of men whose occupation was not determined. As to occupation Clarke concludes that more than half were sons of non-agricultural men. Indeed, of the whole number the agricultural group contributed but 14 per cent in so far as known altho this group constituted never less than 80 per cent of the nation's population during the period considered. The agricultural class furnished fewer than its share; the business classes more than their quota; the professional classes many times their proportion; and the me-

²⁴ E. L. Clarke, "American Men of Letters," *Columbia University Studies in Economics, History and Public Law*, 1914.

chanics, clerks and laborers relatively few and far below what was to be expected of them. Under the category of locality Clarke concludes that altho during the period studied "the capital and chief cities of the several states had never contained over 9 per cent of the total population of the United States, they had been the birthplace of approximately 32 per cent of the men of letters."

A very recent study of the source of national leadership remains to be noticed. This was made by the National Educational Association and published in a research bulletin.²⁵ Data from *Who's Who in America*, Edition 1922-23, were used. The year 1870 is nearest the birth of most of those whose names appear in this publication. At that date the farm population of the United States was 26,952,301 and the population of cities, towns and villages was 11,606,070. With 70 per cent of our people on farms at the time when most of those listed in *Who's Who* were born, one would expect to find the vast majority were country born. But such is not the case. Only 6,288, or 25.9 per cent of those listed, were born on farms. Altho only 30 per cent of the population in 1870 was found in cities, towns and villages, 17,990 notables, or 74.1 of those listed in *Who's Who*, were born in such places. Summarized in a different way, it appears that each million urban people produced 1,550 notable men and women, whereas each million rural people produced only 233 notable men and women. Thus with over six times as many notables contributed by the urban as by the rural population, the farm falls far short of furnishing its proportionate share of leadership. Visher, working upon the same data, gives the following proportional contributions of talent on the basis of the population of 1870; cities six times as many as farms, villages nine times as many, and suburbs eleven times as many.²⁶

²⁵ *National Educational Association Research Bulletin*, Washington, D. C., 1924.

²⁶ Stephen S. Visher, "A Study of the Type of the Place of Birth and of the Occupation of Farmers of Subjects of Sketches in 'Who's Who in America,'" *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 30, pp. 551-557.

Confirmation of these generalizations was made by Zimmerman in a study of farm migrants in Minnesota. He found that relatively few of the children of farmers going to the cities had attained to the so-called upper economic and social classes. Sixty per cent of those leaving the farms had entered some urban occupation. They were distributed as follows: 23 per cent were unskilled laborers, 13.8 per cent artisans, 10.4 per cent were in clerical or "white-collar" jobs, 10.1 per cent in professions, and 2.6 per cent had become business owners or entrepreneurs. The professional class included a number of girls who had become registered nurses.²⁷

In the face of the facts brought out by the several studies we have reviewed, representing as they do approaches from numerous angles, including the source of scientists, literati, general leadership, and the significance of occupations and population density, it looks as tho the belief that the country folk furnish the nation's leaders is nothing but a popular fallacy without any foundation in fact.

What are we to conclude from this array of facts as to the quality of the rural stock? Does it follow that it is inferior to the urban? Those responsible for the findings would be slow to admit this. On the contrary, they would be inclined to attribute the difference in fecundity of leadership between the urban and rural to environmental influences. They would explain it on the basis of nurture rather than nature, and be disposed to say with Odin, "genius is in things, not in men." Be this as it may, and no one has yet proved the case either way, it is difficult not to think that there has been a selective process at work on the stock tending to concentrate a disproportionate share of the more capable in the towns and cities. This, indeed, is the explanation hinted at by Cattell, concurred in by Clarke, and succinctly stated by Professor Thorndike in the following—"That cities give birth to an undue proportion of great men does not in the least prove that city life

²⁷ C. C. Zimmerman, "The Migration to Towns and Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 32, p. 453.

made them great; it may prove that cities attract and retain great men, whose sons are thus city born." ²⁸

It is entirely possible that the lists of eminent men are compiled in a way to favor the city. The basis of selecting those who appear in *Who's Who* tends to be by occupation with a strong bias in favor of those of the city. Able farmers are rarely included. Many of them, however, are fully equal in ability and achievement to numerous city men who are counted among the eminent. The farmer may remain mute and inglorious because it is not the fashion to count his calling among those whence come greatness.

DO COUNTRY AND CITY FURNISH DIFFERENT TYPES OF ABILITY?

European ethnologists have been interested in discovering how far the city and country districts of Europe are made up of different racial elements. Ammon tried to show that the longheaded Teuton inclined to the city, while the broadheaded Alpine was wedded to the soil. Ripley and others have called in question Ammon's generalization, showing that it does not hold true generally.²⁹ The significance of this difference, in so far as there is any difference and in so far as there is any basis for the classification, Teutonic and Alpine races, lies in the fact that the Teuton is supposed to be more capable than the Alpine, and consequently the city population more capable than the peasantry. There is of course no hint of any such differences in America. There may be, however, differences between the type of ability produced by the rural and urban stocks. Upon this question Henry Cabot Lodge's study of "The Distribution of Ability in the United States" has a bearing.³⁰ Making use of 14,234 names from Appleton's *Encyclopedia of American Biography*, and classifying them under eighteen groups, viz., statesmen, soldiers, clergy, lawyers, physicians, literature, art, science, education,

²⁸ E. L. Thorndike, "A Sociologist's Theory of Education," *Bookman*, Vol. 24, p. 290.

²⁹ See W. L. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, Chapter XX.

³⁰ Henry Cabot Lodge, *The Century*, May and September, 1891.

navy, business, philanthropy, pioneers and explorers, inventors, engineers, architects, musicians, and actors, Lodge found certain types prevalent in certain parts of the country. Thus, he states "we find that while the southern and southwestern states, including Virginia and Maryland, are comparatively strong in statesmen, soldiers and pioneers, and in a less degree in lawyers, they are weak in all other classes. The ability of the South, less in amount than that of the New England and Middle states, was confined to three or four departments. In other words, there was in the South but little variety of intellectual activity. In the Middle states and New England ability sought every channel of expression and was displayed in various ways. All the states in not very widely varying proportions produced statesmen, soldiers, lawyers, pioneers, and clergymen; and the seaboard states, naval officers. But almost all the literature, art, science, business, philanthropy and music, almost all the architects and actors were produced by the Middle and New England states."

Cattell's study of men of science and Clarke's study of American literati revealed much the same distribution as Lodge found. While Lodge is not concerned with the difference between the urban and rural, it is clear that the differences he points out follow substantially along the lines separating the preponderantly rural from the urban sections of the United States. Hence we cannot go far astray by interpreting the distinctions made as those existing between country and city groups. With this assumption, we may say, I think, that it is clear that the country does not contribute a great variety of talent. It takes the city with its compact and varied life to do that. Moreover, it appears that the rural group does not contribute many persons who take to the learned lines of leadership. It is more to the field of action than to that of thought that it furnishes recruits. The type is one that can manage things and, to a lesser degree, men, rather than abstract ideas and the processes of science. One is tempted to think that the writer of *Ecclesiasticus* was more than half right, even for rural America, when he said:

How can he get wisdom who holdeth the plow?
 He shall not be sought after in public council
 Nor sit high in the congregation.

It is probable that by far the greater part of this difference between the countryman and the cityman is, indeed, as the ancient sage hints, in the circumstances under which the two groups live instead of in innate differences. The rural environment is dominated very largely by one occupation, whence a monotony and sameness results that fails to stimulate to many lines of ability. The city in contrast has a complexity and universality that stimulates on many sides and to many activities. Still, one cannot entirely ignore the possibility that there is to some extent a real difference in the country and city stock.

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V

MOVEMENTS OF THE RURAL PEOPLE

AMERICANS are easily the most mobile nation in the world. This is true of countrymen and citymen alike, but whether more true of the former than of the latter cannot be demonstrated. Only we know that it is a characteristic of country dwellers so pronounced as to create a serious social problem.

The American countryman is much bound by custom, but he is not much bound by place. Broadly speaking, he is given to moving and always has been. He has pioneered and followed the frontier. He has pulled up stakes and shifted from one locality to another. He has responded to the beckonings of opportunity on the land, in the forests, in the mine, or in the town with equal alacrity. The fields that bred him and the plow that called him have not held him against the lure of the city wilderness and the monotonous workshop. The occupation to which he was heir has held him no more firmly than place.

In consequence great instability characterizes rural society. This has long been the situation, but of late conditions have grown worse. The movement of population has become greatly accelerated in recent decades. This acceleration has coincided with the city frontier superseding the frontier of forest and prairie.

Mobility of population is good, for it connotes a dynamic society. American society has been mobile and dynamic from the beginning. This, for one thing, may be attributed to immigration, and, for another, to the development of industrial civilization. Above all, a vast empire of unoccupied land, long awaiting settlement, acted for generations as a stimulant to migration. In these basic factors lie the explanation at once of our dynamic life and

population mobility. A more detailed analysis of the causes of rural migrations will be made as we proceed to trace the various types of movement that have taken place.

POPULATION MOVEMENTS WITHIN RURAL TERRITORY

1. Inter-state migrations have been more extensive during past decades than at present, tho they have by no means ceased to be of very great importance. For a century the main trend was from the East to the West and South. The quest of better land, cheaper land and eventually free land induced the great westward and southward migrations from the older states. By 1850 the rural towns of New England had generally reached their maximum populations and migrations had begun to sap their strength. In many cases this had occurred long before that date. A sample study of seventy-nine rural towns in four counties of western Massachusetts lying in the Berkshire hills and the Connecticut Valley disclosed the fact that 40 per cent of them had reached maximum population by 1820, 16 per cent by 1800, and five by 1790. The remainder with few exceptions attained it by 1850 and then steadily declined.¹ This situation was fairly typical of New England and the East generally. Altho not all the exodus was to other rural regions, the major part of it was undoubtedly so directed. Particularly from 1850 to 1880, when the migratory tide was at its full, whole colonies went west. The depopulating effect upon the rural New England towns was such that they have never been able to recover, and now their population will not average half what it was seventy-five years ago.

Preceding 1860 there was a similar movement from the older states of the South to the newer and lower South. The population of the older states became static while that of the Gulf regions grew apace. Following the Civil War this southward migration of the Southern population was renewed by a marked shifting of the negroes to the southwestern sections.

¹ A. E. Cancee, *New England Population Decline*, American Statistical Association, 1912.

Somewhat later the Middle Western farmer took up the westward march begun by his forebears, who had themselves pioneered the middle borders from colonial states. However, the movement from the Middle West was slower and less dramatic. The total exodus was less and the consequences by no means so serious as had been the outflow from the eastern states.

Still more recently, say within a quarter of a century, the northwestern farmer has been moving into the newer regions farther north in the United States and across the border into the Canadian northwest. Meanwhile, during this same period, there has been a turn in the migration tides. An eastward moving current has set in. By 1920 this had become strong. No doubt in some instances this has become the main stream. It began with the rise of land values on the prairies of Nebraska, Kansas and Iowa induced by speculation in farms that followed the exhaustion of free lands. This new eastward flowing stream has been directed toward the cheaper lands of the more eastward lying states.

The settlement of the West is a twice told tale which we need not repeat in greater detail. Such reference as we have made will suffice to remind us that the rural people of America have ever been a mobile element. As regards the eastward trend of recent years, that is another story not so often repeated, representing a different phase of the migratory movement not so well known. It is, therefore, well to note that with the deflation of land values which began in 1920 the eastward trend was probably checked. The chief inducement was taken away. As to the exact facts concerning this we shall not know until after another census is taken and its data analyzed.

The extent to which inter-state migration of rural people takes place is difficult to determine in the absence of census data dealing with this specific phase. For the population in general the census indicates that 22.4 per cent of the native whites and 16.6 per cent of the colored population dwell in some other than their natal states. It has been estimated that from 1890 to 1900 some 364,000 people

moved from one rural division to another, and that in the succeeding decade about 890,000 made a similar shift.² It cannot be definitely stated whether these numbers indicate a greater or less per cent of the rural population dwelling in other than the natal state than is indicated for the whole country. However, such data as have been gathered seem to point to a larger per cent. Professor J. O. Rankin in his study of Nebraska farm families found that nearly two-fifths were born in other states.³ Vogt in a study of a number of states found that one-fourth or less of the rural people were born outside the state of residence. In the cases of Indiana and Ohio it proved to be but 17.6 and 15.4 per cent respectively. He estimated that for the rural population of the whole United States about 25.5 per cent were born outside the state of residence.⁴

The causes of inter-state migrations have little to do with the states as such, for these are largely artificial areas. In some cases they do, of course, represent different agricultural conditions. Altho the causes are many and complicated, the two main ones are easily discerned and have already been mentioned. In the first instance, the westward trend was due to the attractive force of new land, better land, cheaper land, and, finally, free land to be had by the homesteader. The eastward trend of rural migration, which is the second phase, beginning with the present century, was due to the exhaustion of free land in the West and the rapid rise of land values in the western Mississippi Valley. The tide turned eastward because land was cheaper in the states from Illinois east to the Atlantic coast. Thus, in both the westward and the eastward movements it was from high-priced land to cheaper land.

2. Inter-community migrations are taking place, but they are difficult to map out in any detail or degree of exactness, for not enough is known about them. Appar-

² Hornell Hart, *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, Vol. I, No. 7, pp. 40, 41. Hart uses the term rural to mean all places under 25,000.

³ J. O. Rankin, "The Nebraska Farm Family," *Agr. Exp. Station, University of Nebraska Bulletin* 185, p. 20.

⁴ P. L. Vogt, *Introduction to Rural Sociology*, p. 140.

ently, however, this type of movement is extensive, especially where much farm tenancy is found. For the whole tenancy system in America is conducive to frequent change of farm operators, involving more or less shifting of families from one locality or community to another.

The Fourteenth Census revealed the fact that 25 per cent of all farm operators had been on the farm operated but one year or less. Another 22.4 per cent had been on the same farm for from two to four years. A study made in 1922 of tenants alone led to the estimate that 26.9 per cent of them moved during that year from the farm they had been tilling to some other.⁵ In the South, where the tenantry system is more prevalent than elsewhere, the shifting of croppers and tenants from one farm to another is almost an annual event. It is estimated that on the average thruout this region more than half the share tenants and croppers move annually. This figure may be a bit extravagant, for more careful investigations do not seem to substantiate it. For instance, a study of the great plantations for 1920 has led to the following estimated ratio of shiftings: For croppers and tenants on the plantations 17 out of 100 had lived on the farm they occupied less than a year and 43 out of 100 less than two years.⁶ There is, of course, considerable variation from section to section. Generally speaking, there is less shifting of the sort under consideration in the North than in the South. In New England there is less than in any other region. Not more than five or six farm operators out of 100 move annually in this region of little tenantry. Plenty of localities in other northern states can be found that will rival the worst conditions in the South. Perhaps an estimate made by the Department of Agriculture in 1922 to the effect that one out of every five farmers moved either to another farm or elsewhere during the year comes as near describing the general situation as any figures can.

⁵ C. L. Stewart, *Farm Occupancy, Ownership, and Tenancy and When Do Tenants Move*, Division of Land Economics, Bureau of Agr. Econ., United States Dept. Agr., Apr., 1923.

⁶ C. O. Brannen, "Relation of Land Tenure to Plantation Organization," *United States Dept. Agr. Bulletin* No. 1269, 1924, p. 46.

Such are the data on which we have to base our judgments of inter-community shiftings in the rural population. Obviously the figures before us include too much. They measure a variety of movements, such as from farm to farm in the same community, from one section of the country to another, as well as from one community to another. At best the figures tell us only to what extent there has been change of farm operators, but they do not inform us as to the distance moved. Hence we need more light on the subject, if we are to learn much about inter-community shifting. A small ray of light comes from Nebraska to help out a bit. A study of ten areas in that state, covering the period 1911 to 1920, disclosed the fact that 64.9 per cent of all farms changed operators, that is, owners or tenants, during that interval. Of those changing, about three times as many shifted from one farm to another within the same community as came from other communities. However, in some counties nearly half moved from one community to another. The Nebraska rate of change is believed to be less than in most other states except those of New England and the Middle Atlantic group.⁷

Wherever inter-community movement takes place in rural America, community life suffers. Local institutions and organizations are disturbed and their normal development hindered. In many cases it is an important factor contributing to the farmer's failure and the break-down of rural society. Theoretically one might see good in such movement thru the break-up of static conditions, but it is just such conditions that the country community can ill afford to have broken up in this way, for it needs stabilizing influences, not disturbing ones, in order to survive and escape structural deterioration. If tenancy continues to increase and the system remains unchanged, there is every reason to think that inter-community migrations will likewise tend to grow more numerous.

3. Drift to Rural Villages. By villages is understood all

⁷J. O. Rankin, "Nebraska Farm Tenancy," *Bulletin 196 Agr. Exp. Station, University of Nebraska*, Oct., 1923, pp. 19-20.

aggregations of population of less than 2,500, particularly those from 250 to 2,500. To what extent are farmers moving to these centers? is the question before us. There is very little definite knowledge on this. Common observation, however, indicates that there is a slow current of farm families moving toward these villages. That the movement is equally manifest in every section of the land is doubtful, since, for one thing, villages do not occur with anything like uniform frequency thruout the rural districts. Some sections have many villages in proportion to the farm population and others have relatively few, and thus it is probable that the migratory tendencies will be governed considerably by the frequency of opportunity afforded by the presence of villages. In the Middle West it is not uncommon to find villages with a population of ten to thirty-five or forty per cent of retired families.

The village of Mt. Horeb in Wisconsin was studied with respect to its retired farmers by an agent of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture.⁸ This village, with a population of 1,350, in 1920 had 150 families of retired farmers. That would mean 50 per cent or more of its total population.

The Institute of Social and Religious Research has published a study of the census data for 1920 on selected villages in the several sections of the United States. The following table compiled from that study shows the per cent of the population of 177 villages that were engaged in agriculture. Unfortunately, these figures do not help us much toward finding to what extent farmers are moving to the villages. They have value only in so far as they represent facts concerning a class of country-born people who may have taken up residence in the villages, but how great this class is, the figures do not disclose.

A study of the migration of 357 farm families from seven representative areas of Minnesota made by C. C.

⁸ Erda Larson Turner, *Causes and Conditions of Retirement of Retired Farmers Living in Mt. Horeb, Wisconsin*, Washington, D. C., March, 1926.

TABLE 32.—PER CENT OF VILLAGERS TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE, 1920.

SECTION	NUMBER OF VILLAGES	NUMBER OF STATES	PER CENT GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE	
			Males	Females
Middle Atlantic..	34	3	8.9	1.0
Southern	44	11	17.0	2.3
Middle West	65	10	13.8	.8
Far West	34	6	23.3	7.0

Zimmerman throws a little more light on the question.⁹ It was found that of those migrating only 15 per cent went to the villages.

POPULATION MOVEMENTS BETWEEN RURAL AND URBAN TERRITORY

1. Cityward drift of rural people is the most significant of all movements influencing country life. For forty years this drift has steadily grown in magnitude until today it challenges attention as the chief agency in rural decline and city growth.

Incidentally, city drift is in no wise a new thing under the sun, for other nations in other ages as well as in our own have experienced similar movements. The problem bothered ancient Rome. And modern France, Germany, England, and the Scandinavian countries have had to face it as well as we. During the last two generations or so these nations have suffered a rural exodus as great or greater than our own. In fact, several rural populations of Europe have actually decreased in numbers since the middle of the last century, whereas with us it has not yet come to that pass except in a few states. In France the rural population has fallen off one-sixth or more and in

⁹ C. C. Zimmerman, "The Migration to Towns and Cities," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 32, pp. 450-455.

England not less than one-third during the time indicated. Thus far in the United States as a whole the shrinkage has operated only to cut down the rate of increase in the rural districts; it has not decreased the total numbers. Thus, in the matter of city drift, America merely shares in a phenomenon common to all western industrialized lands.

The exact amount of city drift has not been determined. It can be approximated, however, with no great margin of error. This Professor J. M. Gillette has done. According to his calculations the decade 1900-1910 saw some 3,637,000 people leave the country districts for the cities of the land. The next decade saw a shift of 5,584,000.¹⁰ Just how many of these were from the open country cannot be said. Gillette has attempted an estimate. His method is to assume the per cent of country migrants to be proportionate to the per cent of rural population dwelling in the unincorporated area or open country. In 1900 this was 86.3 per cent of the total rural population and in 1910, 83.6 per cent. The average for the two periods equals 85.5 per cent. This means that 85.5 per cent of the estimated number migrating to the cities came from the open country. Inasmuch as the total rural migration was in actual numbers some 3,637,000 persons, it follows that, roughly, more than 3,000,000 of them came from the farms. For 1920 the per cent was 82.6, which averaged with the figures for 1910, gives 84.1 per cent of the rural population in the open country. The total rural exodus to the cities aggregated 5,584,000 for the decade. Hence it appears that about 4,600,000 people left the farms during that period. In a striking way Professor Gillette summarizes the whole situation as regards city drift as follows:

“The amount of rural migration is about 5,500,000 for the last decade as compared to about 3,500,000 during the preceding decade. If we add the amount of incorporation in each case, we find that practically 6,500,000 persons from territory that was rural in 1910 shifted to territory urban

¹⁰ J. M. Gillette, *Publications The American Sociological Society*, Vol. 19, p. 189.

in 1920. This represents the population of a city as large as New York, that of more than two cities the size of Chicago, and that of more than ten cities the size of Boston or San Francisco. In other words, the annual drain of population from the country is more than equal to that required to build a Boston or San Francisco each year of the decade."¹¹

Since 1920 there is every indication that the rural exodus has received a new impetus and is now reaching new heights. The year 1920 was the peak year of production and prosperity in American agriculture. The prospects were never so bright economically for the farmers, hence they clung to the soil with a new grip. One might have said at that time that the great Hegira of countrymen had come to an end. But it did not end, for the heyday of prosperity no sooner arrived than it vanished in a sudden deflation of prices of farm products and land values. Then began a new and altogether unprecedented exodus from the country. 1921 saw it in full swing. A survey of 10,000 representative farms by the United States Department of Agriculture led to the estimate that in 1922 about 2,000,000 persons left the farms for towns and cities. During 1923 this number was probably greatly increased and city drift reached a new climax. Another study of 25,000 farms made again by the Department of Agriculture gives ground for the estimate that in 1924 some 2,075,000 persons left the country. Similar estimates for the year ending January 1, 1927, indicate that 2,155,000 left the farms for village and urban districts. So far this is the high-water mark of the rural exodus. Zimmerman found in a study of 357 farm families of Minnesota selected at random from seven representative sections of the state that 45 per cent of the migrants from these families had gone to cities. Of these 36 per cent went to cities over 10,000 and 9 per cent to cities under 10,000. If those going to villages are added the total equals 60 per cent.¹²

¹¹ J. M. Gillette, *Publications of The American Sociological Society*, Vol. 19, p. 189.

¹² C. C. Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 454-455.

If this remarkable trend of population away from the country continues, another census will probably show not merely a static rural population but one that is absolutely on the decline. Indeed, the estimates by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics just cited indicate a steady loss of farm population since 1920. That year the number living on farms was 31,614,629, whereas on January 1, 1927, the number was estimated to be only 27,892,000, or an absolute loss in six years of 3,722,629.

Not until 1920 was any count of the farm population taken by itself ever made in the United States; consequently there is no way of knowing the exact situation. But there is some ground for believing that this population has been virtually at a standstill for perhaps nearly a quarter of a century. Indeed, since about 1890 it is likely that whatever surplus the country produced regularly migrated to the cities. If this has been the case in the past, the future surely does not glow with any promise of more encouraging conditions.

If we ask where the rural exodus is the worst, the answer is, in the industrialized Northeastern and North Central states. Here is where it originally began and here in 1920 it still ran strongest. The New England, Middle Atlantic and East North Central states had attained a stationary rural population by 1900. This continued to 1910, but from then on they suffered a slight decrease down to 1920. Next to these groups came the West North Central states, with the Pacific section a close rival. The Southern states occupy third place, while the Mountain group is least affected.¹³

In the decade 1890-1900 the rural exodus of the urban bound was confined largely to the New England and Middle Atlantic states. The cities of those states absorbed six-tenths of all those migrating from the country. The movement since 1920 has been relatively the largest in the Mountain states, followed by the Pacific, New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central and the South Atlan-

¹³ W. S. Rossiter, *Census Monograph No. I*, "Increase of Population in the United States, 1910-1920," p. 77.

tic groups in the order named. In 1922 all these groups were above the average. Those below were the West South Central, the West North Central and the East South Atlantic states. In 1924 the order was much the same.

One outstanding development of the last census period and of the early years of the present decade was the rise of an extensive exodus from the rural districts of the South. The movement embraces both white and colored farmers, who are migrating to the cities of the South and North alike. The exodus of the Negro to northern industrial centers has attracted much attention, but it is doubtful if proportionately more colored than white people have made this shift. The Negro movement is in a measure indicated by the fact that in 1920 there were 700,000 fewer Negroes engaged in agriculture than in 1910. Since 1920, declares the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Federal Government, the number of colored people dwelling on farms has decreased almost twice as rapidly as has the number of whites. Professor Monroe Work, editor of *The Negro Year Book*, points out certain interesting facts regarding this movement of Negroes. He shows that there was an increase of 396,444 Negro urban dwellers in the South during the decade 1910-1920. During the same period the number of southern born Negroes in the North increased 340,260. Thus the increase in southern cities was 56,000 more than the total increase of southern born Negroes in the North.¹⁴ During 1922-23 it is estimated that about 500,000 Negroes came North.¹⁵ Not all of these were from the farms of the South, tho everything indicates that by far the great majority came from that source. It is reported, for instance, that from January 1 to May 1, 1923, fully 80,000 Negroes left farms in Georgia for the cities North of the Mason and Dixon line. More than 11,000 farms were abandoned in this state during these four months, and in Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana conditions were very similar.^{15a}

¹⁴ A. L. Harris, "Negro Migration to the North," *Current History*, September, 1924, p. 925.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

^{15a} T. J. Woofter, Jr., *The Basis of Racial Adjustment*, pp. 44, 49.

More conclusive evidence that the colored migrants to the North have been cityward bound is seen in the fact that 73.4 per cent or 1,139,505 of the Negro population in the North is living in nine industrial districts. Professor A. L. Harris designates these as follows: ¹⁶

TABLE 33.—NEGRO MIGRANTS IN NORTHERN DISTRICTS.¹⁷

Indianapolis District	47,550
Detroit-Toledo District	55,918
Cleveland-Youngstown District	58,850
Kansas City District	65,393
Pittsburgh District	88,273
Columbus-Cincinnati District	89,657
St. Louis District	102,607
Chicago District	248,343
New York District	251,340
Total	1,139,505

Thus, it appears, as Woofter remarks, "that the rural Negro from a home-loving, home-keeping race . . . has become the greatest wanderer among the restless groups of the United States." ¹⁸

What class of country folk move to the city? This is a vital question, but one we cannot answer by citing any considerable body of accurate data. Very clearly one class is the farm laborer. The Department of Agriculture estimated that in 1924 some 461,000 laborers moved from farms to cities. Some 352,000 of them returned again to the country, so that the net loss for the year amounted to 102,000. The gross movement of laborers to the cities constituted 22.2 per cent of the total rural exodus of men, women and children during that year. Similarly this class constituted 25.1 per cent of those returning to the country.

Such observations as have been made seem to indicate that above all it is the adolescent who leads the great exodus. Professor Hornell Hart has estimated that during

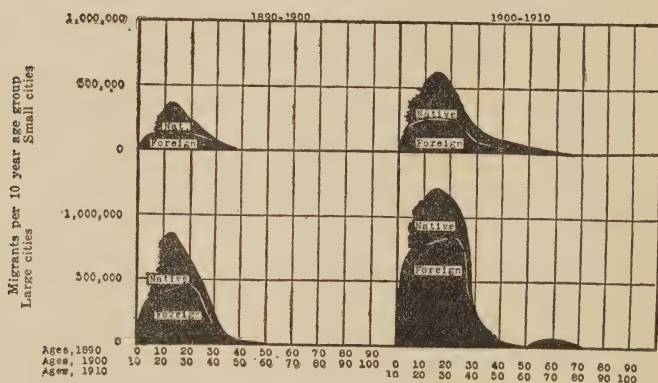
¹⁶ Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 925.

¹⁷ Harris, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Woofter, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

the decade 1900-10 over fifty per cent of the rural migrants were in the age group 20-29 years. An additional one fourth of them were in the age group 10-19 years.¹⁹ Hart's study does not fairly distinguish between rural and urban, however, for by rural he means all territory outside places of 25,000. Thus, what he is really talking about is the movement of town and country population to small

FIGURE 26.—RURAL MIGRATION BY AGES.—NET NATIVE EMIGRATION FROM RURAL DISTRICTS (INCLUDING CITIES OF LESS THAN 25,000) AND NET FOREIGN-BORN IMMIGRATION TO LARGE AND SMALL CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES BY AGE PERIODS, 1890-1910.²⁰



and large cities. With these limitations of his figures held in mind, the accompanying graphic representation of the native and foreign migrations to our cities enables one to visualize the situation.

It is a well-established fact that within the bounds of their native lands females migrate more frequently than do males. And such limited studies as we have of rural migrations in the United States point to the fact that the stream that flows from country to town and city carries

¹⁹ Hornell Hart, "Selective Migration as a Factor in Child Welfare in the United States with Special Reference to Iowa," *University of Iowa Studies*, pp. 33-34.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

more females than males. Zimmerman, for instance, found that of the sons and daughters 18 years of age and over of farm operators nearly twice as many men as women were remaining on the farms of Minnesota.²¹ Dr. Warren H. Wilson found in a study of farm homes along a New Jersey highway that not one girl over 16 years of age remained at home. Some of the boys were there, but their sisters had gone to the cities.²²

2. The "Back to the Land" movement. If one looks at the cityward trend without taking into account a counter current of city dwellers moving out into the country, he gets a distorted picture. For there is a reverse movement that at times is of more or less importance. More than a decade ago a bureau of the Department of Agriculture made a study of this question.²³ A questionnaire was sent to some 45,000 crop correspondents and from the information thus gathered certain conclusions were drawn. This counter movement was revealed as operative in a very small way in all the states, but it was most pronounced in New England, the Middle West and the East North Central states. It seemed to be an accompaniment of nearby urban conditions.

Five main classes appeared in this trend. The *first* and chief class is composed of those who acquire ownership and take up permanent residence on a farm for the purpose of engaging in agriculture. Many sorts of people do this. They are small tradesmen and merchants who have failed in business, mechanics, common laborers, clerks, salesmen, miners, and factory operatives together with teachers and a number of other types. Generally they are country-born people who, after a trial of the city, are returning again to the soil. A few are immigrants from Europe who are being colonized from the cities after a trial at industry. The *second* class is a small one, composed of those who buy farms for residence purposes, but who do not give up their

²¹ Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 455.

²² Warren H. Wilson, "The Restless Country Girl," *Homelands*, October, 1923.

²³ George K. Holmes, "Movement from City and Town to Farms," *Year Book of the Department of Agriculture*, 1914, pp. 257-274.

urban occupations. Professional men, merchants, bankers, manufacturers, a few clerks, salesmen, and mechanics constitute this group. A *third* class is formed by those who acquire farms for summer residences. This is a wealthy or well-to-do group. The movement is confined largely to the sea and lake shores, the forest, mountain, and river regions that are picturesque and healthful. The *fourth* class is composed of city laborers who return to the country as farm tenants. There is very little of this anywhere. It is really almost negligible. The *fifth* class is composed of the seasonal labor migrant. Much seasonal labor is found in the fruit, vegetable, wheat, sugar beet, potato, and hop growing districts. Work of this nature brings men and women and children from the cities into the country for a few months or weeks during the cultivating and harvesting period. This transient class is rarely the source of any permanent additions to the rural community. The investigators concluded that taking all together, this "Back to the land movement" was a very small item, giving in no wise any significant offset to the cityward trend.

More recent surveys of the Department of Agriculture have led to numerical estimates of the current back to the farm trend. A survey at the close of 1922 brought together data from which the estimate is made that 880,000 persons returned from the cities and towns of the land to the farms during that year. This number equalled about 44 per cent of the city drift. Another survey estimated that 1,396,000 moved from cities and towns to farms during the year 1924. In this latter instance the number equalled 67 per cent of the cityward flow. Of this group it is believed some 25.2 per cent were hired laborers. During 1926 it is estimated that some 1,135,000 persons moved from villages, towns and cities to farms.

The return movement to the farms in 1924 was probably the largest of the kind so far experienced in American history. The Department of Agriculture suggests that it came about as a natural reaction to the economic deflation of 1920. For a short period just before the peak of the agricultural boom was reached, many farmers sold out

and moved to town. When the slump came, forcing many purchasers of high priced land to default in their payments, the original owners were frequently compelled to take back their land and hence compelled to move back to the country. Moreover, many who had rented their farms and retired to the towns found they could not live on the income derived from rentals, and they too began to move back. Sometimes renters could not be had as in other years and it was a choice between letting the farm lie idle and give no returns or go back to it. Then, there were still others who found town or city life and labor altogether disappointing, and they too returned in considerable numbers.

As one might expect, the movement back to the land was greatest in those sections where the cityward trend had been greatest. This, it will be recalled, was in the Mountain states, New England, the Pacific, Middle Atlantic and East North Central groups.

3. Immigration.—Strictly speaking, immigration should not be discussed under the subdivision of our topic dealing with population movements between urban and rural territory, and yet a considerable number of the alien born who find their way into the country districts of America do so after having spent some time in the cities and industrial towns of America. This method of entrance into agriculture has apparently tended to become more common in recent years. Thus, it is not altogether inappropriate to discuss the subject of immigration in this connection.

The number of foreign born residing in the rural districts in 1920 was 3,419,750, or about 6.5 per cent of the rural population and 4.7 per cent of the farm population. During the period 1900-1910 it is estimated that 1,290,000 immigrants settled in rural territory. At the same time some 294,000 are believed to have emigrated from the rural districts.²⁴ During the period 1910-1920 the number of immigrants into rural territory aggregated about

²⁴ J. M. Gillette, *Rural Sociology*, p. 81.

754,000.²⁵ The emigration during this decade was probably rather heavy, giving in consequence only a moderate net increase of rural population due to immigration.

Since 1900 the country districts have drawn increasing numbers of the "new" immigrant stock. Poles, Czecks, Slovaks, Hungarians, Jews, various minor Slavic elements, Italians and others have found their way directly or indirectly thru our industrial cities into agricultural districts. Generally these people were born on the farms of the Old World. Upon coming to America immediate needs led them into industry and mining. But these occupations proved distasteful to them, hence they have drifted into agriculture. This movement of the new immigrant into the country districts has been mainly confined to the Northeastern states, viz., New England, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. There has also been some of it into the cut over districts of several of the Great Lakes states. There are sections of New England where this new immigrant stock already comprises half the population.

The new immigrant stock has experienced great difficulty in getting land and successfully establishing itself upon it. Perhaps the most successful group has been the Poles. They went onto the wild lands of Wisconsin, Texas, Missouri, the Dakotas, and Michigan as early as the fifties and sixties of the last century. During the last two or three decades they have been acquiring the abandoned farms of the East, especially in the Connecticut Valley of New England. They have made good pioneers and have taken firm root as landowners and land lovers.

The Italians, unlike the Poles, have not been good pioneers in American agriculture. However, they have in several states planted a few colonies that are considered successful. Notable among them are those located in New Jersey, Arkansas and Texas. A few are also scattered thru other Southern states. Trucking, fruit raising, and cotton and sugar growing are their chief interests. There are

²⁵ J. M. Gillette, *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. 19, p. 189.

also some settlements of them as market gardeners in New York.

Another group that has steadily grown in importance during the last twenty-five years is the Jewish farmers. The Jewish Agricultural Society reported in 1925 a Jewish farm population of 75,000 scattered thruout 39 states and working more than 1,000,000 acres of land. By far the larger part of this group is found in New York, New Jersey and New England. It is composed chiefly of Russian, Galician, and Rumanian Jews.

Other new immigrants in agriculture are a few Bohemians, chiefly in Nebraska and Texas; a few Slovaks, in Arkansas and Connecticut; and a small number of Portuguese, in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.²⁶

The Japanese are another immigrant group that have taken to the soil. They are mostly on the Pacific coast, especially in California, with a few in Florida and Texas. In California they do not exceed 40,000 people all told. In 1920 they owned some 74,769 acres and operated an additional 383,287 acres.²⁷

In the case of several of the groups mentioned there are societies engaged in promoting settlements on the land. This is true of the Jewish and Slavic groups in particular. Then, there are certain private and state land colonization enterprises that attempt to assist the alien settler. A notable private experiment on a relatively small scale has been carried on near Wilmington, North Carolina, by Hugh MacRea. Two colonies, St. Helena and Castle Hayne, made up of Russians, Poles, Bulgarians and Dutch, have been developed. They have been highly successful. The method here as in Wisconsin and in some Far Western states has been to improve the land, supply capital and stand by the settler till he becomes established.

The inflow of aliens has, of course, been greatly checked by the restrictive laws that have been developed since 1919. Naturally, this policy has affected the rural districts along

²⁶ J. W. Jenks and W. J. Lauck, *The Immigrant Problem*, pp. 80-103.

²⁷ R. L. Buell, "Japanese Immigration," *World Peace Foundation Pamphlet*, 1924, p. 285.

with the urban and probably much more severely. In the period 1915-1919 or the years just preceding the first effective restrictive act, 27.1 per cent of the incoming aliens went directly into rural communities.²⁸ Under the quota law of 1924 very few are coming except from the non-quota countries such as Canada and Mexico. From these two sources an increasing number are entering the country and finding their way into rural communities.

CAUSAL FACTORS IN POPULATION MOVEMENTS

In pointing out the various movements of population that have to do with rural society we have incidentally touched upon the causal factors, but these merit more systematic treatment. Hence this section of the chapter will be devoted to a further discussion of that topic. The causes of population shiftings within rural territory are primarily economic. The eastern pioneers and homesteaders who trekked westward from the beginning of the Republic till well into the nineties of the last century, were motivated above all by the lure of cheap land. The reverse movement from the West to the East which began to manifest itself with the beginning of the present century is also due to the same cause. When free land became exhausted and the price of prairie farms began to climb in value, farmers began to sell their dear land and move on to cheaper soil farther East. Thus the swing back and forth of rural migration has had a single cause.

This shifting in response to fluctuating land values does not, of course, account for the constant inter-community movement of farm operators. The latter is largely due to the short term tenantry system, which gives rise to unrest and instability. Both landlords and tenants easily become dissatisfied and act upon the feeling that any change offers a chance to better the situation. Hence "changing tenants" and "changing farms" is an early springtime practice. In the South and Southwest, where the tenant system is most extensive, the class that has no capital or

²⁸ *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. II, p. 778.

very little capital moves most often, hoping in vain somehow to improve its lot. Those with most capital get the better farms and enjoy more independence. They are more satisfied and less migratory. Generally speaking, the practice of frequent changing means loss for the landlord and tenant alike.

The movement from farms to rural villages appears not to be so much economic as social. The family often goes to the village to secure better school and church advantages. Sometimes the retirement is forced by ill health and inability to carry the burdens of the farm. Generally it means an absentee landlord class who keep in pretty close touch with the farm. In part it is a class who have reached the age where a little let-up on strenuous labor is desired. These retired farmers are often referred to as "tired" farmers.

The study of the cause of retirement in the case of Mt. Horeb, Wisconsin, already referred to, probably gives a fair insight into the situation. In this case, 100 families moving from farms to the village of less than 1,400 population were studied. Of the 100 farmers all but 5 had been owner-operators. Four had been tenant-operators and one had managed a farm his children had inherited. The ratio between owners and tenants is probably characteristic of retired farmers in villages. Generally it is altogether probable that tenants upon retiring do not go to villages, but rather to the cities where economic opportunities are greater.

There were often several reasons for retiring in the case of the individuals moving to Mt. Horeb. The chief ones assigned were poor health, attainment of a competency, labor difficulties, and readiness of the young generation to take over the farm. The following table taken from the report cited gives a complete analysis.

In this connection it is interesting to note that 41 of the 100 farmers either sold or rented their farms to sons or daughters. Six others turned them over to other relatives. The other 48 disposed of their farms to non-relatives, 23 selling and 25 renting.

It appears that old age was not a large factor in retirement. Three moved to the village before they were 35; four at 70 years. The majority moved between the ages of 50 and 59 years.

TABLE 34.—REASONS FOR RETIRING FROM FARM.²⁹

REASONS	NUMBER REPORTING
1. Old age	5
2. Had saved enough to take things easier	49
3. Son or daughter wanted to take farm and father could not manage alone, so left it to them and moved to town	35
4. Farm help hard to get	27
5. Had no children (no sons, 6)	9
6. Help in house hard to get	12
7. Children grew up and left home	14
8. Children were in school	4
9. Children needed school opportunities in town..	13
10. Children did not want to stay on farm	7
11. Ill health in family	51
Man	26
Wife	22
Children	3
12. Death in family	7
Man	2
Wife	2
Children	3
13. Other business interests took time	3
14. Friends and relatives coaxed him to town	2
15. Dissatisfied with farming.....	7

The movement of population out of rural territory, or the city drift, obviously has a variety of causes. In so far as it is a movement of families the motives do not differ much from those involved in the shift to rural villages. The following analysis of the causes assigned by 732 families, in a survey made at Fort Collins, Colorado, for their leaving the country for the city gives a fair idea of the forces at work:³⁰

²⁹ Turner, *op. cit.*

³⁰ *Farmer's Wife*, October, 1924.

20	moved to get better home conveniences
16	“ “ “ “ church opportunities
42	“ “ “ “ social advantages
182	“ “ “ “ educational facilities
214	“ “ “ “ economic opportunities
236	“ because of ill health in the family
22	“ “ “ “ parents' age.

A third of the causes were obviously social in character. The inadequacy of rural institutions in the field of education, religion, and recreation are expulsive influences of importance. Many feel the need of a more fully organized social environment, such as the cities offer. As a consequence there is a disposition to look upon the country as merely a place of sojourn while they are getting means on which to go to the city to really live and establish a permanent home. Thus, the Country Life Commission asked certain Iowa farmers who had been called into the hearings at Davenport what was wrong with rural conditions in their state. "Not a thing," they replied, "farmers are making money and land values are going up. The average farmer can retire and move to town when he is fifty." This reply probably expresses a widely prevalent social dissatisfaction that is motivating the urban drift.

The relative isolation and lack of many and varied social contacts in the rural community palls upon certain types of people. The appeal of the herd exerts a strong influence that sooner or later draws them cityward. They feel that as between country and city it is a choice of sociological poverty or riches, and what promises to be riches wins. Often the city does not give what they expected, but, when all is said, the advantages of the city do outweigh those of the country, in the estimation of the vast majority who resort thither.

The second third of the cases in the study before us found themselves in the city because of the ill health or old age of some member of the family. Translated into other terms this probably signifies inability to carry on the farming process and so means as a rule the operation of economic pressure. The last third of the cases specifically

assign better economic opportunities in the city as the cause for leaving the farm.^{30a} There are indeed many advantages economically in the city that cannot be found in the rural community. More certain and steady employment at nominally higher wages is usually to be counted on. Work is easier, hours shorter, and working conditions are often more congenial and stimulating than in the country. Moreover, the responsibilities are generally lighter and the uncertainties fewer. And not the least advantage is the opportunity for a more satisfactory expenditure of leisure hours. So, as one has said, "The weekly pay roll of the factories has spoiled more farmers than the prices for farm products."³¹ The reasonable assurance of a fair and regular income, even tho it be a mere wage, looms large as over against little or no income at all, as is liable to be the case in a good proportion of the years when one has to run the risk of flood, frost, drought, storm, chinchbug, boll-weevil, hog-cholera, army worm, grasshoppers or ruinously low prices.

During the past five years or so the farm laborer has been enticed to the city by exceptionally favorable conditions in the industrial field. The restriction of foreign immigration has tended to create a labor shortage in urban industry. At the same time the agricultural depression has made farm work decidedly unprofitable and unattractive; hence there has been a rapid movement of wage earners out of the country districts.

The cause of the main exodus, that of the adolescent, remains to be considered. Here we come across a deep lying factor as the primary one. It is phenomenon of the constant genesis in the country of more population than is needed or can successfully engage in farming. This surplus population must migrate to the cities. Yes-

^{30a} A mimeographed bulletin entitled, *Analysis of Migration of Population to and from Farms*, from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, under date of October, 1927, has come to hand as proofs of this book are being read. The study is of 2,745 farm operators who have left farms for urban areas. It reveals about the same causal forces at work as have been pointed out here.

³¹ *North Carolina Year Book*, 1922, p. 31.

terday it found an outlet on the frontiers of the West. Now there is no longer any rural frontier. There is an urban one instead and thither youth must go to seek a career and fortune. Greeley's famous advice, "Go West, young man, and grow up with the country," has been superseded by the admonition, "Go to the city, young man, and get a job."

Not only has the rural frontier with its unoccupied lands passed but other equally important changes have taken place. There has been going on for two generations a mighty agrarian revolution thru the application of machinery and motor power to agriculture. The force of this revolution is cumulative as an expulsive influence, for it is constantly lessening the number of people that are needed to cultivate the soil. Fewer people year by year can till more soil, more effectively and thoroly. Thus opportunity is at once curtailed in two directions thru the passing of the rural frontier and by the introduction of machinery, till the migration of growing numbers of the country-born youth becomes a necessity.

The effect of agricultural machinery on the country population can be more fully appreciated if we will scan certain facts which were pointed out as long ago as 1890 by a report of the Census Bureau. This report gave a comparative table of the labor cost of the nine principal farm products in 1850 and 1890. At the earlier date it took 510,000,000 days of labor, or that of 1,900,000 persons for 300 days, to produce the same amount of these nine staples as was produced in 1890 by only 120,000,000 days' labor, or that of 400,000 persons instead of 1,900,000 for 300 days. This meant that slightly over one-fifth the labor needed forty years before would do the same work in 1890. During the generation that has intervened since that calculation was made there has been great advancement in curtailing manual labor by the use of more and better machines and above all by the application of motor and electric power instead of horse and man power. The change during this last generation has probably been greater than that between 1850 and 1890. In consequence

labor on the farm has become seven or eight or even ten times more efficient than in 1850.³²

Farm production has actually increased 40 per cent over what it was 20 years ago. At the same time the urban population has grown by 40 millions since 1890. And the constant tendency is for the farms to produce more than the cities can consume. In the face of this situation, together with the curtailment of foreign markets as an outlet for our surplus farm produce, there has been no place for the expansion of the farm population. At best its numbers would tend to become stationary.

To be sure, these conditions might have led to more intensive cultivation on smaller farm units without the use of machinery. In the South the farm units have grown smaller but it cannot be said that agriculture has become more intensive. Had the development of intensive agriculture taken place as suggested, it would have permitted the country to take care of its natural increase without migration. Such a development would have meant reversion to the self-sufficient type of agriculture that flourished up to the middle of the last century and consequently to a lower standard of living. However, the lure of industry and urban opportunity has been more enticing to the country-born youth than the lower standards of life that a more intensified and self-sufficient agriculture would afford. So there has been no tendency in that direction, but urbanward migration instead.

Of course, the farming public has not thought about it in any such fashion as our analysis would imply nor have country youth acted upon any such rational basis as we have presented. They have instead merely responded to such opportunities as came to them or failed them, as the case chanced to be, always following the line of least resistance or greatest traction cityward.

Lack of opportunity for the surplus youth in the country does not entirely account for the exodus of all. Ambition, the spirit of adventure, restlessness, desire for self-expression and recognition, and aspirations toward

³² John MacDougall, *Rural Life in Canada*, p. 69.

careers of their own have been profound influences in the lives of many. The awful dullness of the farm or village community, coupled with the natural craving of youth for exciting stimulation, plays an essential part in the rural exodus of young men and women in their teens. The city offers ready satisfaction for those yearnings that the uneventful neighborhood and the dull and drab village main street cannot appease. Then a flood of suggestions in these days deluge the youth of the country to turn him toward the city. The farmer is apt to be a chronic grumbler about his exceptionally hard and toilsome lot. His children's attitudes are conditioned by this psychological atmosphere and they inevitably take an unfavorable view of farm life. This attitude is strengthened by the fact that the ordinary farmer is disposed to think meanly of his occupation and to communicate the same notion to his children. Moreover, rural education, till of late, has been so thoroly urban in its valuations that it was more certain to give the child a bent away from the farm than toward it. Then above all, the direct appeal of the city thru the press, the "movie," the radio, advertising agencies, amusements, commercial opportunities and other attractions have been suggestive forces which the country could not counteract.³³

EFFECTS OF POPULATION MOVEMENTS ON RURAL SOCIETY

1. The movements of people within rural territory from one state or community to another have both good and evil results. It is often good for the individual or the family, for thus may they better their situation. This, I suppose, has generally been the case with those who migrated westward and with those who of late have turned their faces eastward again in search of cheaper lands. The shifting of tenants in so far as it is from poorer to better farms is advantageous for those making the shift. In a sense rural society has thus been given a fluidity that has much to commend it. Certainly it presents a wholesome contrast

³³ See E. R. Groves, *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare*, pp. 55-65.

to the relative fixity and stagnation of some Old World country life in this respect.

On the whole, however, the evil effects outweigh the good. There is a class whose unfortunate lot tends ever to be worsened by their many wanderings. One meets them, for instance, in the semi-desert regions of the West and Far West,—people who have been unable to adjust themselves to farm life back East. In the new and harder country to which they have turned they are trying again without much hope or chance of success. The tragedy of these marginal countrymen is made doubly tragic by their wandering proclivities. This type is, however, not the chief result of rural population instability. That result is to be observed in the instability and insecurity of the rural community. In this direction the effects are deplorable. People must have a permanent stake and an abiding interest in the community if adequate schools, churches and other institutions and organizations, together with a wholesome moral life are to flourish. It is a matter of common knowledge among students of country life that the presence of a numerous transient tenant class causes everything of a permanent social nature to slump.

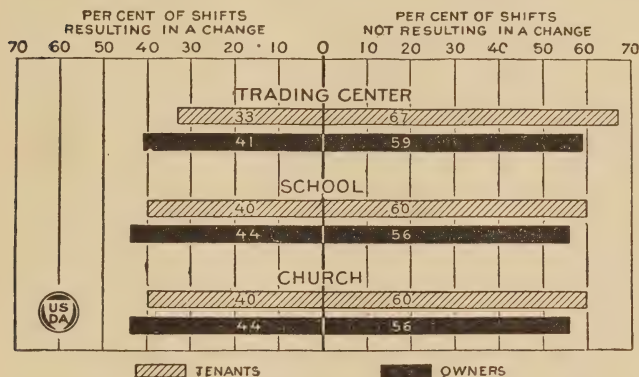
Professor Cooley has stressed the demoralizing influences of social disorganization and instability. Altho what he has to say is of general application, it is pertinent to quote him in this connection. After pointing out how important it is for the moral health of the individual to have intimate association with primary groups, he says:

“When we move to town or go to another country or from our former associates, it is not at all certain that we shall form new relations equally intimate and cogent with the old. A common result, therefore, is a partial moral isolation and atrophy of the moral sense. If the causes of change are at all general, we may have great populations made up largely of such dispersed units, a kind of ‘anarchy of spirits,’ among whom there is no ethics or settled system of moral life at all, only a confused outbreak of impulses, better or worse.”³⁴

³⁴ Charles H. Cooley, *The Social Process*, pp. 180-181.

This can easily be overemphasized, for by no means all displacement or disorganization is harmful. A certain amount is wholesome. But the harmful effects of the prevailing rural instability cannot be overlooked.

FIG. 27.—PERCENTAGES OF CASES IN WHICH ESTABLISHED COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS WERE BROKEN AS A RESULT OF REMOVALS TO OTHER FARMS BY TENANTS AND OWNER FARMERS; SELECTED AREAS IN KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE, 1919-1920.³⁵



From 56 to 67 per cent of the moves made by farmers in the districts surveyed were within the same community. Owners appear to shift more widely than do tenants, and therefore a larger percentage of the moves by owners result in breaking their established community relations.

2. The coming of the newer immigrants into the country districts, whether directly from abroad or by way of a few years' experience in urban industry, is often attended with evil consequences both to themselves and to the community. Ignorant of our language, our agricultural lands and methods, the alien not infrequently falls an early victim to his mistakes and to the exploiter's cunning. In New England and the Middle Atlantic states he has often

³⁵ L. C. Gray, Charles L. Stewart, Howard A. Turner, J. T. Sanders, and W. J. Spillman, "Farm Ownership and Tenancy," *United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook*, 1923, p. 597.

paid exorbitant prices for abandoned land, only to find that he could not make a living on it. Even with the low standard of living of peasants and with the labor of women and children fully utilized, many cannot make a go of it and are forced to return again to the cities. Such failures are deplorable in the extreme, since they involve the loss of hard earned savings and plunge the losers into despairing poverty. In so far as the community is concerned, the influence of a low standard people in competition with those of a higher standard is always bad. Moreover, the class of which we are speaking has been found difficult to enlist in any cooperative enterprises. The barriers of race prejudice and the language handicap rise as dividing walls within the community to lower its tone and hinder its possible improvement.

3. The exodus from the country is that which signifies most. For those who migrate it may be well. Moreover, it may be an economic necessity under conditions of increasing efficiency in agricultural production brought about by machinery and motor power. But for the communities whence they go it is socially a different story. Necessary tho it be that population readjust itself to changing conditions, the results are not altogether good. Often this readjustment means a declining population in a particular community and almost invariably this signifies the weakening of social life. In wide stretches of New England and the East this has occurred. It is beginning to appear in the Middle West. The abandoned farm made its appearance long ago but of late we have been introduced to thousands of abandoned churches and abandoned schools. Other thousands of these institutions are on the verge of being abandoned, since their ranks are so depleted that they have ceased to function in any effective manner. In the hills of New England one may visit what are virtually abandoned communities. Elsewhere one frequently hears the complaint that so many families or individuals have moved away that there is "nothing going on anymore" and that this or that activity has had to be given up. Such cases give rise to the thought that we shall yet see aban-

doned communities in other than the New England hill regions, and have American poets inspired to sing of our deserted villages and uninhabited rural neighborhoods.

More serious still is the possible loss of quality in the stock that is being sifted by migration. Rural exodus apparently often means stock depletion. It seems to be those with push and initiative who tend to migrate while the less enterprising and mediocre individuals are left behind. There is abundant evidence of depletion in many sections, as any observer of rural conditions can testify. The following statement is fairly descriptive of what is taking place at least in some sections. "In the rural and semirural population within a hundred miles of our great cities we find a disproportion of the indolent, the alcoholic, the feeble-minded, the neer-do-well. I know intimately several such locations and have seen, in one family after another, how the ambitious youth leave the parental roof-tree to try their fortunes in the city, while the weakest young men stay behind, supported by their parents, or earning only enough to buy the liquor their defective natures crave, and are finally forced to marry a weak girl and father her imbecile offspring. Such villages, depleted of the best, tend to become cradles of degeneracy and crime."³⁶ Localities far away as well as near the great cities become like drained out stagnant pools, through the exodus of population. One sees them in the remote hill towns of New England that have suffered so long from the effects of drainage. In the Middle West there are intimations here and there that a similar situation is fast approaching.

It may be too much to generalize and say that everywhere the best blood is leaving the country. Possibly it is only a particular type of the best stock. One has suggested that it is the "potentially distinguished youth with promise of ardent life, fame and fortune." Thus Professor Hornell Hart says, "As distinguished from older migration to the frontier, migration to cities apparently selects especially those potentially distinguished in intel-

³⁶ C. B. Davenport, *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics*, p. 211.

lectual pursuits. In the frontier days the pioneers reproduced much more rapidly than the less aggressive persons left behind; hence early migration was eugenic in its effects. Recent native migrations, with their cityward trend tend to leave fewer children than the individuals left behind in the rural districts. Hence modern migration tends to be dysgenic in its effects.”³⁷

Perhaps cityward migration is selecting not so much those distinguished in intellectuality as those who are merely aggressive, venturesome, reckless, and of an exploitive nature. If so, those who are left behind on the farms may tend to be the more persistent, productive, steady, careful and peace-loving types. In that case, the effect would be not necessarily dysgenic, but only to differentiate an urban and rural type, giving our cities the aggressive, exploitive and dominating individuals and the country the more contented, submissive and stable sort. But such a differentiating process is not good, for each type is needed in both urban and rural society. If they tend to become separated the social balance is upset. And in such an upsetting the country is the loser and the city the gainer, for there is added to the things that make for urban ascendancy one more element of power at the expense of the country. Thus rural society is weakened in ability to protect itself from complete subordination and exploitation by the city.

If we cannot be certain as to just what is happening to the rural stock thru urban migration over the country at large, we can be more confident as to the moral influence of social drainage. Professor E. A. Ross has well stated the situation in the following:

“The continual departure of young people who would in time have become leaders results eventually in a visible moral decline of the community. The roads are neglected, which means less social intercourse and a smaller turnout to school and church and public events. School buildings and grounds deteriorate, and the false idea takes root that it pays to hire the cheaper teacher. The church gets

³⁷ Hornell Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 129.

into a rut, fails to start up the social and recreative activities which bind the young people to it, and presently ceases to be a force. Frivolity engrosses the young because no one organizes singing schools, literary societies, or debating clubs. Presently a generation has grown up that has missed the uplifting and refining influence of these communal institutions. There is a marked decline in standards of individual and family morality.”³⁸

Other effects of town and city drift are seen in the growth of tenantry and absentee landlordism with all the attendant evils. There is general agreement that this is socially bad. The land owner in town loses interest in the welfare of the rural community, and the tenant, because he has no permanent stakes in the community, is slow to acquire any social interest. Moreover, between the older land owning class who still remain in the community and the newly formed tenant group there tends to develop social cleavage. This fact has been brought out by numerous rural church surveys. They show that the church of the old families is woefully indifferent and neglectful of the tenant class. Too often the tenant is unwelcomed. He is thus not assimilated to the community life. Such disturbances of community homogeneity hinders any unity of action and thwarts desirable social developments.

REMEDIAL MEASURES

Remedies for unsatisfactory social conditions are easy to suggest but difficult to apply and by no means certain to better conditions when tried. Herbert Spencer once likened efforts at solving social problems to what happens when one tries to pound out a dint in a sheet of tin. You may try it, said he, but you only get a lot more dints for your trouble. And so would it probably be with efforts looking to the stabilization of the rural population. It is a complicated situation, which involves the entire social

³⁸ E. A. Ross, *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XI, p. 27.

order and which, if you succeed in adjusting it in one quarter, is likely to be warped out of shape in another. This being true, the sociologist must hesitate to propose a program of reform. At least he will be skeptical of the wisdom of any telic efforts that run counter to the genetic or natural process. Nevertheless, he may suggest measures which if applied might have a meliorating effect.

One measure would be a system of taxation designed to curb speculation in land. This might take the form of a supertax on incomes derived from rents, or it might be a tax on unearned value increments or some other device for discouraging absentee landlordism and tenantry. For where there is land speculation the price of land increases and tenantry grows apace. Curb this speculation and tenantry will decrease and to that extent the farm population will tend to become more settled. If, however, the era of speculation in farm lands is over, as some are contending, then this remedy will not be needed, and what it might accomplish will come about anyhow. But it has yet to be shown that the speculative era is over; hence the remedy proposed has merit.

Another remedy might be found in the right sort of credit system. The Federal Farm Loan System was in part designed to check the growth of tenantry, for it was believed that it would help the renter to become a farm owner. But there is little or no evidence that it has done this. On the contrary, it has helped land owners to buy more land and rent it with an eye on the gains from unearned increments. In the South where large numbers of share tenants and croppers are held in debt bondage that virtually amounts to peonage simply because the credit system makes them wholly dependent on the landlords, there are large possibilities for the development of cooperative credit organizations that will emancipate the tenant. Incidentally, credit facilities of this sort would go far toward stabilizing conditions.

Again, something might be done by way of reforming our laws directly governing tenantry, so as to foster long term leases. Whatever did this would help to reduce the

shifting from place to place of large numbers of soil tillers.

When it comes to city drift one may doubt if there is any remedy. Indeed, this drift is likely to grow worse, for as the productive process in agriculture is more and more improved by the use of scientific methods and labor-saving machinery, fewer and fewer people will be needed to furnish the food supply and the raw materials demanded by the nation. Even now it is quite possible that there are at least 1,000,000 too many producing farmers. For when we consider the state of world markets and their inability to absorb our surplus, it is clear that agricultural production is being overdone and that the farmer suffers as a consequence. Dr. David Friday has suggested that this excess million farmers and their families, say five millions in all, should move to town. Indeed, if by some such population readjustment a balance could be secured between agriculture and industry, the farm might become more profitable, the city drift be retarded, and greater stability prevail. But, in the nature of things, this would be only temporary, for the balance would soon be upset and the process of occupational readjustment begin again. Certain it is that no fixed and permanent adjustment of the rural to the urban population can be attained so long as urban society continues to grow and rural people continue to multiply in excess of the sustaining power of the land at the present standard of living.

There can be no stopping of city drift that is motivated by economic and occupational interests and there should be none. The gangways between occupations must be kept open and free; the country man and city man must be permitted to pass freely to and fro. Thus only can the best life for the individual, rural or urban, be possible.

Remedies are more within reach where the city drift is of families leaving the country in search of the social advantages that the city affords. For it is possible for the rural community to develop fairly adequate social institutions and organizations of its own. If it will make the most of its resources, there is no reason why any family

need move to town to secure the worthwhile things of social life. A rural culture that will be equal in all the essentials to that afforded by the city can be developed in America. Such a culture exists elsewhere, and why not in America? Here is a challenge to restless and ambitious countrymen who go in search of the ideal somewhere beyond the environment with which they are most familiar. Time was in the old New England community and in the neighborhoods of the ante-bellum South when there was a more or less distinctive and commendable rural culture. One finds it in the Old World today. The gentleman farmer signifies something fine and superior. Why not this type in America?

Many agencies are working for the betterment of rural society. Here and there creditable results are being achieved. Communities there are that approach the ideal in that they are meeting the demands that must be met by every community if it is to hold its own against the allurements of the city. However, it is only as the country people themselves catch a vision of a better community and command the agencies that will enable them to realize it that the better community can be secured. There is no social legislation, voluntary organization, or other power that is going to do it for them. Inspiration may come from above and round about, but the achievement must come from within the community itself.

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Part III

THE CULTURAL ELEMENT

VI

THE TRADITIONAL ELEMENT

OUR SOCIAL HERITAGE AND ITS IMPORTANCE

WE have taken stock of the vital factor or what is commonly called the population aspect of American rural society. Altho this factor, if any comparative valuations are to be made, is the most important, the veritable Alpha and Omega of sociological concern, it is nevertheless only one phase of communal existence. The other phases are of scarcely less importance and quite as essential to the existence of any human society. In fact, without the extra-vital or super-organic factor there would be absolutely no human society at all. Especially would this be the case, were the traditional element to be eliminated. Without it men would be merely herding animals, and rather feeble and inconsequential ones at that if matched with other gregarious species. Just how significant the elimination of tradition would be has been rather picturesquely stated by Graham Wallas. He says: "If the earth were struck by one of Mr. Wells' comets and if, in consequence, every human being now alive were to lose all the knowledge and habits which he had acquired from preceding generations (tho retaining unchanged all his own powers of invention and memory and habituation) nine-tenths of the inhabitants of London or New York would be dead in a month, and 99 per cent of the remaining tenth would be dead in six months. They would have no language to express their thoughts, and no thoughts but vague reveries. They could not read notices or drive motors or horses. They would wander about, led by the inarticulate cries of a few naturally dominating individuals, drowning themselves as thirst came on in hun-

dreds at the riverside landing places, looting those shops where the smell of decaying food attracted them, and perhaps at the end stumbling on the expedient of cannibalism. Even in the country districts, men could not invent, in time to preserve their lives, methods of growing food, or taming animals, or making fire, or so clothing themselves as to endure a northern winter. An attack of constipation or measles would be invariably fatal. After a few years mankind would almost certainly disappear from the northern and temperate zones. The white races would probably become extinct everywhere. A few primitive races might live on fruit and small animals in those fertile tropical regions where the human species was originally evolved, until they had slowly accumulated a new social heritage. After some thousands of generations they would probably possess something which we should recognize as a language, and perhaps some art of taming animals and cultivating land. They might or might not have created what we call a religion, or a few of our simpler mechanical inventions and political expedients. They probably would not have recreated such general ideas as 'law' and 'Liberty' though they might have created other general ideas which would be new to us."¹

Inasmuch, therefore, as the social heritage is so indispensable a part of society, sociology must devote large space to it, and rural sociology quite as much as the rest.

Perhaps it will be well at the outstart to get clearly before us just what is meant by social tradition. Incidentally, it should be noted that there are several terms used to designate this element. In addition to "tradition" it is common to speak of the "social heritage," the "social heredity," "record," "record of the past" and "culture." What these terms stand for may well be stated in the language of Taylor, who defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."² Both mental attitudes

¹ Graham Wallas, *Our Social Heritage*, pp. 16-17.

² E. B. Taylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I, p. 1.

and social practices are obviously involved in the social heritage. What the sociologists called the *folkways* and the *mores* are included. The folkways being the ways of satisfying needs, and the mores being the ways of doing things to which notions and standards of welfare are attached, constitute a very considerable part of the total tradition.

AGRARIAN CULTURE

The rural and the urban people of America possess much in common as regards the social heritage. They have in general the same religion, politics, ethics, marriage customs, manner of association, and mode of life. They are sharers naturally in the same civilization. Nevertheless, the traditions of the two groups diverge at many points. Each has ways and standards peculiar to itself. There is, in fact, an urban culture and a rural culture, and the two are fairly distinct. There are folkways and mores of the farm and field which give to rural society a tradition all its own. It is this which it behooves us as students of country life to carefully distinguish and study if rural society is to be adequately understood.

It is sometimes said that urban civilization is full grown, while the rural is undeveloped. Still, the body of tradition identified with country life is quite as old as that found in the city. The beginnings of trade and certain manual arts may date from a time before any agriculture existed. "Working in flint," says T. N. Carver, "has been called the oldest trade in the world, but tilling the soil has first claim to that distinction, unless the word 'trade' is to be applied to special mechanical occupations only."³ Certainly the bulk of the practices connected with commerce and manufacturing upon which modern urban groups depend are not ancient. They are but of yesterday compared with the age-old pursuit of husbandry, for upon the latter all the civilizations of antiquity were founded. In Chaldea, Egypt and China agriculture was flourishing when history dawned some three to four thousand years B. C. In India

³ T. N. Carver, *Principles of Rural Economics*, p. 26.

it was an important pursuit while the code of Manu was being formulated—as early as the ninth century B. C. In Persia it held supreme place when the Zendavestas were written—not less than seven or eight centuries before Christ. And likewise in Greece, civilization was agricultural in the times of Hesiod—probably eight hundred B. C. Hence, it may be said that the culture of the country is hoary with antiquity and ripe with maturity beside that of the city.

Indeed, the roots of all true civilization are deep in agriculture. As M. L. Bordeau has said: “The moment when man sought the chief support of his life in agriculture is one of the most important dates of history, and opened the decisive era of civilization. Till then, hunter or fisherman, he lived chiefly upon his catches, free or domesticated and, superior to carnivorous species, he differed from them only in having a more intelligent method of hunting. When he became an agriculturist he rose above all the animals by a manner of living without analogy among them. He made the land his domain, cut down the forests, plowed the ground, and propagated by industry the plans useful for his wants. From that time he had at his disposal incomparably vaster resources than he could draw from animals. His comfort, henceforth assured, depended on himself only, and populations increased rapidly. Under the influence of these new conditions all the elements of civilization were developed and advanced. Varied industries were constituted to give value to the productions of the earth, habits were regulated and milder religions substituted for the bloody sacrifices of the pastoral phase, peaceful offerings of wheat, meal, oil and wine.”⁴

Civilization and agriculture are substantially identical in time of appearance and in essential nature. Savagery linked with hunting and fishing and barbarism with herding have nowhere yielded that social permanency and development which mark the civilized stage. Only agriculture has done this. In no case does this hold more true

⁴ M. L. Bordeau, “The Beginnings of Agriculture,” *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. 46, pp. 684-685.

than with respect to Aryan civilization. The very name itself, according to Max Muller, means *arare*, to plow—signifying that the culture of the Aryans was at bottom agriculture.

CIVILIZATION, AGRICULTURAL AT BOTTOM

How man began to cultivate plants and to build the agrarian tradition that was to give the world civilization is largely a matter of speculation. However, glimpses of what may well have been the modes of beginning have been caught here and there in the study of tribal society. Among the West Australians it was customary in digging up wild yams to re-insert the tops so that they might grow again. This step toward cultivation, says H. L. Roth, is the earliest of which there is knowledge.⁵ But there was a still earlier step, the origin of which has not been observed, namely, making the discovery “that the yams’ heads alone would suffice for propagation.”⁶

It has been suggested that the first step toward the cultivation of grains was the incidental scattering of seeds along the track to the camp when the seeds of wild grasses were gathered and borne thither for food.⁷ This would suggest voluntary sowing and perhaps some preparation of the ground to receive the seed. The crudest kind of sowing known has been observed among certain tribes of Bengal, where the seed is simply thrown into the ground to come up as it can.⁸ Between this method and real tillage by digging up the ground, such as several American Indian tribes practiced, many intermediate stages have been observed.⁹

Everything points to the first appearance of full-blown agriculture in one of two sections of the globe. The region embracing the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile is one, and the other is that portion which claims the Ganges, and

⁵ H. L. Roth, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, April, 1886, p. 120.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

the Yang-Tse-Kiang.¹⁰ But whatever may have been achieved in these ancient valleys, it is certain that agriculture as we know it is a body of tradition enriched by many streams from many plains, plateaus, and valleys flowing together. Agricultural people have all borrowed freely from one another. We read of the Egyptian Pharaohs and the rulers of China sending forth expeditions to discover plants and other means of improving the art of cultivation.¹¹ And we know how this tradition was enhanced for many peoples by folk wanderings. The Aryan cultural groups, for instance, as they were dispersed thruout Europe and Asia, scattered the knowledge of the art as they had gathered it in their migrations. The conquering peoples also did their share. Thus, the Romans took pains to make the agriculture of every part of the world over which they ruled yield something to benefit every other part.¹²

So little by little, by various means and from many sources, this body of tradition has been built. Consciously and unconsciously many nations have collaborated to produce it. The ripened experiences of unnumbered generations have been gathered into it. And those who now possess it have come into a goodly heritage indeed—perhaps the richest and noblest portion of all that which falls to the lot of man.

AGRICULTURE, THE BASIS OF URBAN CULTURE

Indissolubly linked with the beginnings of civilization and antedating commerce and industry, the agrarian culture gave a basis for urban pursuits and led to the development of cities. There could scarcely have been any considerable cities without a fairly well-developed agriculture yielding a food surplus sufficient to sustain a non-food-producing population. As a matter of fact, the study of city origins has made it clear that they commonly came into existence thru a process of robbery directed against soil-

¹⁰ M. L. Bordeau, *op. cit.*, p. 686.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 687.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 688.

tillers. The initiators of this process as a means of livelihood were pastoral tribesmen.¹³ Predacious and warlike in their habits, they found it easy to prey upon and plunder the less mobile and more peaceable agriculturists with whom they came in contact. These practices finally led to outright conquest and subjugation. The rule which was then set up to facilitate the exploitation of the conquered was the genesis of the state. And the armed camps in which the pastors had settled themselves on the territory of the conquered became the nuclei of the first important urban centers of the world. Power and authority were concentrated in these places. To them was brought the tribute that the soil-tillers had to render their masters. Here were reared the altars of the gods which the conquerors required to be worshipped. In due time came various traders and craftsmen and in one way and another a numerous population was gathered. Thus what were originally the camps of invading warriors became the permanent abodes of urban groups. After this manner generally thruout the world, especially wherever territorial states were established, cities arose and developed. Doubtless some cities arose in other ways at river fords, about shrines and sacred spots, at places where wares were exchanged, and in strategic localities by the sea where robber bands were wont to gather, but the primary source of cities seems to have been that described above. If therefore cities commonly originated after the manner indicated, it is to be observed that historically urban culture has been parasitic upon agriculture.

URBAN ATTITUDE AND SUPERIORITY

From the situation just described there was received into the general tradition a certain mental attitude that still persists. It was the attitude of these ancient state makers and city founders toward agriculturists. This was one of scorn and contempt. History abounds in its expression. Thus, the code of Manu, largely the product of a pastoral

¹³ Oppenheimer, Franz, *The State*.

economy, gives no honor to this art. Nor yet do the Zendavestas view it altogether favorably. And wherever in all ages there have been herdsmen they have invariably preyed on the "soil grubbers" and "wheat eaters." The greater freedom of the pastoral life naturally led its followers to look upon the sedentary pursuit of husbandry as degrading. This notion was greatly strengthened, no doubt, because the soil tillers were so easily despoiled and reduced to vassalage. And when they were actually brought to that condition by the conquering pastors, the attitude became a fixed one. Transplanted to the cities in the beginning and wrought into every phase of their organization and by them carried down through the centuries, this attitude dominates the social tradition to this day.

Unfortunately, the soil-tillers have almost always accepted this low estimation of themselves and their art. Serfs, peasants, farmers alike have deprecated their occupation. The influence of the immemorial past is still felt among the most favored of them.

In France, for instance, agriculture is the most despised of occupations. The farmers are despised by the politicians and the wealthy classes. The latter have no interest in country life save for purposes of pleasure.¹⁴ "And the French farmers despise themselves. They suffer from . . . an inferiority complex. The evidence lies in their sullen mien and humor that demands and receives punctilious courtesies in the market places and the army service alike."¹⁵

Exceptions to this conception of themselves and their occupation among farmers are rare and found chiefly where they have become the dominant element in the state. The most notable case in point is found in present day Denmark. There one finds a worthy pride.

The American farmer generally thinks meanly of his calling when making comparisons with other vocations. The urban viewpoint that the countryman is a "rustic," a "clod-hopper," a "hayseed," a "hodge," still persuades him. The modern city, despite the fact that it professes

¹⁴ E. C. Branson, *Farm Life Abroad*, p. 273.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

to have turned from exploitative to benevolent urbanism, seems to have produced no modification of this attitude either for the city dweller or for the countryman.

In our Southern states, where large cities have not existed and where urban life of any sort has played but a small part, the word "farmer" carries no idea of inferiority. The "country gentleman" is still the aristocrat of the South. Thus it was in the days of slavery and the old plantation and so it still remains. The planter was to the South what the landed nobility of England was to English society, the ruling class, to the manner born. Everywhere else in America, however, the farmer has been of inferior status similar to that of the peasantry of Europe.

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VII

THE PRIMARY TRADITION

TRADITION CLASSIFIED

THE body of social tradition may be conveniently classified under several heads. They are as follows: the economic, or "self-maintenance," the genesic or sex and family, the political, the juridic, the religious, the moral, the æsthetic, the educative or intellectual, the recreative, and the health interest. These several classes of phenomena are more or less recognized as distinctive phases by every society. They will serve our purpose in the canvass of a rural culture.

An important distinction has been made between these various classes of tradition—one set has been called the primary, and the others, the derived or secondary.¹ The economic or self-maintenance mores, i.e., the ones which have to do with the struggle for existence, including "the most concrete and material activity of society,"² are the primary. All the others are called secondary in the sense that they are not the *conditio sine qua non* of existence. Rather are they functions of the self-maintenance mores.³

Our first concern is with the primary or self-maintenance tradition. Getting a living involves on the part of the farmer a process that is wholly unique compared with that followed by all others who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. It is unique in that it is the only occupation that is productive in the generic sense of the

¹ A. G. Keller, *Societal Evolution*, p. 133.

² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

term. The earth is made to yield an increase and flocks and herds to reproduce, so that the stores of the world are added to as by no other means. There are other extractive industries but this one is essentially creative. To entice gifts from nature is the farmer's occupation. Others may tax her stores or change the form and place of nature already existent, but the farmer's task is to make nature bring forth a new creation.

The technique of doing this with success is perhaps the most manifold, comprehensive and complex of all arts. "An ancient occupation," says Carver, "pursued by countless generations, accumulates a vast fund of wisdom and skill, much of which escapes the pages of the written book, being transmitted from father to son on the thin air of oral tradition or of living example. Such an occupation is agriculture . . . In consequence of its antiquity and its universality there has developed a body of rural lore and technique, which has no counterpart anywhere else, but which is entirely underestimated by, if not absolutely unknown to, the urbanite. But because so much of it is learned outside of schools, by the actual process of doing rural work, father and son working together generation after generation, it does not commonly go under the name of 'learning.' Moreover, the marvelous technique of rural work is acquired in such a commonplace way that we frequently regard it as a matter of course, and do not appreciate that it is real technique."⁴

It is far from our purpose to describe in detail the manifold technique of husbandry. To do so would necessitate cataloging all the practices relative to plowing, planting, tending, harvesting, animal breeding and care, feeding, fertilizing, fencing, and scores of other things. But this would be monotonous and profitless. It will be useful in this treatise to take account only of what is distinctive in a comparative way and of what is particularly significant in its social bearing.

⁴ Carver, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

THREE LEVELS OF AGRICULTURAL ART

Agriculture in America is marked by one feature, namely, that it is carried on as an art largely devoid of science. It is often even an altogether artless rule-of-thumb method. Its traditions are almost wholly empirical observations, which the masses apply uncritically generation after generation.

1. However, three levels of the art are discernible. These may be conveniently designated as the *magical or antiquated*, the *customary or practical*, and the *scientific*. At the first level is found magic and superstition. This body of beliefs and folkways surviving from a distant past is a persistent factor among farmers today. Probably no other occupational group, unless it is the sea-faring craft, is so much under the influence of such traditions. One finds people in almost every rural community clinging to magical practices of every sort. Lists of superstitions have been gathered by the students of American folklore. F. B. Dressler cites some 7,176 examples. E. M. Fagel has recorded 2,083 among Pennsylvania Germans, and D. L. and L. B. Thomas 3,954 from Kentucky. By no means all of these are confined to the country districts nor do all have reference to the rural ways of getting a living. They cover a far wider range of experience than those directly connected with agriculture, but in running through *Kentucky Superstitions*, which records beliefs and practices that are by no means peculiar to or confined to Kentucky, I note fully one hundred that are directly connected with the weal and woe of the farmer. A few samples that are widely prevalent thruout rural regions run as follows: Sow turnips on the 25th of July, wet or dry. If you have a fruit tree that will not bear fruit, drive a peg or nail into it and make it bear. Set the first hen on Monday for good luck. Plant corn when the sign is in the arms. Sow grass always in the light of the moon. If a tree is struck by lightning the fire may be put out by milk, but not by water. If beans are planted in the afternoon they will drop the

bloom. If you turn a cow dry on Sunday her calf will be born in the daytime. Kill a frog and your cow will have bloody milk. If you buy a horse and change his name you will have bad luck with it. Many similar beliefs could be added, for they are extensive.

One source of rural superstitions deserves special mention, since in many rural sections it is a highly respected authority. I refer to the "Agricultural Almanac," published in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, for the last hundred years. This compendium of rural superstitions evidently has a wide circulation and hence is somewhat of an index to the hold magic has on country people. Here is a sample of its wisdom taken from an issue since 1920. "The days of each month in which the moon sign coincides with the sun sign the influence of the sign is supposed to be greatly intensified. The first day the moon is in a sign is better than the second, and the second than the third. Those who know the importance of these laws are ready to plant at the proper time knowing that seeds planted in a scanty sign, a scanty crop will follow; if planted in a fruitful sign, a full crop will follow. The time to plant the garden is when the earth is in a good sign, and the day to plant is when the moon is in the sign. The time to harvest is when the sign is right."

Other pages of this guide contain advice such as the following: "All crops that produce their yield above the surface of the ground should be planted in the increase light of the moon. . . . All root crops that produce their yield in the ground should be planted in the decrease light of the moon. . . . Timber cut in the old of the moon in August will not be eaten by worms nor snap in burning, and will last much longer than if cut at any other time. . . . The hair should be cut on the increase of the moon if you want a thick head of hair; on the decrease if you want the reverse. The same applies to sheep; if you shear sheep in the increase of the moon their wool will grow again better and stronger.

"Poulterers, butchers and meat dealers should not kill when the moon is waning, during which period all dead

matter tends to shrink, decay and decompose; this is the reason why meat sometimes shrinks on boiling and does not keep well. If butchered in full of moon or a little before, pork will not only be better but will also swell up and enlarge in boiling. The roofs of houses and barns and other buildings should be shingled and wooden rail fences staked when horns of the moon point downward, as the shingles and stakes will then not rise up as they otherwise would. Fences should be made and repaired when the horns of the moon point upward, as fences then will not sink into the ground. All sorts of trees should be grafted and pruned during the increase in the moon's light. Timber cut when the moon is full or rapidly increasing in her light will be full of sap, soft and spongy, and will not last, as it will soon become worm-eaten or destroyed by rot. Timber cut when the moon is dark or during the decrease of its light in the month of February will be durable."

The superstitions of which the foregoing are typical are more or less seriously believed in and followed by a considerable number of countrymen everywhere. Farming is carried on "in the moon" and by the signs of the zodiac to a greater degree than is often appreciated.

2. *The second level* of the self-maintenance mores, which I have designated the practical, concerns the great bulk of agricultural customs and practices. They are the ways that have been evolved and adapted to circumstances in the hard school of every day life. Repeatedly tested and found safe, the farmer clings tenaciously to them and is loath to try new ones. That which "is customary," the usage, the practice holds sway over the rank and file of farmers. In any particular type of farming there is considerable variation in the practices followed from section to section. In the corn belt, for instance, toward its eastward limits the corn is cut, shucked, and subsequently husked, while toward the westward limits it is shucked from the standing stalk. So in many particulars is there variation in the technique. And yet what is more noteworthy is the uniformity of ways in general among farmers.

3. *The third or scientific level* of tradition is the new and rational method in contrast to the superstitious and customary. This portion of the tradition is growing. It is being wrought out by experimentation and research in the agricultural colleges and experiment stations maintained for that purpose. From them it is being passed on to the farmers; thus much headway has been made in modifying agricultural methods. However, as yet the growing surface of the maintenance mores is but a thin coating over the mountain of static custom. Only the few have so far entered into the new and better heritage that is being offered. Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that the American farmer is capable of becoming a scientific farmer, that he can effect alteration and improvement in his ways. In truth, it is apparent that in the last analysis he will respond to change as readily as any other occupational class. There is already a wide-spread beginning of scientific agriculture in the fact that there are county agricultural or Farm Bureau Agents in almost every county of America. These highly trained experts are giving advice and instruction on every phase of the agricultural process to an increasing number of farmers. Thus a new type of farmer is arising.

The fact, however, that the farmer's technique has to do with the manipulation of nature, which brooks no radical departures from its wonted ways, makes the traditions of husbandry rather more immutable than those of any other art.

Everything considered, the technique of American agriculture has been reasonably well adapted to the environment, for it has given a relatively large yield. Compared with the agriculture of the Old World it has worked with preëminent success when measured in everything except human values. Of this the following data give conclusive proof.

Taking 1,000 as the basis of productivity for each American dependent upon agriculture including all persons gainfully employed in agriculture as well as all those dependent upon them, the following tables have been compiled.

TABLE 35.—INDEX OF PRODUCTIVITY OF AMERICAN FARMERS ⁵

For each American dependent upon agriculture	1,000	100%
For each German dependent upon agriculture..	685	68%
For each Britain dependent upon agriculture..	425	42%
For each Frenchman dependent upon agriculture	406	40%
For each Italian dependent upon agriculture...	230	23%

The table only shows that the American farmer supports more unemployed dependents than are found elsewhere. This also signifies a relatively high economic level compared with much of the Old World.

When the index of productivity for each person engaged in agriculture is taken we get the results in the succeeding table:

TABLE 36.—INDEX OF PRODUCTIVITY PER PERSON.⁶

For each American engaged in agriculture	292
For each Britain engaged in agriculture	126
For each German engaged in agriculture	119
For each Frenchman engaged in agriculture...	90
For each Italian engaged in agriculture	45

Interpreted, this means the volume of productivity of each American engaged in agriculture is about 2½ times that of the English agriculturist, nearly 3 times that of the German farmer, and 6 times that of the Italian. The facts are that "In no age of history and in no country has there been nor is there now" the equal of the American farmer in the matter of quantity of production.⁷

THE LAND SYSTEM

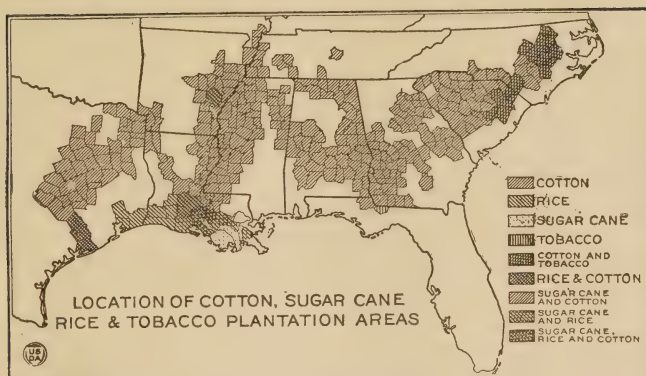
So much for the body of tradition in general. Some of the specific customs embodied therein merit attention. Foremost among them is the land system. The practice of utilizing much land, i.e., extensive rather than intensive cultivation, prevails. The average size of farms in the

⁵ Butterfield, K. L., *The Farmer and the New Day*, pp. 9, 10. Copyright by The Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1919. Used by permission.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ C. O. Brannen, "Relation of Land Tenure to Plantation Organization," United States Department of Agriculture, *Department Bulletin No. 1269*, p. 3.

FIG. 28.—PLANTATION AREAS.⁸



Plantations occupy an important part of the farming area in 9 States, while a few plantations are found in 3 other States. Cotton plantations are found in all States where plantation farming is followed, while sugar cane, rice, and tobacco plantations are confined to limited areas where soil and climate are especially suitable to the production of these crops. (Based on plantation census of 1910, supplemented by data obtained in special field investigations, 1920-21, in the newer developed sections.)

United States for 1920 was 148.2 acres in contrast to a very few acres in most of Europe. The following are the average for the several sections:

New England	108.2
Middle Atlantic	95.4
East North Central	108.5
West North Central	234.3
South Atlantic	84.4
East South Central	75.0
West South Central	174.1
Mountain	480.7
Pacific	239.8

By size of farm is meant units of operation rather than the amount of land owned or controlled by the individual

⁸ C. O. Brannen, "Relation of Land Tenure to Plantation Organization," United States Department of Agriculture, *Department Bulletin No. 1269*, p. 3.

farmer. The averages given in the table do not reveal much concerning the differences that prevail in the system of management in the several sections of the country. The large ranches of the West and Northwest and the plantations of the South represent types of farming where extensive areas are under the control of one man, tho usually broken up into smaller units for purposes of cultivation. The Southern plantation is operated in this manner. In eleven states of the South are found over 22,000 plantations, embracing upwards of 20,000,000 of acres of land. This represents an area equal to the total farm land of Michigan or Tennessee, and 2,000,000 acres in excess of all that of New England. The farms of the plantations are small and their number runs to several hundred thousand.⁹ The small unit system of tenant farming on these plantations accounts for the small average size given in the table.

In the general farming sections the idea is prevalent that a family cannot make a living on a forty-acre farm. This only reflects the custom of extensive cultivation. A large yield per man rather than a large yield per acre is the underlying aim. Here again America stands in contrast to Europe. It is maximum production per man with us and maximum production per acre in Europe. Our system is supposedly good for the producer and worker on the soil. It ought to mean a relatively high standard of living, a high standard man and a high standard country life. And yet we do not have a rural civilization comparable to the best in Europe. Our farmers are ignorant, their institutions weak, their philosophy of life narrow and sordid, and their mode of living mean and low when compared with that of little Denmark. Of course, Southern Europe has a peasantry much inferior in its culture, but not so the Northern countries. Our system gives crops, but it has failed to give adequate returns in human values.

This practice has entailed the habit of soil mining or exploiting the initial fertility of the land, often even to the point of its utter exhaustion. In place of this vicious custom a new habit of conservation through crop rotation

⁹ C. O. Brannen, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

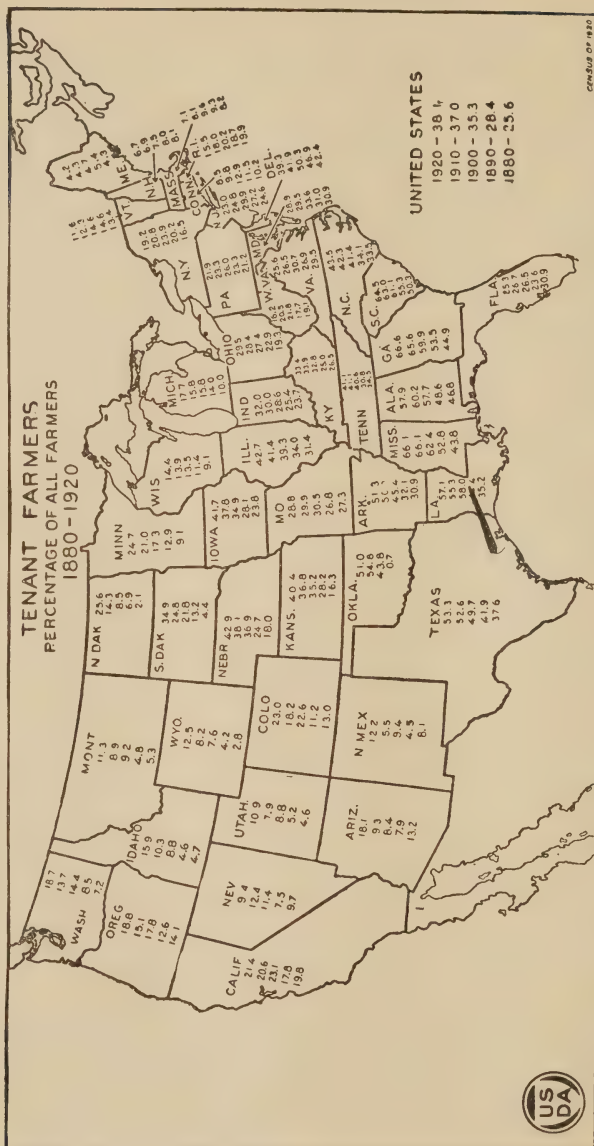
and fertilization has gradually come into vogue. Here the effects of applied science on the mores are most in evidence.

The tradition respecting land tenure is another distinctive feature of American rural culture. Independent ownership has always been the chief mode of farm holdings in America. However, tenancy had become a conspicuous feature by the last quarter of the 19th century and has continued to grow in importance until today. The census of 1880 revealed 25.6 per cent of all farms so operated. Since then it has grown to 28.4 per cent in 1890, 35.3 per cent in 1900, 33 per cent in 1910, and 38.1 per cent in 1920. Translated to other terms, tenantry grew from 256 per 1,000 farm operators in 1880 to 284 per 1,000 in 1890, 353 per 1,000 in 1900, 370 per 1,000 in 1910, and 381 per 1,000 in 1920.

Increase in the proportion of farm tenants during the decade 1910-1920 was not uniform throughout the United States. In some sections the growth was steady, as in the South, the cornbelt, and the Lake states. In the South the increase was probably due to rising land values and the "cropper system." For one-third of the Negro tenants and one-fourth of the white tenants are of this class in most Southern states. In the corn belt and Lake states speculative land values explain the increase. In the West, the Dakotas, Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska experienced phenomenal increases in tenantry. Here the one-crop system, large-scale production, and speculation in land were responsible. On the Atlantic seaboard from Virginia northward an important decline in the number of tenants occurred. Only New York has more now than in 1880.

TENANTRY IN DIFFERENT SECTIONS

There is a wide difference in the amount and type of tenantry in the various geographical sections. Table 38 indicates the per cent of all farms operated by tenants by divisions for 1920.

FIGURE 29.—PERCENTAGE OF ALL FARMERS WHO WERE TENANTS, 1880-1920.¹⁰

¹⁰ L. C. Gray, Charles L. Stewart, Howard A. Turner, J. T. Sanders, and W. J. Spillman, "Farm Ownership and Tenancy," *United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook*, 1923, p. 513.

TABLE 37.—NUMBER OF FARMS HELD UNDER VARIOUS KINDS OF TENURE BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION IN 1920.¹¹

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	TOTAL NO. OF FARMS	OPERATED BY OWNERS	OPERATED BY TENANTS	NUMBER UNDER VARIOUS KINDS OF TENANCY				CROPPERS
				Share	Share- Cash	Cash	Standing renters	
United States	6,448,343	3,925,090	2,454,804	1,117,721	127,822	585,005	104,996	561,091
New England	156,564	140,160	11,602	2,698	95	8,071	.....	.....
Middle Atlantic	425,147	327,104	88,190	51,174	1,127	32,879	.....	.....
East North Central ..	1,084,744	766,786	304,407	182,283	33,537	76,945	.....	.....
West North Central ..	1,096,951	711,156	375,019	186,704	68,316	107,568	.....	.....
South Atlantic	1,158,976	607,089	542,088	186,986	1,977	64,594	.....	.....
East South Central ..	1,051,600	525,808	522,268	175,441	6,795	99,227	25,251	202,526
West South Central ..	996,088	464,328	526,747	288,797	13,900	55,367	4,432	202,284
Mountain	244,109	202,515	37,478	23,968	786	10,916	.....	156,281
Pacific	234,164	180,144	46,987	19,670	1,289	24,442	.....	.....

In all the States north of North Carolina and east of Ohio and Kentucky, with the exceptions of New York and Pennsylvania, the percentages of farms operated by tenants were smaller in 1920 than in 1880. In most of these States the maximum percentages were attained about 1900. In Kentucky and Tennessee there was little change after 1900. In the other Southern states, except Louisiana, the increase in the percentage of farms operated by tenants continued up to 1910. In the next decade the increase was less marked in some of the States of this group, while in others a decrease occurred. In most of the newly developed States of the West the increase of tenancy, which normally has followed the early years of settlement, was still continuing in 1920. The increase has also been notable in the Corn Belt and the wheat regions. See Figure 29.

¹¹ *Summary Federal Census, 1919-1920.*

The various types of land tenure including the several kinds of tenantry and the distribution of the same is given in Table 37.

TABLE 38.—PER CENT OF TENANCY BY GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION	PER CENT OF ALL FARMS OPERATED
	BY TENANTS
United States	38.1
New England	7.4
Middle Atlantic	20.7
East North Central	28.1
West North Central	34.2
South Atlantic	46.8
East South Central	49.7
West South Central	52.9
Mountain	15.4
Pacific	20.1

The various types of farm tenancy referred to in Table 37 call for definition. *Share tenants* are those who pay a certain share of the products, as one-half, one-third, or one-quarter, for the use of the farm, but furnish their own work animals. *Share cash tenants* are those who pay a share of the products for a part of the land and cash for a part. *Cash tenants* are those who pay a cash rental, as \$7 per acre of crop land or \$500 for the use of the whole farm. *Standing renters* are those who pay a stated amount of farm products for the use of the farm, as 3 bales of cotton or 500 bushels of corn. *Croppers* are share tenants whose work animals are furnished by their landlords. Standing renters and croppers are types that are of importance only in the Southern states.¹²

Most of the tenantry is a short-term share or cash rent arrangement between owner and operator. Insecurity of tenure, leading to constant shifting and soil depletion, is a well known feature of the system. The 1920 census gives data which reveals to some extent this insecurity.

¹² E. C. Goldenweiser and Leon E. Truesdell, "Farm Tenancy in the United States," *Census Monographs*, IV, p. 119.

The worst conditions as regards the length of tenure are found in the South. Here 20.1 per cent, or 1 in 5 persons operating farms whether as owners or tenants, had been on the same farm less than one year in 1920.

TABLE 39.—FARM OPERATORS BY NUMBER OF YEARS ON FARM, 1910-1920.¹³

NUMBER OF YEARS ON FARM	NUMBER OF FARM OPERATORS		PER CENT DISTRIBUTION	
	1920	1910	1920	1910
Total Operators	6,448,343	6,361,502	....	....
Reporting years on farm	6,227,539	5,794,768	100.0	100.0
Less than 1 year.....	660,713	1,000,293	10.6	17.3
1 Year	898,019	627,860	14.4	10.8
2 to 4 years	1,397,958	1,371,607	22.4	23.7
5 to 9 years	1,086,458	992,468	17.4	17.1
10 years and over	2,184,391	1,802,540	35.1	31.1
Not reporting years on farm	220,804	566,734	....	....

Tenantry, as we have seen, is of several types. In the North and West share tenantry and cash rental or a combination of the two are in force. In these sections the renter has capital. He has gradually climbed and is still successfully climbing the ladder to ownership. As shown by sample studies, a large portion of the tenants of the North are relatives of their landlords.

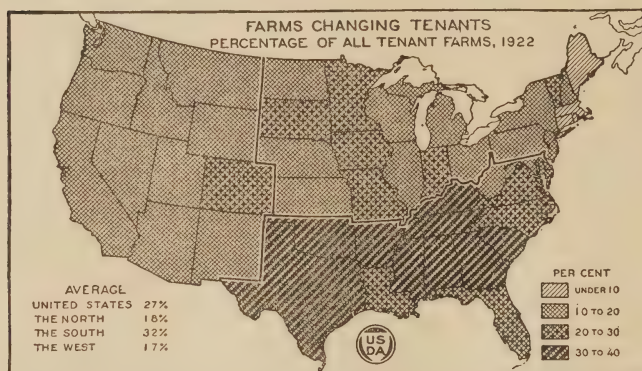
A study by the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics of 57,000 farm tenants widely distributed throughout the United States revealed the fact that 23 per cent were related to the landlords. The percentage ranged from 72 in nine Southern states to 36 in five states of the North Central group. In some states of the latter group it was as high as 40 per cent. Figure 32 shows the results of this study graphically.¹⁴

¹³ Summary, *Fourteenth Census, Agriculture*, p. 9.

¹⁴ L. C. Gray, Charles L. Stewart, Howard A. Turner, J. T. Sanders, and W. J. Spillman, *op. cit.*, pp. 527, 529.

In Nebraska according to a local study this ran to 44.6 per cent. Nearly three-fourths of all landlords are the fathers, fathers-in-law or mothers of the tenants. "The fact that so great a majority of related landlords are fathers, fathers-in-law or mothers of tenants makes it highly

FIGURE 30.—PERCENTAGE OF ALL TENANT FARMS CHANGING TENANTS, 1922.¹⁵



It is estimated that during the year ended December 1, 1922, 27 per cent of the tenant farms had changed tenants. It will be noted that the proportion was much larger in the South than in the North and was smallest in New England and the West. The proportion may have been somewhat higher than normal in the North Central and some of the Western states because of the agricultural depression. The map is based on information supplied by about 11,000 crop reporters of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

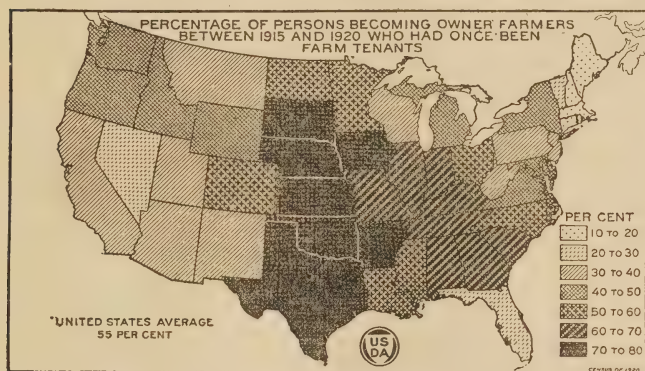
probable that in such cases the tenant or his wife will own the farm eventually and that during the period before ownership the tenant will enjoy most of the advantages of tenancy with few of the disadvantages often charged against it."¹⁶ It is the tenant who is in no wise related to his landlord who often struggles under a hard system.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 590.

¹⁶ J. O. Rankin, "The Nebraska Farm Family," *University of Nebraska Experiment Station Bulletin*, 185, February, 1923, p. 5.

As land values mount up his climb toward ownership becomes more prolonged and difficult. This has been shown by the studies of J. W. Spillman, who pointed out that those who achieved ownership 31 to 40 years ago spent on

FIGURE 31.—PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS BECOMING OWNER FARMERS BETWEEN 1915 AND 1920 WHO HAD ONCE BEEN TENANTS.¹⁷



The percentage of owner farmers who had once been farm tenants is lowest in New England, only 15 per cent, and reaches a maximum, about 75 per cent, in the tier of States from South Dakota to Texas, inclusive, and in Iowa and Arkansas. In practically all the other States of the Middle West, as well as in the South, half or more of the owner farmers had once been tenants. Probably migration of tenant farmers to regions where farms were to be obtained at comparatively low prices has been a factor in causing high percentages in the tier of States from the Dakotas to Texas.

the average 10.1 years as laborers and tenants, whereas three and four decades later it took 8.9 years longer, or 19 years, to negotiate these stages.¹⁸

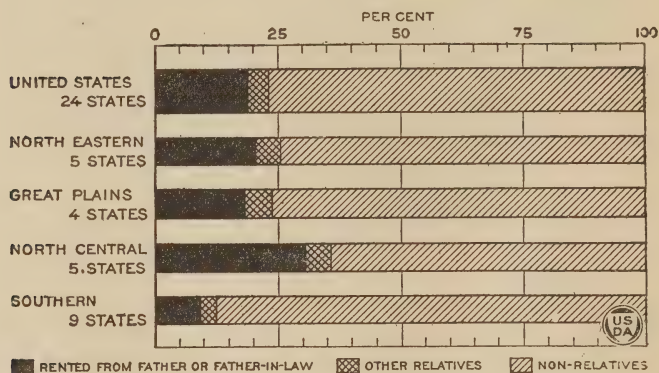
Another more thoro analysis of data bearing on the question does not throw doubt upon the fact that it is

¹⁷ L. C. Gray, Charles L. Stewart, Howard A. Turner, J. T. Sanders, and W. J. Spillman, *op. cit.*, p. 556.

¹⁸ J. W. Spillman, "The Agricultural Ladder," *American Economic Review*, March, 1919, pp. 29-38.

taking longer to climb the agricultural ladder from laborer, thru tenantry to full ownership but it does raise the question whether the retarded process means harder conditions and an increasing amount of permanent tenancy or not.¹⁹ This study finds that in the period 1915-1920 it took those who became full owners on an average of 5.8 years as

FIGURE 32.—TENANTS WHO RENTED FARMS OWNED BY RELATIVES; PERCENTAGE OF ALL TENANTS ON 56,845 FARMS IN 24 STATES, 1920.²⁰



Twenty-three thousand landlords reported their degree of relatedness to approximately 57,000 tenants. For the United States as a whole about 23 per cent of the tenants were related by blood or marriage to the landlord, most of them being sons or sons-in-law. The proportion is lowest in the South and highest in the North Central states, in some of which it is as much as 40 per cent.

farm wage laborers and 8.9 years as tenants, or a total of about 15 years.

The data show that this was a much longer period, as Spillman had indicated, than it had taken those who had been owners for 45 years and over. In other words, it

¹⁹ L. C. Gray and others, *op. cit.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 529.

takes increasingly longer to climb the ladder. It is suggested, however, that altho the average value of the farms acquired had increased over previous decades, and would account for a slowing up in the climb of the ladder, it might not indicate worsening conditions. Thus, if it took an average of 15 years to become an owner when the average price of a farm was \$10,000 and 20 years when the price had risen to \$20,000, the change would not necessarily mean decreasing opportunity.²¹ After using various methods to calculate the relation between the several factors involved in the data, these investigators were unwilling to interpret the meaning of the protracted preownership period.

It is not to be assumed that all must climb the ladder. In the United States as a whole the study referred to revealed 42 per cent of the owners who had never been wage hands or tenants. About a fourth of the owners reported experience as tenants only, and a fifth as both tenants and laborers, 45 per cent having thus passed thru the tenant stage.²²

TABLE 40.—AVERAGE VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY, OR THE AMOUNT OF CAPITAL NEEDED TO PURCHASE AND EQUIP A FARM AT VARIOUS CENSUS PERIODS.²³

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	VALUE OF FARM UNITS			
	1920	1900	1870	1850
United States	\$12,084	\$3,563	\$3,363	\$2,596
New England	7,492	3,333	3,135	2,596
Middle Atlantic	9,290	4,759	5,657	3,880
East North Central	15,898	5,004	4,057	2,189
West North Central	25,517	5,488	2,802	1,568
South Atlantic	5,292	1,511	1,980	2,845
East South Central	4,203	1,324	1,897	2,211
West South Central	7,652	2,146	1,449	3,485
Mountain	16,727	5,934	1,421	892
Pacific	22,664	7,864	6,428	6,010

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 558.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 554.

²³ *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. V, p. 56.

In the South, however, tenantry is a far worse estate than in the North and West. There are two general classes of tenants—renters and croppers. The renter is the tenant proper who gets land for cash or on shares. It is a one-year, informal contract system. The contract is rarely written. The renter has some capital and “runs himself,” as the saying is in the South. The class is composed of both whites and blacks. About two-thirds of the farm tenants of the Southern states are renters.

Renters are the “upper crust” of the tenant class, ranking next to the land-owners in economic and social standing. They have more or less personal property, and the hope of land-ownership before them. Even as in the North, it appears that about half of the white renters in the South are on family land.²⁴ “They are,” says Branson, “but apprentices who look to owning land by gift, heritage, marriage or easy purchase.”²⁵ “Kith and kin relationships are now and have always been the South’s main reliance for increasing the number of landowning farmers and for a stable agriculture based on ownership.”²⁶ Those not on family land are not born to land ownerships. If they ever acquire any, it will be by a very long hard struggle.²⁷

The croppers constitute one-third of all tenants in the cash crop area of the South. One-fourth of the white tenants fall in this class. The total number of croppers reported by the 1920 census in 16 Southern states was 561,091. In southern jargon, a cropper means one who is “run by the landlord.” “He owns little or nothing but the simple things in and around his cabin. Usually he owns no work stock and no farm implements, or not enough to count in the year’s bargain with the landlord. Everything is furnished by the landlord—land, dwellings, firewood, work stock, implements, and from time to time small advances of money and pantry supplies to help him produce the crops. He pays half the fertilizer bill and gets

²⁴ E. C. Branson, “Farm Tenantry in the Cotton Belt; How Farm Tenants Live,” *Journal of Social Forces*, March, 1923, p. 450.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

half the corn and cash crop money. Everything else except the cotton seed is his. Against the cropper's half of the crop money, the landlord charges the cropper's debts for advances and the cropper's share of the fertilizer bills. Croppers are 'havers' (halfers) as the phrase goes, with little or nothing to invest in farming, except the bare labor of themselves and their families."²⁸

In the working of the system the cropper fares ill. When the crop is sold the landlord takes all that is coming to him first and the cropper gets what is left. Often there is nothing at all left. There may even be an unpaid debt owing the landlord. In such cases the cropper is bound by iron-clad custom to work another year for the landlord in order to pay out. Thus, the cropper's lot is often wretched and hopeless. He becomes shiftless and unambitious, for no prospect of acquiring land of his own awaits him. This class shift yearly from one farm to another and live, as Branson puts it, in a state of "villeinage that begins to approach the 16th century type."²⁹ This state in many cases is found in a large part of Spanish America, where the *dependientes* on the *haciendas* are in virtual serfdom. So deplorable is it that one has called the cropper "the man whom God forgot."

Under this feudal or semi-feudal system the Negro tenant is often exploited in a merciless manner. Many are ignorant, irresponsible, thriftless and inefficient. The planters have in consequence adopted very exacting methods which in the hands of the unscrupulous lead to all sorts of abuses. These methods have generally been legalized. The unjust practices that arise out of the situation are vividly described by Ray Stannard Baker in his book *Following the Color Line*. Baker says: "When the Negro tenant takes up land or hires out to the landlord, he ordinarily signs a contract, or if he cannot sign (about half the Negro tenants of the black belt are wholly illiterate) he makes his mark. He often has no way of knowing, certainly, what is in the con-

²⁸ J. A. Dickey and E. C. Branson, "How Farm Tenants Live," *University of No. Carolina, Ext. Bull.*, Nov. 16, 1922, pp. 13, 14.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, *Journal of Soc. Forces*, Mar., 1923, p. 213.

tract, though the arrangement is usually clearly understood, and he must depend on the landlord to keep both the rent and the supply store accounts. In other words, he is wholly at the planter's mercy—a temptation as dangerous for the landlord as the possibilities which it presents are for the tenant. It is so easy to make large profits by charging immense interest percentages or outrageous prices for supplies to tenants who are too ignorant or weak to protect themselves, that the stories of the oppressive landlord in the South are scarcely surprising. It is easy, when the tenant brings in his cotton in the fall not only to underweigh it, but to credit it at the lowest prices of the week, and this dealing of the strong with the weak is not Southern, it is human. Such a system has encouraged dishonesty and wastefulness; it has made many landlords cruel and greedy; it has increased the helplessness of the Negro. In many cases it has meant downright degeneration, not only to the Negro, but to the white man. These are strong words, but no one can travel in the black belt without seeing enough to convince him of the terrible consequences growing out of these relationships.”³⁰

It is obvious that there is a world of difference between tenantry in the North and South. In the North the tenant operates the farm with almost as much freedom as though he were owner. The relationship between himself and the landlord is one of partnership. He is a small capitalist. Field studies in Chester County, Pennsylvania, show that a fifth of the tenants have capital ranging from \$3,000 to \$9,000, while in Iowa not a few are found with as much as \$20,000 to \$60,000 worth of property.³¹ In the South the tenant is a dependent, sometimes practically a peon. The relationship between himself and the landlord is that of servant and master. Relatively few have any capital to speak of. The planter and the storekeeper dominate this

³⁰ Ray Stannard Baker, *Following the Color Line*, p. 94. By permission of the publishers, Doubleday, Page & Co.

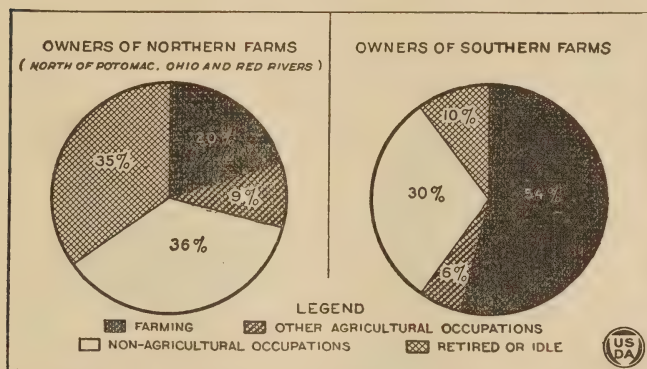
³¹ W. B. Bizzell, "Farm Tenantry in the United States," *Bull. No. 278, Texas Agricultural Experimental Station, A. and M. College, Texas*, pp. 139-143.

class, whether white or Negro, much as the plantation owners ruled in the days of slavery.

TENANTRY SITUATION SUMMARIZED

Tenantry in America is generally looked upon as a stage in the process of acquiring ownership. If it be this

FIGURE 33.—OCCUPATIONS OF LANDLORDS OF RENTED FARMS.³²



The proportion of landlords still classed as farmers is much larger in the South than in the North, but if retired farmers, many of whom exercise supervision over their rented farms, are considered farmers, the difference is not so great. About a third of the farm landlords of the two regions appear to be engaged in non-agricultural occupations. This figure is based on reports from 23,000 landlords, mentioned in Figure 33.

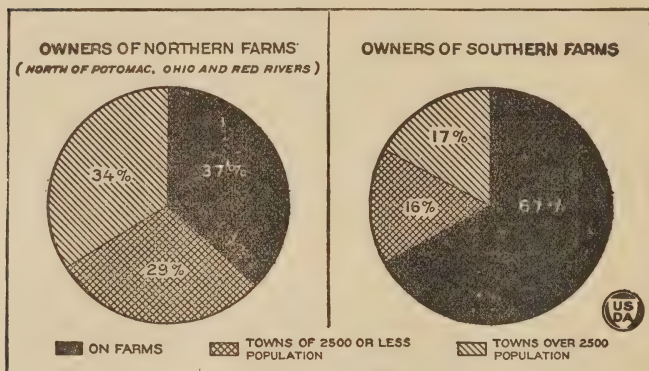
and if the acquisition of ownership is not too difficult or too long delayed, tenantry may not be disadvantageous or undesirable. But it is clear that for many in the South at least it leads to no ownership. And in the North ownership is being reached with ever increasing difficulty. The progressive retardation of the transition process has been manifest for three to four decades. The result has been a constantly increasing percentage of tenantry. And the ques-

³² L. C. Gray and others, *op. cit.*

tion has arisen, how far is America going to have a permanent class of land tenants ruled by an aristocracy of absentee landlords. If to any great extent we are to have such a system, it will mean a vastly different rural society from that which has prevailed.

A study of the problem of Farm tenancy by the Bureau

FIGURE 34.—PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF LANDLORDS OF RENTED FARMS.³³



In the Northern states more than a third of the landlords reside on farms, while in the South the proportion is more than two-thirds. In the North about half of the landlords living in cities and villages are retired farmers (Fig. 34). The graph is based on returns from 23,000 landlords in 24 states to a special inquiry made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Land Economics.

of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture is responsible for the following summary of the situation with respect to landlordism:³⁴

“All but a small proportion of the landlords have grown up from the soil and possess direct experience with farming. More than a third are engaged in agricultural occupations, nearly another third are retired farmers, and the remaining

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ L. C. Gray and others, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

third are in non-agricultural occupations, mostly country bankers, merchants, and professional men in the country towns and villages who have either come into farm ownership thru inheritance or marriage, or have purchased farms for purposes of investment or speculation. Fifteen per cent of the owners of rented farms are women, for the most part widows or daughters of deceased farmers. Corporations do not comprise an important class of landlords. Probably not more than ten per cent of the rented farms are owned by absentee landlords, and apparently there has been little change in this regard since 1900. There is but little concentration of ownership, except in the plantation region of the South, and apparently for the country as a whole there has been no increase in concentration. However, there is enough both of absenteeism and concentration of ownership to justify real concern."

THE EFFECTS OF TENANTRY

The harmful effects of tenantry are already seriously felt in much of the country. With its rise the rural community has undergone profound change. We may direct attention to the effects that are most common. On the *economic side* there are three or four evil results and no good ones to offset them unless, as already said, landownership follows. These evil results are:

(1) Soil mining. This has long been recognized. John Stuart Mill called attention to it in his day. He quotes a contemporary to the effect that if a man securely possesses a bleak rock, he will turn it into a garden but if he leases a garden he will convert it into a desert.³⁵ Evidence of such consequences are frequently seen under our short-term lease system.

(2) Methods of production not based on scientific knowledge, giving poor returns. This is particularly the case where tenants are transients.

(3) Low labor income and low standards of living for the tenant follow as a consequence. The tenant's income

³⁵ Ashley, Ed., *Principles of Political Economy*, Ch. 7, p. 282.

is often kept low because of inadequate land capital and credit. In the 17 Southern states the average tenant farm is barely half the size of the average owner operator's. He has little capital and gets meager returns. The aim of the system centers in yield per acre, not in yield and value of income per worker. In the North it is much better and consequently the tenant fares better.

(4) Increasing land monopoly. The low income of tenants and rising land values on account of speculation have tended to develop a permanent land owning class and a permanent tenant class.

The social effects of extensive tenantry are still more significant. Some of these are as follows:

(1) Population instability. Transient tenants mean an unsettled, discontented people. The shifting of population has been accelerated with the growth of tenantry everywhere in America.

(2) Institutional instability. There can be no permanency of institutions if the people are only transient. Schools, church and community organizations have suffered wherever tenantry has been extensive.

(3) Cultural decline. Indifference to schooling and neglect of educational opportunity for their children is common among tenants. There is a like neglect of church and moral standards. Lack of a permanent stake in the land or in the institutions of the community is responsible for this.

(4) Social stratification. The rise of class discrimination and a consciousness of difference between owners and tenants appears. In the South this is marked. At the North it is less pronounced but by no means absent.

(5) Community decay. The existence of community requires relatively stable population, culture, and institutions, along with social homogeneity. Tenantry destroys this and the community breaks down.

If tenantry were to become a fixed estate some of the effects which are due to impermanency would disappear, but we should thus have a peasantry as in other countries. Perhaps this is to be the outcome. Meantime, however, it

can be staved off and perhaps forestalled by remedial measures. Bizzell suggests a half-dozen methods for encouraging and aiding farm tenants in the purchase of land and in securing just conditions of bargaining.³⁶ These are summarized as follows:³⁷

1. Compensation for improvements. American common law does not allow the tenant any reimbursement for improvements. He therefore has no incentive to improve the farm he cultivates. Were our laws modified somewhat as England has altered her laws so as to allow compensation for (1) unexhausted improvements, (2) unreasonable disturbances of the tenant, and (3) damages to growing crops by acts of the landlord, and to provide for (4) conditions relating to fixtures and their removal, it would greatly improve the tenant's state. This, of course, should be done in a way to fully protect the landlord's rights.³⁸

2. Taxation of land values so as to discourage large land holdings and encourage home ownership. A graduated land tax is the proposed means.³⁹

3. Rural credit. Some progress has been made in this direction and other legislation working toward an ultimate solution is being passed.⁴⁰

4. Land settlement policies. This usually calls for state aid. It is in vogue in Europe and Australia. California and three or four other states have recently developed successful colonies. Other states might well adopt similar measures.⁴¹ Such a plan, if widely followed, would tend to discourage tenantry as the means to land-ownership, and it would not necessarily add any burden to the tax payers.

5. State land commissions. There is need for such agencies to aid and protect the prospective purchaser from fraud. Some states have made a beginning in this.⁴² Wisconsin has a state real-estate brokers' board.⁴³ Maryland

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, Part IV.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 391.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 389-393.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 389-390.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 392.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

⁴³ P. A. Speek, *A Stake in the Land*, Chapter 7.

through her agricultural college has worked out a plan for a Public Land Exchange.⁴⁴

6. Reform of land transfer system. Our complicated and costly system of land record and transfer which is generally in force needs to be simplified. The Torrens system offers a solution.⁴⁵

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⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

VIII

THE PRIMARY TRADITION (Continued)

FARM WORK AND LABOR CUSTOMS

HAVING discussed the primary tradition as it relates to the land, we turn now to the question of work as this is carried on in American agriculture.

Work customs have undergone change along with the development of tools and machines. There was an age of hand farming, now largely past, but generally prevalent until a generation or so ago. It was the ancient method of soil tillage handed down to the pioneer farmers of America. The hoe was the chief tool. With it went the scythe, the grain cradle, the axe, the grubbing-hoe, the flail, the hand-rake, and the pitchfork. It was an age of muscular labor. Agriculture was toilsome work in the extreme. The brawny arm was in demand. Labor customs were characterized by considerable exchange of work. The work "bee" was common, since the combination of the muscles of many men was often needed to perform difficult tasks. The time element also played a part, for seedtime and harvest often called for combined effort to secure a crop. The hand-farming age was thus an age of mutual aid.

The hand-farming age was succeeded by what may be called the horse-farming period. This came in with the invention of reaping machinery. The mower, reaper, grain drill, wheeled-cultivator, and horse-rake were the great tools that ushered in the period. Horse-power was substituted for human power in much of the work of the farm. Labor came to be organized about teams and ma-

chines. Skill with a team became more important than brawny arms. To swing cradles or wield flails was no longer required. Farm labor became less irksome. Fewer hands were needed to do it, and less mutual aid was required or given.

The horse-farming period is now slowly passing and a motor-farming era is at hand. The power driven machine is doing the work. The tractor and gas engine are being substituted for the horse. Farming calls for more and more mechanical skill, for head work in place of so much hand work. So the old saying that "it takes a man with a strong back and a weak mind to make a good farmer" is being rendered obsolete. Incidentally, new work customs are rising and old ones are being modified under the stimulus of motor-power farming.

Despite all the profound change incident to the improvement of tools and mechanisms and the application of new forms of energy to the occupation, farming remains a laborious occupation. Work habits are driving. Long hours are usually necessary—often from sun to sun is the governing rule. The standard day is nine or ten hours with extra hours for "chores." Ordinarily the business of agriculture allows little time for leisure, except to some extent in winter and in certain single crop sections, particularly those devoted to wheat growing, where from sowing to reaping a long slack season intervenes. Almost nowhere is it possible to have a fixed work day in agriculture, owing to varying conditions and seasonal requirements. The demands of live stock and the exigencies of the season and the weather forestall any general standardization. This applies not only to the farm operator himself, but to his regularly hired help. The latter must fit into the agricultural order. Hence fixed hours have no place in the contract.

The use of more machinery on the farm and labor-saving devices in the home certainly tends to make farm work somewhat less arduous and enslaving. Best of all, more leisure is becoming possible and shorter hours feasible even during the growing season.

The irksomeness of farm work, however, is greatly relieved by its variety. On the farm one usually turns to many different tasks in the course of the day. This relieves the monotony of toil and affords rest through change. This of course is more true of out-of-door work than of work within the house.

The demand made by the farm for hard manual toil has established the practice among farmers of measuring all employment by its manual requirements. Hence, the only "honest work" in the eye of the countryman is "bone labor," or physical toil. He has honored this, and discredited all kinds of mental work. All persons not engaged in real muscular activities "live without work" as rural people are apt to see it. Fortunately, this standard of judgment is fast yielding to a new one as machinery and motor-power are being applied to farming and more brain and less brawn are being called into use. Muscular prowess is not the asset that it once was in farm work. The man who can use his head with modern appliances works "all around the other fellow." Hence, the human ox is a fallen idol, and the man of wits is taking his place. Hence, also, manual labor is losing its prestige even on the farms.

The farm family is usually a work unit. The business of farming is a joint family enterprise. There is consequently relatively little fluctuation from year to year in the productive effort and the work requirement on the average farmstead. The group has no alternative, no other employment. Its energy is applied naturally and evenly to the same plant. Fluctuation in output is due chiefly to other factors besides labor. It is not the practice of the farmer to decrease his output in bad times nor yet greatly to increase it when prices are high. Circumstances prevent such changes in times of depression. Says Friday, "The reason for this failure to reduce production is that the farmer is not only capitalist and entrepreneur but the principal laborer of his own enterprise as well. The additional labor is furnished for the most part by members

of his own family. Because of this fact he is in no position to cut down costs by dismissing his labor, as is the manufacturer. He would lose more by reducing production on his individual farm than he could gain by the increase of prices. So agricultural output continues at the full during depression."¹

It is an old practice among farmers and farm families to "exchange work." In certain kinds of work particularly and on certain occasions this is commonly done. In the hand-farming days of the pioneer, as already suggested, there was a great deal of this. The "bee" for all sorts of work was in vogue. New grounds were "logged," barns and houses were "raised," corn husked, wood cut, roads built, quilting and sewing done, apples pared and various other tasks accomplished by neighborhood groups working together. These mutual aid customs have grown less and less necessary and less and less popular as the country has become well settled and economically well-to-do, and labor saving devices been introduced. Much such work can now be done easier and a "bee" would be a nuisance.

There is still some mutual aid practiced in harvesting and threshing in many sections. Where it is a custom to kill meat, "butchering day" is also an occasion for more or less of a "bee." Work exchange on a minor scale is more common. In fact, what once called for a "bee" can now often be done with the aid of a neighbor or two, if any.

In the South the tenants on the large plantations are accustomed to work together at tasks where groups can operate to advantage.²

A study of over 1,000 farmers in three geographic sections of the State of North Carolina disclosed a small amount of exchange of work among all classes. The following table shows how extensive it was:

¹ David Friday, *Papers and Proceedings of American Economic Association*, *Am. Econ. Rev.*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 151.

² C. C. Taylor and C. C. Zimmerman, *Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers*, p. 84.

TABLE 41.—EXCHANGE OF WORK AMONG FARMERS OF NORTH CAROLINA.³

	Per cent of Families Exchanging Work	Average Days Exchanged per Family for the Year Studied
Operator landlords		
White	34.9	5.5
Black	45.5	11.2
Owner operators		
White	49.8	4.84
Black	41.8	3.95
Tenants		
White	62.3	11.85
Black	46.2	4.55
Croppers		
White	67.0	14.2
Black	68.0	19.8

If we had definite data, such as are given in this table, for the various sections of rural America, it would reveal, as the compiler of the data cited suggests, something of the community spirit and solidarity of the farming class.

WOMAN'S WORK ON THE FARM

The American farmstead is at once a home and a business establishment. This makes agriculture highly domestic. It naturally brings all the family into the work. There are, however, pretty well defined and fairly distinct spheres of labor for men and women. Woman's work according to the best traditions of the farm lies indoors and man's work outdoors. What is proper for each, custom dictates. This is worthy of mention merely because it is not thus in the Old World. No such careful division of labor obtains between men and women on the farms of Europe as in America. To some extent the Old World's peasant ways have come to America and may be found in vogue in certain sections.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

Woman's work, it should be said, even according to the most common tradition, is not altogether restricted to the home. Certain outdoor duties very commonly fall to her lot. It is the rare farm where she does not care very largely for the poultry. In some general farming regions as a rule, and in individual cases in sections where it is not the rule, women do the milking and make the garden. In most parts of the country they also help out with the field work, especially in the harvest season or times of great urgency.

A survey of some 10,000 farm homes in 33 states of the North and West made in 1919 by the Federal Department of Agriculture throws some light on the extent of outdoor work done by women. This survey reveals that 25 per cent of the women help with live stock, 24 per cent do field work on an average of 6.7 weeks per year, 56 per cent care for gardens, 36 per cent milk, 81 per cent keep poultry, 88 per cent wash milk pails, 65 per cent wash separators, and 60 per cent make butter.⁴ The home demonstration agents in Mississippi found in a typical community 66 per cent of the women milking an average of 6 cows, 92 per cent caring for poultry, and 64 per cent making the garden.

In the more prosperous agricultural sections there is undoubtedly a tendency for women to refrain from much field work, such as was once common for them to undertake. A growing sense of disapproval, with a rising economic status, is at the bottom of the change.

In the South among renters and croppers both white and colored wives are commonly hoe-hands in the field from 8 to 10 hours per day during six months of the year.

The hours of woman's work, whether it is confined to the house or divided with outdoor tasks, are generally long. Her day's work is proverbially said never to be done. The following table, based on reports from 10,000 Northern and Western farm women, probably gives a true representation of conditions.

⁴ Ward, Florence E., "The Farm Woman's Problems," *U. S. Dept. Agr. Circular 148*, Nov., 1920, p. 10.

TABLE 42.—LENGTH OF WORKING DAY AND VACATION OF FARM WOMEN.⁵

Section of Country	Summer		Winter		Pro-portion of Women Having Regular Vacation	Length of Vacation
	Work Hrs.	Rest Hrs.	Work Hrs.	Rest Hrs.	Per Cent	Days
Eastern	13.0	1.6	10.7	2.3	13.0	12.4
Central	13.2	1.5	10.5	2.3	12.0	10.8
Western	13.0	1.8	10.2	2.4	13.0	16.4
Country wide ...	13.1	1.6	10.5	2.4	13.0	11.5
Number of records	9.530	8.360	9.164	8.164	8.773	1.241

The "hired girl," once a factor on the farm, seems to be passing. The survey just cited indicates this. The number of homes employing a hired girl regularly is said to be negligible. The families reporting such help for short periods were about 14 per cent of the total. The average period during which the help worked was 3.6 months. The Eastern states showed the highest per cent of hired women but the shortest term of employment. In the Western states it was just the reverse. Only 8 to 10 per cent of the homes report help by the day. The average was about 1¼ days per week. Here again the East leads.⁶

The passing of the "hired girl" is due to several factors. There is more attractive work in the cities for the country girl who must work. The pull is all away from the country. Moreover, the rural family tends to grow smaller and there are fewer surplus girls. The use of farm machinery tends to lessen in a measure the household burdens, hence there is less urgency for hired labor. This does not mean that

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

the farm woman's work is being greatly eased up; it only means that she must carry such burdens as there are alone.

CHILDREN'S WORK AND CHILD LABOR

It is also customary for children to work on American farms. The Fourteenth Census⁷ reported 647,309 children between 10 and 16 years of age gainfully employed in agriculture. This number constitutes 61 per cent of all the children between these ages gainfully employed in the various occupations of the United States. The following graph shows how the total number is distributed by occupations.

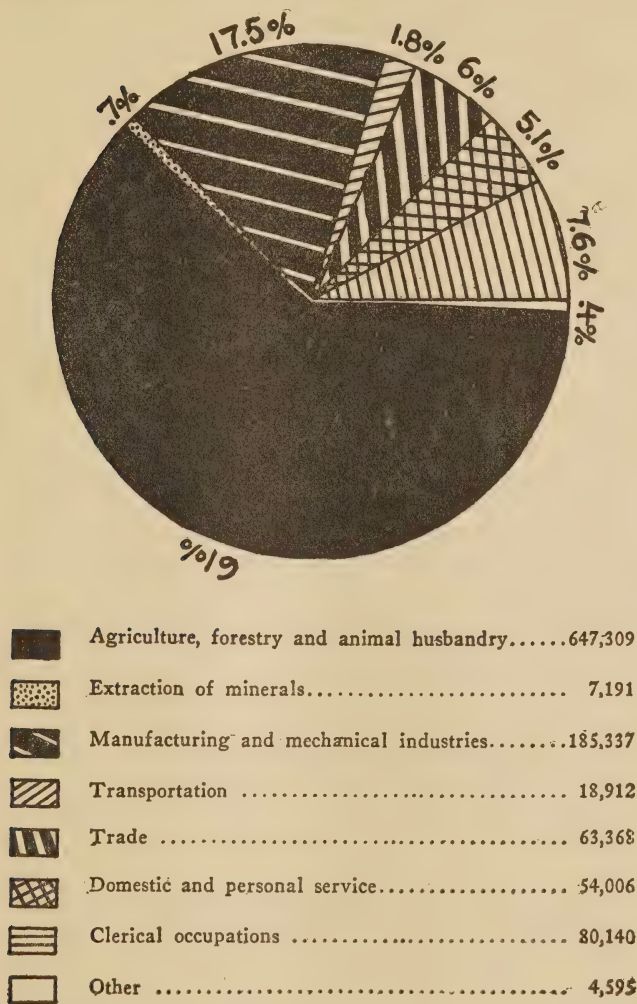
It is significant that the number and proportion of children gainfully employed in agriculture was reported to be much less in 1920 than in 1910. The decrease in proportion was from 72 per cent of the total to 61 per cent, while the absolute number declined 54.8 per cent. The decrease in actual numbers was from 1,432,580 to 647,309.

These figures may not be a correct measure of the situation, for the 1920 data were gathered as of January 1 of that year, whereas the data of the preceding census were gathered as of April 15, 1910. Naturally there were not so many children at work as farm laborers in midwinter as there would be in the middle of April and not so many would be returned by the census enumerators as gainfully employed. This seems to have been true especially of the children living on the home farm, for, as the census director states, the "schedules show a considerable proportion of such children were returned as neither attending school nor being gainfully occupied."

With the probable under-enumeration of 1920 is to be considered the fact of a probable over-enumeration in 1910, and under-enumeration in 1900. An increase of 34.8 per cent of children gainfully employed on farms between 1900 and 1910 is not consistent with other facts. For the total number of agricultural workers decreased and likewise the number of children engaged in other than agricultural pursuits decreased during that period. It is there-

⁷ *Fourteenth Census, Population, "Occupations of Children."*

FIGURE 35.—SHOWING PROPORTION OF CHILDREN 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE IN EACH PRINCIPAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS, 1920 CENSUS.⁸



⁸ Ellen N. Matthews, Director Industrial Division, U. S. Children's Bureau, "Child Labor at the Fourteenth Census," *The Survey*, Sept. 15, 1927.

fore reasonable to think that the number of children gainfully employed on farms did not in that decade increase to the extent indicated. The apparent increase was possibly due to carelessness on the part of enumerators in not discriminating between children who merely did chores and those who were really gainfully employed. If the 1910 data are thus open to question, and the 1920 data are obvious under-estimates, the number of children at work on farms is a matter of some uncertainty. Studies of the Children's Bureau in New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, Michigan, Colorado and Texas "indicate that the proportion of children employed as farm laborers for the whole or part of the farm season is considerably greater than the proportion reported even by the 1910 census."⁹

A distinction has been made between child labor and children's work.¹⁰ By the former is meant that kind of work that interferes with health, education, and recreation. Children's work, on the other hand, may be described as work that does not so interfere with the child's welfare. There is obviously an important difference between the two, but it is quite impossible to indicate it specifically. "Child labor," says Raymond G. Fuller, "is the work that interferes with a full living of the life of childhood and with the best possible preparation for adulthood. It is a matter not only of effects and hazards, but of deprivations among which are the lack of suitable and sufficient schooling, the lack of suitable and sufficient play, and the lack of that kind and amount of work which is *children's work* as distinguished from *child labor*. Obviously, the condition of child labor depends to a large extent on the individual case—the particular boy or girl on the one hand, the particular work on the other. . . . There may be child labor without any wages at all, and wages without child labor."¹¹

Facts will not justify counting all gainfully employed children in agriculture as child laborers in a derogatory

⁹ Ellen N. Matthews, Director, Industrial Division, U. S. Children's Bureau, *The Survey*, Sept. 15, 1922, pp. 727-728.

¹⁰ W. W. Armentrout, *Rural Child Welfare*, National Child Labor Committee, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1922, p. 62.

¹¹ Raymond G. Fuller, *Child Labor and the Constitution*, p. 3.

sense. Nor can we so classify all those reported as "farm laborers working out," i.e., working on farms under persons other than their parents. In 1910 there were 260,195, and in 1920, 71,294 such on the day of the enumeration. Either working at home or "working out" may be harmful, or it may not be. Unquestionably, however, much of it is harmful and many of those classified as gainfully employed suffer therefrom.

Investigations by the National Child Labor Committee of the work of children in West Virginia found for the winter season a great deal of choring, such as caring for stock, carrying in fuel and water, sweeping the house, making beds, and washing dishes. The majority of children studied were spending from two to four hours daily in this service.¹² It was also found that they were kept out of school for such work as harvesting, husking corn, sowing wheat, cutting and hauling wood, going to mill, caring for the sick, washing, gathering and hauling apples, cutting and stripping tobacco, etc. During the summer season both boys and girls were found more fully employed at chores, hoeing corn, worming and suckering tobacco, raking and pitching hay, and every other kind of work possible for them to do. Girls were working in the fields with the boys at like tasks. Not uncommonly parents reported their 12-year-old boy or girl as hoeing corn for 12 hours a day. Some 14- to 16-year-old girls "made a hand with the plow." Nearly all boys of 14 or over were reported as "regular farm hands," i.e., doing a man's work. "One man and his 15-year-old daughter plowed 40 acres of corn." In many instances children under 12 were spending 10 and 11 hours daily for weeks at work in the fields.¹³

A careful study made by the Federal Children's Bureau in two typical counties of North Carolina throws further light upon rural child labor. One county was in the mountains and conditions there were found to be much the same as those we have shown to exist in West Virginia. Over nine-tenths of the children visited, 8 to 15

¹² Armentrout, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-73.

years old, worked with their parents in the fields and woods. For example, the surveyors say of a typical mountain family, "The two boys of 11 and 14 help with the plowing and the planting of corn, dropping and covering the corn by hand, also helping to plant beans and potatoes. Thru the summer they hoe corn, and in the autumn pull fodder, gather corn, pick beans, gather apples, dig potatoes, and help make sorghum syrup. Their two little sisters of 8 and 9 hoe corn irregularly thru the summer and in the autumn pick beans, gather fruit and help their mother dry the apples and beans for winter. The children attend to most of the chores also—the boys cut the wood, see that the fires are kept up, and feed the stock; the little girls assist in the home work and help bring in wood and water." ¹⁴

The other county was in the lowlands. One township was studied. Two-thirds of the white children and three-fourths of the Negro were helping in the fields as well as doing chores. ¹⁵ Here the renter and cropper regularly send their children at 7 and 8 years into the field to toil. At every step in the process of growing cotton, from plowing the ground to planting, "chopping," hoeing, and picking, boys and girls from 5 to 15 years were at work. In tobacco growing similar conditions obtained. In corn raising children were engaged in planting, plowing, hoeing, and in the autumn in "stripping" fodder. Some work such as cotton picking is light and children can do a limited amount of it without harm. However, they usually spend long hours and are often subject to great fatigue and muscular strain. Other work such as "chopping" cotton, or "stripping" fodder, is hard, monotonous and taxing for boys and girls of tender years. Hours of labor vary with the season and family customs. In summer it is often from "sun to sun." ¹⁶

A similar situation was found in the cotton belt of Texas.

¹⁴ F. S. Bradley and Margaretta Williamson, "Rural Children in Selected Counties of North Carolina," U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Children's Bureau Publication No. 331*, 1913, p. 85.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-52.

In Hill and Rusk counties more than one-third of the working children studied were spending an average of ten and one-half hours per day in field work. In addition they were doing chores, making in all an eleven and one-half hour day during the busy season. This work was kept up on the average for three months by white and four months by Negro children. In the case of Hill County it was 4.2 months for white and about 6 months for Negro children.¹⁷ These children in at least one-sixth of the cases had done heavy work, such as plowing, harrowing, planting and cultivating. They had averaged one month at this labor. However, the bulk of the work was chopping and picking cotton. Very young children customarily do this work, 11.2 per cent of the white and 15.5 per cent of the Negro children employed therein being under six years of age.¹⁸

A survey of child labor in North Dakota in 1922-1923 thru 162 one-room schools and 18 graded schools located in the farming districts of six counties, gives additional light on the amount and type of work country children do. Of 596 children questioned on these points 207, or 35 per cent, had worked under one month, while 131, or 22 per cent, had worked four months or longer in a single period of the summer months or at intervals of a few weeks now and then thruout the year.¹⁹ Much plowing was done by the North Dakota children. About half of the 845 children under seventeen years of age, including 54 girls, had plowed. One-fourth of them under twelve years of age and some only seven and eight had plowed. One-fourth of the children had operated a disk and two-fifths of them had harrowed. More than half of those doing these tasks were under fourteen and not a few were girls. In other types of labor, such as cultivating and handling hay and grain, children were freely engaged. Much of the work mentioned is dangerous, especially where machinery and large teams are used. Not a little is overtaxing and unhealthful, in-

¹⁷ *Children's Bureau Publication No. 134*, p. 10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 13.

¹⁹ U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Children's Bureau Publication No. 129*, p. 20.

volving excessive fatigue and the lifting of too heavy loads. Doubtless considerable permanent injury results, for accidents are frequent.²⁰

Farming is ranked by the insurance companies as an extra hazardous occupation. This fact ought to be frankly recognized in relation to the labor of children. Of the 845 children studied in North Dakota 104 while engaged in farm work had met with accidents resulting in injury. The report says: "Twelve children stated that they had broken their arms or legs, or had broken bones in other parts of the body; five had had dislocations; eight, sprains; seven had been crushed or badly bruised; fifteen had had bad cuts or lacerations; the remainder could not tell specifically the nature of the injury. In this last group were children who could give only such accounts of their injuries as 'kicked by a cow, could not walk for six weeks,' 'fell from header box, wheel went over head, laid up for one month,' 'fell from plow, wheel ran over leg, took one month to recover,' 'fell from horse, unconscious five hours.' " Accidents in plowing, for example, are reported as follows: "Three children had been incapacitated for one month. One boy of seven had broken his arm; a boy of eight had been run over by a wheel of the plow; a boy of twelve had had his leg so torn that he could not walk for a month. Two children had been incapacitated for two weeks—one, a boy of twelve, had cut his knee, the other, a girl of thirteen years, had been thrown from the plow when the horses started to run away, her leg catching in the wheel of the plow in such a way that her hip was injured." ²¹

The studies here summarized may not be altogether representative of the country at large, though they are fairly typical of rural areas in many of the states. Certain special crop areas are worse than the average. This seems to be true of the cotton and tobacco sections of the South, of the sugar beet counties of Colorado, and of the small fruit and trucking areas of Delaware, Maryland, and New

²⁰ *Children's Bureau Publication No. 129*, pp. 8-19.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

Jersey. Other regions may be generally freer from child labor in its extreme forms.

That children on the farm should work is an accepted rule the country over. It is a hold-over tradition from the days of the self-sufficient farm era in which making a living was a task at which all had to work. Moreover, it is considered good for children to work, for it keeps them out of mischief. "For the children to help with the crop is such a customary procedure that it is accepted as a matter of course. From instincts of thrift and industry most parents wish their children to learn to work. It is by no means always a question of poverty, for children of well-to-do farmers are to be found in the field as well as those of poor tenants."²²

The press of work is so great, the supply of labor so meager, and the resources with which to hire so limited on the average farm, that there is every inducement to put all hands to the tasks. Thus children are readily impressed into service. And they are often eager enough to undertake anything and will clamor for a chance to show what they can do. The boy likes to demonstrate that he can do a man's stint, carry his end of the load, or hoe his own row with the best of them. Having once got into things, he may wish to lay off, but if he has made himself indispensable, as he often does, then parental pressure is likely to be applied and exacting demands made that turn what ought to be children's work into harmful child labor.

There is an idea of profiting from children's labor abroad in the country. Parents exploit their boys and girls in numerous cases. The child gets nothing but his "board and keep" as a reward for his toil. Such treatment often creates a rebellious spirit in the child. The reaction of a 14-year-old boy in West Virginia toward his work is not unusual. He said, "I ain't goin' to stay here much longer; I have to work myself to death and don't get nothin' out of it; never get to go nowhurs. I don't like it and I ain't goin' to stay."²³

²² F. S. Bradley and Margaretta Williamson, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

²³ W. W. Armentrout, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

Unfortunately, few parents in the country see anything wrong with child labor or the policy of domination so often followed. The attitude of a prominent farmer and leader in a prosperous West Virginia community reflects the common indifference to the problem. Asked if he thought the children in the community were in any way injured by the work they did on the farms, he answered, "No, indeed! More work would be better for them and the community would be more prosperous."²⁴

This attitude has made it possible for vicious industrial interests to carry on a successful propaganda against the regulation of child labor by constitutional amendment. The situation is well characterized by a country pastor in the following:

"In the history of agriculture there has been no more pitiful case of confusion of thought and blind leading of the blind than the opposition of the farmers to the child labor amendment. Paid representatives of industries that profit by child labor have gone to the farmers with stories that qualify as pure fiction and myth. 'If this amendment is passed, the children on the farm will not be permitted to do the chores—run errands, split kindling, or wash dishes.' 'The Government will run your home and invade your most sacred rights as parents.' In the meantime, the officials of farm organizations have been influenced by industries interested in child labor to oppose the amendment.

"Most of my life I have lived among farmers and have tried to promote their best interests. I confess this child labor opposition is the most distressing situation I have ever known among farmers. Aside from its inherent injustice to children it seems to give at least a semblance of truth to a contention which the enemies of farmers have long maintained—that they are gullible, selfish, and ignorant. Why gullible? Because they listen to the stories about chores and dish-washing. Selfish? Because they want to profit by child labor. Ignorant? Because they have not got at the facts about the child amendment. No wonder progressive farmers are asking, 'Are farmers peas-

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

ants?' This child labor proposition causes every friend of the race to shudder. Can a great section of America be swung into line against child rights by myths, fairy tales, selfishness, and the bogey of Government control?'²⁵

Altho it is true that a reasonable amount of work under favorable conditions will not injure the health of a normal child and the training that it gives will not come amiss when he grows up, there is obviously another side to the question. Much farm work where it is a regular daily grind, monotonous, fatiguing, and too heavy for their strength, is injurious to the health of growing boys and girls. Where it does not injure health, it stunts mental and moral development by ruling out play. The notion that children must be kept out of idleness is responsible for a rural prejudice against recreation and play and the undue insistence upon keeping busy. This results in cramping the souls of country boys and girls. The evils of child labor, however, are most patent in relation to schooling. Education is sacrificed to work. The school term is cut short and there is continual interruption of school attendance in many sections of the country from this cause. Forty-two per cent of the farm owners, 72 per cent of the tenants and 53 per cent of the farm laborers covered by the West Virginia study stated that they kept their children home from school to work.²⁶ This means retardation, discouragement, indifference, and, in the long run, ignorance and virtual illiteracy for many. The study in the lowland district of North Carolina revealed the fact that 1 white child out of 10 and 1 negro out of 3, between the ages of 10 and 20 years, had not learned even to read and write. In the mountains the rate was approximately 1 out of 3.^{26a}

In Kentucky child labor cuts into school attendance till the average country child gets only about sixty days of schooling in the year. About one-third leave school at the

²⁵ C. M. McConnell, Board of Sunday Schools, M. E. Church, "Zion's Herald," quoted in *Rural America*, June, 1925, p. 10.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

^{26a} *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

fifth grade and scarcely one-third of 1 per cent complete the eighth grade.²⁷

The Texas study referred to above revealed a loss of an average of 21 school days on account of farm work among white children in Hill County and an average of 19 days for both white and Negro children in Rusk.²⁸

The North Dakota study showed that 48 per cent of the 3860 children covered by the report were kept from school to do farm work. Forty-one per cent of the boys and 7 per cent of the girls ten or more years old had lost twenty days or more from this cause. Of 730 who entered school late in the fall 38 per cent lost one month or more on account of work, 43.8 per cent who left school before its close in the spring did it in order to work, and 59 per cent of these lost a month or more. Work was the chief cause of school absence. Retardation to the extent of a year or more was suffered by both boys and girls who did farm work. Two-fifths of those in the age group eight to seventeen were involved.

Child labor is being regulated in mines, quarries, and the manufacturing industry in many of the states. The pending amendment to the Federal Constitution contemplates more effective power of control. Work of children on the farms is at best difficult to regulate, and laws generally exempt farms from such limitations as are placed on child labor. One way of curbing it is through compulsory school attendance laws that will actually compel and a school term of at least nine months' duration. All states now have compulsory educational laws, but they are far from satisfactory in actual operation. The farmer himself needs to be educated to a wiser attitude toward childhood before much headway can be made in bettering conditions.

THE HIRED MAN ON THE FARM

Farm work being conducted as a family enterprise has determined the status of the hired help. Since the family

²⁷ Ridgeway, *Journal of Social Forces*, March, 1923, p. 293.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

and working force are one and the same, whatever outside help is added has naturally become a part of the family group. Thus, traditionally, the hired man and the hired girl live with the farm family as a matter of course. This has been the custom generally throughout the Northern states. In the South, where the color line is drawn, it is otherwise. But where there was no color line, where large numbers were not employed and where there was no racial discrimination, hired labor was taken into the family circle. The hired girl or the hired man was the daughter or the son of a neighboring farmer. Indeed today over 90 per cent of them are reported to be native born.

This custom is beginning to change as agriculture becomes more specialized and industrialized. Hired help is received less freely into the bosom of the family than it used to be. The following report from Minnesota reflects the situation: "The last ten or fifteen years' experiences have changed the attitude of farm women toward hired help. Formerly the hired man was looked upon as one of the family. Now, however, since farm labor is becoming more transient, the democratic relationships are more difficult to maintain." Fifty women make statements similar to this: "When the boys of some neighboring farmer can be hired, I have no objection, but when a stranger comes into the house of whom we know nothing, I never feel at ease, and often he is not a desirable companion for my boys." Fifty-seven express themselves somewhat like this: "The hired help of contractors in the cities is not brought to the contractor's wife to be boarded, and she does not have to plan and worry about meals for the men who work for her husband." Another 36 make this comment: "Washing is the heaviest work I have, and, when it comes to washing the hired man's clothes, I protest most emphatically." Finally, 65 mention the fact that "a separate room for hired men, especially when they are strangers, would relieve us farm women of a great deal of anxiety."²⁹

Despite the changes it still remains substantially true

²⁹ G. A. Lundquist, "What Farm Women Are Thinking," *Univ. of Minnesota Agr. Ext. Div. Bull. No. 71*, May, 1923, p. 4.

that the farm laborer in much of America does not occupy a social position inferior to that of his employer. Many of them have been on the way to proprietorships of their own even as the men for whom they worked were once themselves. And so long as it is possible for the hired man of today to be the landlord of tomorrow, this spirit of democracy will remain.

The census of 1920 reported 4,462,628 agricultural laborers. This represented 26.6 per cent decrease from the number reported in 1910. The decrease, in so far as it was real and not merely apparent, was due to the increased use of machinery and the drift to the city. The census authorities, however, are disposed to discount the findings, for the enumeration was made as of January 1, whereas that for 1910 was made as of April 15. Had the data been gathered at the same time of the year, it is probable no such a decrease would have appeared.

The proportion of laborers to farm operators was unusually high in 1910. Barring 1910 the ratio between the two classes has remained fairly constant since 1880. The following table makes this clear:

TABLE 43.—NUMBER OF FARM OPERATORS AND LABORERS AND THE RATIO BETWEEN THEM AT VARIOUS CENSUS PERIODS.

Year	No. of Operators	Percent of Increase	No. of Laborers	Percent of Increase	Ratio of 100 Laborers to Operators
1880	4,389,999	...	3,323,876	...	132
1890	5,561,865	26.7	3,586,583	7.1	154
1900	5,970,889	7.3	4,410,877	22.9	135
1910	6,479,511	8.5	6,088,414	38.3	106
1920	6,490,530	0.1	4,462,628	26.6	138

The explanation of this relatively constant ratio is generally thought to be found in the influence of agricultural machinery. Altho normally machinery reduces the number of men needed in producing a given amount of any

crop, there has been expanding production along with the increased use of machinery. The result of the two forces has presumably been to hold the increase of agricultural labor in balance.

Whether this balance will continue, is difficult to say. Recent estimates by the Department of Agriculture indicate a steady decrease in the number of farm laborers. There were 109,000 fewer on January 1, 1925 than on January 1, 1924, the total being 3,194,000 at the latter date as against 3,085,000 for the former. The per cent of decrease was 3.4. However, these figures are not quite comparable with those of the table, since they include only laborers residing on farms for at least thirty days and none lodging off the farm.

It is estimated that 461,000 laborers left the farms for cities in 1924. This was offset by a return of some 352,000 from the cities to the farms.

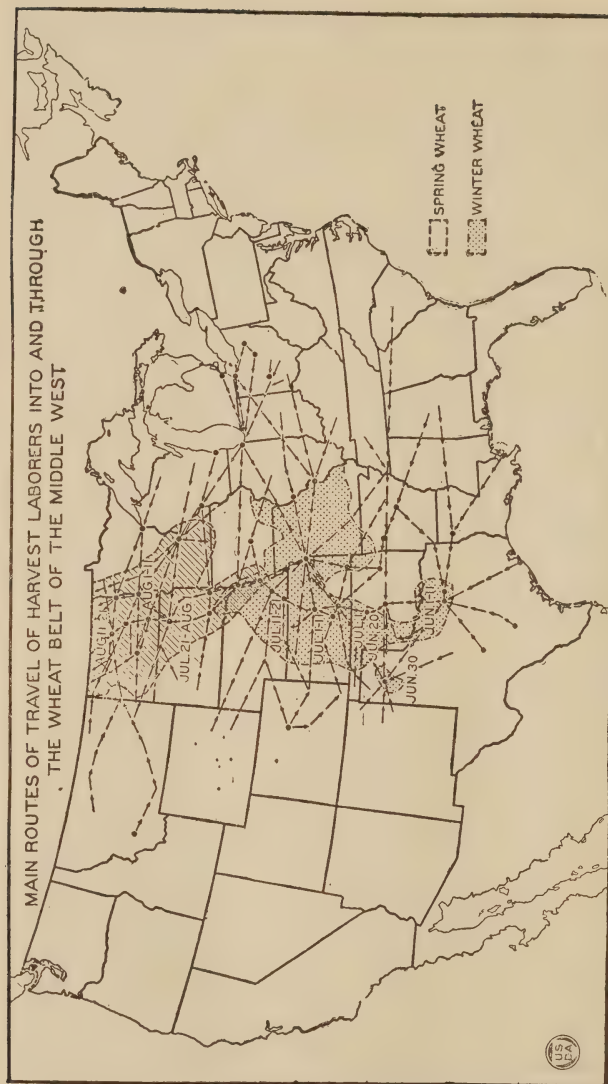
It has been a very general custom where month hands are hired, for the farmers to employ them for only 6 or 7 months of the year. This leaves the laborer unemployed usually through the winter months and necessitates his finding some other job. The custom has had a tendency to turn men cityward in quest of more permanent employment.

Migratory labor is a problem in certain agricultural regions. In the small grain and fruit growing sections of the West a large number of hands are needed for harvesting and threshing the grain and picking and packing the fruit. At other times few are needed. A seasonal and migratory class has arisen to meet this demand.

In the wheat belt of the West more than 100,000 men constitute this migratory force. This belt reaches from Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, through Iowa and Nebraska to Minnesota, the Dakotas, Montana, and Canada. Many of the men follow the harvest northward and get two or three months of work. Others do not and have but a few weeks' employment in one state.

The source of this seasonal labor is shown by Professor D. D. Lescoghier in Figure 36.

This body of labor, as it appears, comes from several

FIGURE 36.—ROUTES OF HARVEST LABORERS.³⁰

This map of harvest laborer movements shows that they do not follow the season northward but move chiefly westward and eastward.

³⁰ D. D. Lescotier, "Sources of Supply and Conditions of Employment of Harvest Labor in the Wheat Belt," *Bulletin Number 1211* (May, 1924), United States Department of Agriculture.

sources. Many are small farmers who need to supplement their farm incomes by wages earned in the harvests. These come from Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas, and the states in the wheat region or regions contiguous thereto. Others are farmers and their sons who have no such need but who are ambitious to make money after their own harvest is out of the way. More than three-fourths of the seasonal workers who migrate into this belt hail from the Mississippi Valley. They come from states as far east as Ohio and Kentucky. Two-thirds, however, appear to come from the cities in or adjacent to the wheat regions. Many are homeless migrants who come from the city lodging houses, being "shipped" by the labor agencies into the region for one type of work or another; others form a more reliable element.³¹

There is among the migrants a considerable element of drifters who follow various occupational cycles. Lescohier says:³² "There are Oklahoman seasonal laborers who follow the cycle of oil wells, cotton fields, wheat harvest, saw-mills, railroads and cattle ranches. There are those in the Dakotas and the North who follow lumbering in the winter, spring farm work, construction work, then harvesting and threshing. There is likewise a building and harvest cycle followed by an urban group. There is also a purely agricultural cycle group of men who work in hay, wheat, potato digging, corn harvesting, etc. Other migratory laborers do not follow any definite cycle but 'circulate thru from five to a dozen occupations.' In the winter such a man's options may be the woods, ice harvest and dish-washing in a restaurant; in the spring, building, railroad work and farming; in the summer, railroad work, harvesting and highway construction; in the fall the potato and corn harvests, road work, building or railroad work and tile ditching."³³

The seasonal laborer seems to be a necessity in these

³¹ Lescohier, "Hands and Tools of the Wheat Harvest," *The Survey*, July 1, 1923.

³² Lescohier, "Harvesters and Hoboes in the Wheat Fields," *The Survey*, Aug. 1, 1923, pp. 482-487.

³³ Lescohier, *Ibid.*, p. 487.

regions, but it is not easy to establish satisfactory living conditions for him nor to adjust community life to his presence. Moreover, the problem of the homeless migrant type is serious. Seasonal labor undermines moral stability and prevents habits of steady work from being developed by many. The farmers complain of this class and the latter complain of the treatment accorded them by the farmers. As a result considerable class antagonism has arisen and the cleavage of urban industry is carried into the country. To this discontented homeless element the most radical I. W. W. labor organizations have made successful appeal. Perhaps in this situation we see the beginning of a class conscious rural proletariat that is to play an increasing part in the future of agricultural society.

THE FARMER'S MARKETING

In his struggle for a living the farmer is concerned not alone with land, labor and production, but also with the marketing of his produce. Once the American farmer had little to do with marketing. That was in the early days before a world economy had developed, when a strictly local economy prevailed. A century ago the farmer consumed about all he produced and produced about all he consumed. He was "self-sufficient," independent in the extreme.

Today all this has changed. The farmer now produces to sell. His business has become a commercial pursuit concerned with markets, with selling and buying and making money. His plans do not involve raising things for his own consumption so much as producing a marketable crop that will bring him a profit with which to buy such goods as he desires. So he has become a commercial man as well as a soil tiller. This alteration in the economic process has given rise to new ways of business. The old competitive marketing in which each farmer competed with every other in disposing of what he had to sell has proved a failure after prolonged trial. Coöperation has arisen

instead. This method of selling has become wide-spread, and already involves such staple products as live stock, wool, grain, tobacco, etc. The coöperative method has not been resorted to in buying to any great extent as yet. But this cooperation in general bids fair to supersede the competitive system altogether. And well it may, for it is only the science of business applied where its results are most telling. Science applied at the point of agricultural production meets a situation more difficult to change than does science applied at the point of distribution. For at the latter gains and advantages are apparent and reason more quickly approves the new way.

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IX

SOME GENERAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDES OF THE COUNTRY PEOPLE

SOCIOLOGISTS recognize a type of mind that is distinctively rural, unlike either the town or city mind in several respects. This type seems to prevail universally thruout the rural regions of Western civilization. However, it is perhaps more strikingly manifest in America than in Europe. At least it is a highly significant type in our nation. Therefore, if the student is to arrive at an adequate understanding of American country life, the rural mind must be described and interpreted.

When we speak of the mind of the countryman we refer particularly to the psychology of the farmer, for it is he who gives tone to rural society as a whole. His mind is the typical mind of the rural group. The non-agricultural elements in the rural population, including village dwellers, differ somewhat in their mental attitudes from the tillers of the soil, and yet these elements are in the main variants about a general psychic mode represented by the farmer.

Again, let it be noted that when we speak of the mind of the countryman we must think of average traits and attitudes. We must regard the country people as a class, always remembering that a class implies deviation about a norm. And in this case the deviation is pretty wide. However, despite much individual variety enough uniformity prevails to permit certain generalizations about the type. Thus we are to study those mental traits that are peculiar to American farmers as a class. Not that these traits are universally or invariably present, but

that, generally speaking, they characterize the rural as distinct from the urban mind.

MEANING OF RURAL MIND

The rural mind may be considered in its purely individual, its social, and its "societal" aspects. When considered in its individual aspects, the personal behavior of the individual alone is the object of interest. When viewed in its social aspects, the reactions of individuals to their fellows, or what has been called "co-individual" behavior, are studied. When approached in its "societal" aspects, attention is focused upon "pluralistic" behavior, or the habitual ways of group conduct known as group ways, class ways, folk ways and institutions.¹ In such a study we are led into three fields. The first is that of the psychologist proper, the second that of the social psychologist, and the third that of the sociologist. In the very nature of the case these three fields are not so separate and distinct as the act of defining them tends to suggest. After all, they are only three aspects of the total mental life of the individual. For the mind of the individual is conditioned by co-individual and multiple-individual reactions and these in turn complicate each other. This is only to say that the individual mind operates in a social medium, and that a purely individual psychology is no longer looked upon as valid. Instead, the individual is understandable only in social relations; and individual psychology and social psychology have come to be one. Therefore in studying the rural mind we shall be concerned specifically with the first two fields viewed as one, for the third, or pluralistic behavior, is covered in those parts of this work dealing with the social heritage and with social organization.

The individual and social type of mind of countrymen as distinguished from that of citymen does not imply any hereditary differences. Nor does it imply any difference

¹ F. H. Giddings, *Scientific Study of Human Society*, pp. 13, 50-51.

in psychic mechanism. Even to make mention of this may seem superfluous and yet to stress the fact will help clear the ground for those who have not thought thru the subject. Obviously enough, the human mind is everywhere constituted in quite the same way. Its methods and processes are universal and constant factors among all humans. Hence rural and urban people alike have the same inborn behavior mechanism, if human beings have any inborn mechanism at all. Otherwise stated, the genesis and conditioning of psychic life takes place after the same manner with all men. The only difference, then, between the rural and urban mind is that which arises by virtue of different conditioning factors in a different physical and social environment. In the last analysis it turns out to be a matter of divergent habit reactions, attitudes and judgments.

Both the instinct and behavioristic psychologists agree in considerable measure upon the cause of this divergence. They find it in the dissimilar environmental conditions of country and city. The instinct school says, "Man brings to his environment inherited instincts which need to be adjusted to the demands placed upon them by the social life of those among whom he lives. This is the universal social problem present equally in the rural and urban environment. Rural psychology, therefore, must undertake to disclose the working of human instincts under the conditions provided in the country."² The behaviorists, on the other hand, say that instincts are limited to three or four very general tendencies and that the chief factors in determining mental behavior are the environmental influences that condition reflex responses. But for our purposes the controversy between instinctivists, environmentalists, behaviorists and subjectivists does not matter, for we must explain the contrasting features of the rural and urban mind in terms of the difference in environment.

² E. R. Groves, *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare*, pp. 8-9.

FACTORS IN THE GENESIS OF THE RURAL MIND

In tracing the growth of the individual in the rural environment from childhood up, the factors influencing him may become apparent. If at the same time we call attention to the contrasts between the city and the country influences, the factors will become more obvious.

1. The starting point is of course with the child in the home. His world for the first three or four years whether in country or city is the primary group of parents and brothers and sisters. For the average child the country home is, on the whole, widely different from the city home. There is an isolated setting for the farm, with other homes and other people generally far removed. The seclusion that the isolated house brings in the open country and in lesser degree even in the village and small town, where houses are detached, each on a plot of ground by itself, is a factor not to be ignored. The significance of this is that the home influence of the country is more intense, exclusive, and supreme than that exerted by the city home, crowded among other homes and beset with other people. Except for the few, home under urban conditions does not mean seclusion, exclusiveness, apartness and complete privacy. It means intrusion, sharing, crowding and too much publicity.

Again, there is an amplitude of meaning in the idea of home for the country child that is foreign to the urban child. To the former it is much more than house and family; it includes, besides, the barn, the yard, the garden, the fields with their plants, trees, animals and numerous other things, the work going on about the farm, and a wealth of loved spots within the confines of the family holdings. The city child lives in surroundings of quite another nature; a home world altogether narrower and less varied. Human, artificial, mechanical and commercial elements play upon the child of the city, while upon the child of the country there is somewhat less of the human

and more of the natural and living, the unrestrained and free out-of-doors at work to give bent to the mind.

2. Around the home lies the neighborhood, which is another primary group of great influence in the making of the mind. For the rural child this is a predetermined group. He finds it at hand and enters into it as he grows up. He comes to know everybody and to be known by all. Here he finds intimate face to face relation with all other children and grown-ups. Here spontaneous accommodations take place and easy identifications of self with the group are made. It is a situation where no one is capable of a thought or emotion strange to the other; where "the temper, the mood, the outlook, of the individual" and the group are the same. All aspects of the personality are touched by this group and undivided loyalty is demanded and given. How different the city neighborhood and the child's experience in it! Perhaps the contacts are easier and more quickly made with the group in the city, for it thrusts itself upon the individual in an inescapable way, but there is not the intimacy and complete identification of the individual with the city's heterogeneous neighborhood that there is of the individual with the homogeneous neighborhood of the country. Moreover, relations with the many in the city are largely impersonal. The group life in which the urban neighborhood abounds is far more of the interest or strictly associational type than is found in the country. That of the country may be said to be communal in that people feel themselves members one of another in a degree that is not ordinarily possible for the city neighborhood as a whole.

The play group is always an important feature of the neighborhood. This is everywhere a relationship of choice, but in the country it is much more under the direct surveillance of the home than in the city. It is true, as Jane Addams says, that "never before have the pleasures of the young and mature become so definitely separated as in the modern city."³ Along with this separation of play from the home and family goes a much greater degree of

³ Jane Addams, *The Spirit of Youth in the City Streets*, p. 13.

organization and commercialization in the city. The country child's play is home-made, spontaneous and generally undirected. If a boy's gang be taken for illustration, one notes that the scenes of its operations and exploits will be very different in the two spheres. In the country is great liberty and range of action. A wide world invites to many things—to hunt, to fish, to swim, to skate, to roam the woods and fields without fear or favor. On the city streets the gang moves in a sphere limited to men and things made by men. Restriction, circumspection and regulation are on every hand to thwart the spirit of youth. The boy on the street "standing around on the corner" with the gang to which he mysteriously attaches himself, says Miss Addams, finds "the difficulties of direct untrammelled action almost as great there" as they are in the factory.⁴

A second group within the bounds of the community is the school. If it is the country community, the school will generally be a single-room institution established in the local neighborhood. In rare cases it will be a consolidated school serving a wider area. The country school is likewise a primary group, generally very small and homogeneous. The city school lacks a great deal of this primariness, for often there is little homogeneity and the absence of that thoro acquaintance among the children that one finds in the country. The school is unquestionably a larger and more effective influence in the life of the city child than it is in the life of the country child. Altho membership in any school group is essentially compulsory and arbitrary, this feature is far less manifest in the rural than in the city school. Family and personal interests and desires are more respected and catered to in the country. The city school on the contrary tends to separate and emancipate the child from the home and neighborhood more completely and effectively.

There are still other contacts made by the child in his neighborhood thru institutions and organizations such as the church, the Sunday school, clubs, shops, stores, amusement places, theaters, parks and various other agencies.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

In the city such contacts are numerous, frequent and varied, whereas in the country they are few and infrequent. In other words, the country child lives in a relatively unorganized and uninstitutionalized community. Hence the country youth develops contact habits that are less formal, systematic and obligatory than those that are usually formed by his city cousin.

Every neighborhood has its economic activities. In certain residential urban areas these may not be prominent while in other sections they will be overwhelming. More than likely there will be a factory *milieu*, or one of business or trade dominating the city child. He will be part of it from infancy and grow up to fit into some niche of the system. The more fortunate children will grow up without much touch with the economic life, for business and home in a suburban neighborhood or a residential section are widely separated and pretty thoroly divorced. For such children the work of the city goes on more or less as a passing show having little directly to do in the conditioning of their minds.

In the country the business of farming is omnipresent. It is indoors as well as out and along every road. It intrudes itself into every phase of family life. The child grows up in it and is a part of it, unconsciously serving an apprenticeship to the occupation from infancy. He learns the traditions and does the things that pertain to farming as a matter of course. He simulates its tasks at play and wishes to be grown in order to do them as his elders. Thus the neighborhood *milieu* is an occupational one of a unique sort. In it the child and youth always have a part in providing the elemental things of living, such as food, fuel, light, clothing and shelter. It is providing for self rather than being altogether provided for by others. The uniqueness of this environment consists not only in the fact that the occupation of farming is everything and everywhere, but in the further fact that there is but the one occupation. The city, of course, has many occupations. As it is often said, farming is a mode of living. This scarcely holds true of any other occupation.

Consequently this mode of living influences the individual in a peculiar way.

3. A third circle into which the individual enters as he reaches maturity lies beyond the neighborhood. This is the locality, or the larger community. It differs from the neighborhood merely in being the wider sphere and more the embracing interest realm of the mature person. For our purpose it may be described as the habitat of the farmer.

As the country child comes to maturity and begins to participate in the community life, it is only to be subjected to forces that fix and deepen the mental attitudes that have long been in process of formation. He customarily moves in an environment affording neither many nor varied social contacts. Farmsteads are remote from one another and families isolated, so that they meet only occasionally. Nor has there normally been frequent visits to the village or town. The farmer lives much on the farm. No doubt he is tending nowadays, with the auto and good roads, to get away more than formerly, but for all this change, farming still ties one down. Work indoors and out is mostly carried on alone. Companionship in the fields is more with plant and animal life than with human beings. In the house companionship even of this sort is denied the average housewife.

It is not thus with the city dweller, who is a more mobile being in an environment thronged with other mobile beings. Daily contacts are numerous. However brief and formal and largely empty of content these are, they nevertheless furnish a distinctly human *milieu*. "The sociological aspect of these relationships is therefore best defined as one of spatial proximity and social distance. They are merely the transitory meetings of strangers in which the individual uniqueness of the participant remains hidden behind a shield of formal objectivity, aloofness, and indifference."⁵ Nevertheless these contacts remain human

⁵ Nicholas J. Spykman, "A Social Philosophy of the City," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XX, 1926, p. 50.

and the environment is social in a degree that no rural community ever attains.

The effects of this relative isolation in the country are heightened by virtue of the uniformity in type of personality. There are farmers, farmers everywhere and little else, hence like must associate with like without much experience of variety of kind. In the city the very opposite is the case. There one finds men of many functions, men subdued to a great variety of works and thus formed into many types.

Another difference is found in respect to organization, of which there is little in the country and much in the city. The farmer may have a club, a local of some farmer's organization such as the Grange, a lodge in the nearby village, a church, and possibly of late a cooperative association to which he belongs. But that will be about the limit of his associational activities in so far as organizations are concerned. Hence he does not become much entangled and bound by them. He never ceases to live chiefly in primary relationships where personality is of first consideration and organization of only minor significance. Personality thus remains free and the attitude of independence prevails. The city man, in contrast, lives where secondary relationships in interest associations have almost completely superseded the primary. In these associations the urban dweller would inevitably lose his uniqueness of personality were it not for the great variety of them to which he must adjust himself. He becomes, however, more coöperative and less independent.

The most important single factor of every environment is the cultural element. This constitutes the very essence of society, for, above all, behavior is direct response to the stimuli of tradition or culture. In the non-material culture of country and city there is much that is common, coming down as it has in the great thought currents of Western civilization. But there is also much that is different. This latter it will profit us to consider. In the first place, the agricultural tradition is about the most ancient heritage of our civilization. Its long transmitted beliefs

and practices are characterized by great definiteness and fixity. In this there is a marked difference from much of the heritage of urban society. Moreover, the culture of the city is a composite of many elements, embodying varied arts and occupations, the traditions of divers ethnic groups, the beliefs and practices of many different religious, ethical and political parties, and the contributions of numerous institutions and organizations. In such a situation there is competition and conflict due to the variety of cultural elements. The pool is always troubled. Stagnation is impossible. It is not true to the facts to say that all city dwellers or any of them come under the full influence of the rich cultural resources of their environment, but these resources are all about and accessible, and directly and indirectly the average urbanite is moulded by them. There is therefore no one thing in which the country and city are more in contrast than as regards the cultural situation. The body of tradition is not only largely different in kind but also in range of variety. Altho agriculture is not merely one but rather a number of occupations combined into one and calling for much diversification of work, there is nevertheless a sameness about it everywhere in the community. Despite the fact that versatility and resourcefulness are required of the individual to a degree not found in the occupations of the city, there is wanting in the country contact with that great variety of thought and practice which numerous occupations sustain in the city. In other words, there is wanting in the country that clash of systems that gives stimulation. The cumulative effect of this similarity of culture upon the rural dweller thus tends to a static type of mind.

Again, the cultures of the city and country are different as regards the institution of property. In the latter most people own property, either real or personal, and likely both. There are inequalities of wealth, but not glaring ones nor such as are commonly expressed in conspicuous display, nor such as tend to destroy human values, as we so often find in the city. But the country has a strong sense of ownership, of property rights, and of the privi-

leges of private possession. In the city there are so many more than in the country who are propertyless and so many who live almost wholly in contact with other propertyless people. Then, of course, there are some who move in a sphere where great property interests rule everything. No one, however rich or poor, escapes the influence of the economic disparity. Nor does he escape the influence of an environment where public property bulks large. For the urban community provides many things for its people that the countryman does not have at all, or if he has any of them, provides them himself. Thus, deprived as he is of private ownership, the average urbanite learns to depend upon other peoples' and the public's property for such use as he makes of this institution.

In surveying the social furnishings of the habitat of the individual, we must not lose sight of the material features. In the city these are mainly artificial creations, while in the country they are natural objects. The one is an environment where things are made, the other is an environment where things are grown. The countryman struggles with nature to grow plants and animals. The seasons, the weather, the soil, the germination of seeds and the multiplication of animals are his constant concern. The processes of nature, her caprices and her decrees are the things he must reckon with. The urbanite has instead to reckon more with human nature and the materials that man fabricates into a variety of wares. The cityman's world is one in which the human will has great power. Man is far more the master in the country, where Fate is supreme. Corra Harris vividly describes the farmer's dependence on Nature in the following: "I am now at the quivering stage of uncertainty through which every farmer passes just before he takes the plunge and cuts his hay anyhow. The worth of the crop depends upon his judgment and the weather. I have a very fine field of soy beans. The leaves are beginning to turn at the bottom of the vines, but the beans have not filled out. If I cut them too soon the leaves will turn dark, parch and drop off, and the beans will be worthless. If I wait, the spell

of bad weather we always have around the equinox may delay the harvesting too long. Meanwhile, the bean beetle is within three miles of this place, consuming everything as it comes. And every man who has this kind of hay is cutting it regardless of whether it is mature or not. I know exactly how a speculator feels when he is in doubt about whether to sell or hold on the risk of losing everything in order to make a greater profit. Every year of my life on this farm I have passed through these tremors of uncertainty and anxiety. I expected to have the hay cut yesterday, but the night before there was lightning in the north, not flashes but real forked lightning—a sure sign of rain in this section. Today the wind is from the east, the sky overcast—no rain yet, but the weather too threatening to risk haying.”⁶

In the foregoing analysis we have tried to indicate the chief determiners of the rural mind in contrast to the urban. By way of summary, we may say that they are certain distinct qualities and influences of the rural *physical environment*, the *societal situation*, the *occupational activities*, the *demographical conditions*, and the *cultural medium*.

CHARACTERISTIC MENTAL ATTITUDES OF THE FARMER

1. *Extreme individualism* is one of the outstanding attitudes of the farmer. It is the “I” rather than the “we” outlook. It may be described as an individualism of isolation, because it is self determination largely without social pressure and in the presence of a great deal of solitude. Moreover, it is a type of behavior growing out of a situation in which the making of choices, decisions and adaptations is always exigent, but a single-handed performance.

In the city, with its highly human and artificial environment, the possibilities for the development of individualism are almost unlimited, for there life’s options most abound

⁶ Corra Harris, reprinted from the *Country Gentleman*, January 5, 1924, p. 6. Copyright 1924 by the Curtis Publishing Company, Philadelphia, Pa.

and the pressure to select lines of conduct and relationships is insistent. This means unbounded opportunity for the individualism of choice rather than that of isolation. At the same time, a tremendous pressure is upon the many to escape the necessity of choice and to take refuge in restricted groups, classes and crowds, and to conform to conventional behavior patterns. In consequence the masses of the city are lacking in much individualism. They tend instead to be mass minded, uniform and conventional.

The farmer's individualism manifests itself in a fairly wide range of habits of self-reliance and independent action. He thinks his own thoughts and pursues his own course. He sets his own tasks and knows when they are done. He lays great store by personal qualities as making for success or failure. Social factors are relatively negligible in his calculations. For this reason the farmer has found it difficult to unite with others in organized effort. His team work fails from sheer inability to pull with others and from much disloyalty to group interests. This fact has long been recognized both by farmers themselves and by those who have profited from such failings.

It has been said that there is no public opinion in the country, that is, no opinion held by the community which has been arrived at thru discussion. There is individual and family opinion, but nothing more. There is, of course, much prejudice, dogma, bigotry and "petrified emotion" of one sort and another. On the whole, there is far more of this in the country than in the city. Some call this public opinion, but it is nothing of the kind. When, therefore, someone speaks in such vein as the following, he fails to discriminate between public opinion and prejudice. "The power of public opinion is very great in the South. While this may be true of rural or semi-rural communities in any part of the land, nowhere else does collective opinion exert such overwhelming force as in the Southern states. Perhaps this phenomenon is a survival from Reconstruction days and after. Since certain attitudes toward the Negro, for example, were defended on the ground of the necessity of protecting womanhood, a cer-

tain standard must be demanded from woman, and every man claimed a sort of prescriptive right to assist in laying down rules for such conduct on her part."⁷ The explanation of the prevalence of prejudice instead of public opinion is found in part in the individualism of the farmer. The habit of relying on one's own thoughts stands in the way of assembly for discussion, of amicable discussion if assembled, and consequently of the integration of ideas in the community.

The farmer's individualism is seen again in a strong sense of personal rivalry. To worst the other fellow at work, to show one's self to be the "better man," to sell one's produce at a better price than the neighbor got, to buy more advantageously, to get ahead of him in planting or harvesting, and in a multitude of other ways to outdo others in the community, has been a source of much joy to the American farmer. This same spirit appears where questions of leadership arise. There is great jealousy of anyone who seeks to lead, for it seems that no one in the country likes to be a follower. This attitude appears even among country children at play. They are inclined to prefer games where someone is "it," and to contest bitterly for place. In a community it often appears as if there was a mutual conspiracy of all against the ascendancy of any one. And where there is recognized leadership, not infrequently the man or woman at the head of things is there by sheer self assertiveness driven by an inordinate love of power. Such persons will lord it over others without any sense of the social function to be performed.

Another evidence of the individualistic attitude appears in the lack of much imitativeness of the conscious sort in the country. To imitate for the sake of keeping up with the Jones, to speak in current fashion, i.e., merely to conform, is not the farmer's way. If he imitates—and he does it just as men everywhere do—it is to a large extent unconscious imitation.

⁷ H. Thompson, *The New South*, pp. 212-213. Vol. 42, *The Chronicles of America Series*. By permission Yale University Press.

2. *Conservatism* is another conspicuous attitude of the rural mind. This does not at first thought seem to be consistent with ultra-individualism, and yet on closer analysis it is apparent that the latter tends to foster conservatism. For the individualism of isolation conduces to great fixity of habits and opinions, naturally incapacitating for social change. At best the human mind is fundamentally conservative anyhow, and when circumstances favor, it easily becomes extremely so. Thus, in the words of Professor James Harvey Robinson, "It conforms, it changeth not, it does not venture, but returns under the pull of instincts to its old and customary ways where it is sure." Now the countryman's environment, as we have seen, is ruled over by the influence of the weather and physical nature, characterized by isolation, homogeneity of culture, occupation and contacts, and swayed by property interests and the requirements of incessant action without much thought. Obviously it is a situation that is peculiarly conducive to the development of customary modes of behavior.

Evidence that such behavior prevails is seen, among other things, in the extensive use of formulas, rules of action, wise sayings and proverbs.⁸ These are illustrated in such aphorisms as, "There is a seed time and a harvest," "An hour in the morning is worth two at night," "So many fogs in February, so many frosts in May." The extensive use of formulas of this sort reflect a static mental attitude. The savage, bound by the cake of custom, thinks and speaks in this manner. And the civilized man, to the degree that he lives by the inherited ways of his fathers and is uncritical and undisturbed by innovating influences, does likewise. As Professor J. M. Williams has well said, the "use of formulas is a mental habit that is common among agricultural peoples the world over. It is everywhere the cornerstone of the conservative mind."⁹ In rural America it is one of the signs that the farmer goes along as he always has and as his father had before him and still keeps going.

⁸ J. M. Williams, *Our Rural Heritage*, pp. 168-169.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

Change is generally most easily effected in the economic sphere. But it is apparently harder to induce the American farmer to change his methods than it is to persuade the city man to adopt new ways. The farmer holds tenaciously to old and outgrown ways long after new and better ones are known to him. He fears to experiment. The hazards may be greater in agriculture than in industry or business, for the process of farming is less under human control, and this may partially explain the farmer's slowness to change. But the absence of immediately felt competition is also a factor. This conservative reaction is seen, for instance, in relation to practically all public affairs to which the farmer responds. His record is generally one of opposition to reform in economic policies. He habitually votes down schemes of tax reform, steadfastly upholds the protective tariff, defeats programs and proposals involving the outlay of money for public welfare unless he can see some direct benefit to himself. Even when the benefit is pretty clear, the chances are the change will not be approved.

And yet it is a well-known fact that there have been radical movements sponsored by the farmers. However, such movements have not been radical from principle; they have been motivated by self-interest. For, except where the shoe pinched, those who have enlisted in these movements have opposed or been indifferent to all other radical causes. Moreover, the history of agrarian upheavals in America reveals the fact that the malcontents have quickly abandoned radical causes just as soon as conditions have improved the least bit. They have lost all interest in altering society or pushing their particular programs and have become, on the whole, the most complacent and reactionary of men. As Profesor A. B. Wolfe says:

"The American farmer in his hitherto futile attempts to protect himself from the organized commercial interests, has time and again manifested this *ad hoc* radicalism: granger legislation, greenbackism, populism, free silverism, coöperative marketing, 'Un-American' agricultural blocs in Congress, Non-partizan leagues, and proposals for gov-

ernmental fixation of farm-product prices are all illustrative. Incidentally he has never failed to be roundly lectured for his foolishness. He has never been a real radical-from-principle, however. There would never have been a Non-partizan League had not the grain dealers pressed the wheat growers a trifle beyond the limit of endurance."¹⁰

In all fairness it should be added that there are here and there spots of true radicalism in the rural districts. Where hard and oppressive conditions persist, as for instance, among the tenants of the Southwest, radicalism from principle seems to have arisen. This is perhaps more proletarian than agrarian, however.

Further evidence of dogged adherence to custom is seen in moral and religious behavior. The stronghold of theological fundamentalism and strict religious orthodoxy is found in rural districts. It is belief sustained, like agricultural practices, by oral tradition, not by rational thought.

3. *The magical mind* rather than the scientific attitude tends to prevail in the country. This is an emotional and unreflective attitude which does not clearly perceive the steps between thoughts and acts or habitually take them. It does things that are inconsequential and that in no wise further the ends sought, but are nevertheless esteemed important. The scientific attitude is quite the opposite. It reflects and sees the necessary links between ideas and objects or actions, and supplies the connections in its procedure. Much more of this attitude is manifested in the ordinary life of the city than in that of the country. For in the city "the external conditions of existence are so evidently contrived to meet man's clearly recognized needs that the least intellectual of peoples are inevitably led to think in deterministic and mechanistic terms."¹¹ In the country the great forces of nature are mysterious

¹⁰ A. B. Wolfe, *Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method*, p. 135. Copyright 1923 by The Macmillan Co., N. Y. Reprinted by permission.

¹¹ Robert E. Park, "Magic, Mentality and City Life," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. 18, p. 108.

and uncontrollable, capricious and unpredictable, hence tend to mystify and befuddle Man.

Expressions of this magical mindedness are seen in numerous superstitious beliefs and practices in regard to planting and harvesting. And until just recently it was also seen in a pretty general distrust of scientific methods and knowledge. There was the disposition to pray for rain and to keep the Sabbath holy in order to secure the favor of God, who orders the seasons.¹² Of late, however, there are signs that this attitude is giving away. The scientific demonstration of the control of plant and animal diseases and, particularly, the forecasting of the weather by the United States Weather Bureau have made an impression.

The supernatural persistently holds the central place in the magically minded. Thus Thomas and Znaniecki write of the Polish peasant:

"The ultimate result of farm work does not depend exclusively upon the worker himself; his best efforts can be frustrated by unforeseen circumstances and in a particularly good year even neglected work may be well repaid. On the background of religious and magical beliefs this incalculable element gives birth to a particular kind of fatalism. . . . The essential point is to get the help of God, the distributor of good, against the indifferent forces of nature and the intentionally harmful magical forces of hostile men and devils. Now . . . the process of work itself is a means of influencing God favorably; it is even the most indispensable condition of assuring God's help, for without it no religious magic will do any good."¹³

True, indeed, the American farmer, as Professor Williams has emphasized, does not stress the supernatural in anything like the same measure as the Polish peasant, and yet the two have considerable in common. The American is more inclined to emphasize industriousness first and to

¹² J. M. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹³ Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, p. 174.

regard it as only one of the important means of getting supernatural aid.¹⁴

4. *An emotional intensity and high degree of suggestibility* is another trait of the farmer. At the same time, the farmer is stolid and austere and noted for habits of restraint. Feelings are repressed, especially the tender emotions. Despite the seeming contradictions in these statements, they are both true, for there is habitual repression of feelings under some circumstances and extreme outbursts under others. Associating only in a limited way with his fellows, the farmer has not built up habits of response to stimulation from human sources. The checks and balances to the emotions that prevail among people used to one another thru constant association are apt to be wanting in the ruralite. His feelings, prejudices and beliefs are not socialized; they are, as it were, untamed. The result is intense, often distorted, and always highly subjective, introspective convictions that are unused to the rough and tumble treatment of public life. Hence their possessors are "touchy" and when affronted tend to explode in a rather violent fashion. Easily slighted and injured, the farmer is quick to resent things and to demand respect tho he may not be able to command it. He does not quickly or easily forgive, but harbors grudges. Any social stimulation is therefore apt to reduce more extreme response than would be called out among urbanites.

Perhaps it may fairly be said that altho conservative in his normal thought habits, the farmer is radical in his emotional responses, or at least tends to become so under circumstances that would scarcely disturb the equanimity of the urbanite.

Manifestations of this attitude have been conspicuous in various relations and in all parts of the country. Neighborhood feuds have been common. Mobs and lynchings have been of frequent occurrence, especially in the most rural parts of America, namely, the Southern states. Religious revivalism of the wildest sort has long flourished in all sections of rural America. The politically embattled

¹⁴ J. M. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

farmer has again and again gone to the hustings in mad pursuit of futile causes. And waves of organized emotionalism of one sort or another, kindred in nature to the Ku Klux Klan, have swept thru the rural population. These excesses, it is significant to note, have been the chief occasions for mass action among countrymen. The camp-meeting, the lynching, the white caps, the night-riders, the Klan crowd are particular examples of such action. Moreover, this action has usually taken some form of man-exploitation, such as "man-baiting" in revivals, "man-hunting" in lynchings, "man-killings" in feuds, "man-terrorizing" in night-riding, white-cap attacks and cattle raiding or border warfare.

The farmer has been called gullible, and with justice, for he has been easily victimized by fakes and frauds. This is due not alone to his ignorance of the art of working other people for one's living, but also to his high degree of suggestibility. Altho skeptical, he is not analytically critical, and hence is apt to be imposed upon when subjected to the right sort of suggestion.

5. *Thriftiness and frugality* are further attitudes seen among farmers more than among urban people. Almost everyone in the country owns some property and is extremely absorbed in the process of further accumulation. Other people may be wholly bent on material gain as well as the farmer, but taken as a class he is perhaps more meanly engrossed in property interests than any other large section of the population. This comes of the slow and difficult process of extracting a living from the soil. Rural wealth is hard won. Indeed, it has not been possible to win it at all except by the most careful husbanding of resources. Therefore to save became, as it were, the chief end of existence for the many. In the age of the frontier and homespun, when attitudes were taking shape in rural society, there was little or no money and little or no ambition except to make a living. Saving then had to do with things—food, crops, clothing, tools, animals and buildings, for these were the very basis of existence of the farm family. When, later, world markets opened and agricul-

ture began to be somewhat commercialized and the farmer could sell his crop for money, then the saving habit was transferred from things of consumption to money. The commercial era also compelled the spending of money, for more things had to be bought, since they could no longer be supplied by home labor. The tendency was therefore toward less frugality. This tendency has gone on till not a few produce everything to sell for money with which to buy their living. Thus one often sees today none of the old-time thrift among the younger farmers. Nevertheless, in the main, thriftiness still characterizes the farm dwellers, for income is rarely regular, as it is in the city. It comes at odd intervals and by seasons and must be conserved and made to tide over from the sale of one crop to another. So, in spite of influences against it, the saving habit still persists.¹⁵

Almost every phase of conduct in the country reflects this attitude. The standard by which people are ordinarily judged involves their saving proclivities. The man who builds him barns and fences, increases the quantity or quality of his flocks and herds, adds more acres to his holdings and thus in one way and another gets ahead is highly esteemed. For the free spender and the one who consumes as fast as he makes, there is general contempt. A generous standard of living in lieu of the customary cramped and niggardly one so often prevalent is likely to be frowned upon. There are signs, however, that this attitude is rapidly changing. In general and historically, the most cautious and calculating procedure with reference to all expenditures is in vogue. The cost is counted and the question asked whether this or that can be afforded before money is spent for anything that will not obviously contribute to more gain. Too often the decision is that it cannot be afforded. Thus a spirit of penuriousness holds sway.

It is therefore not strange that the farmer does not, even when able, give generous support to public causes and enterprises. Altho personally generous and helpful

¹⁵ J. M. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-92.

toward his neighbors, giving freely of his produce and services for the relief of those about him who may be in distress to a degree unsurpassed by any class, he is no philanthropist. He does not as a rule sustain institutions devoted to the public welfare in proportion to their merits or his ability. The city worker discovers lack of interest in charity as an organized service in the country. The reformer confronts the practice of countrymen to vote down tax levies for the improvement of institutions such as asylums, schools, homes for dependent classes, hospitals, etc. He will vote taxes for good roads, for subsidies to railroads and other things that he thinks will benefit him materially, but otherwise he withholds his sanction rather more persistently than do other classes. He thinks the efficiency of governmental and social action should be judged by the amount of parsimony practiced, just as his domestic affairs are judged.

The consequences of this attitude as it relates to reform efforts in the rural community should be pointed out. Professor L. L. Bernard has so well stated it that we cannot do better than quote him. "If one were setting forth general principles to guide the demagogue or the social worker in making an appeal to the rural population, they might be stated in something like these words: Appeal must be made to the farmer on the basis of his self-interest rather than on that of social welfare; on the basis of his personal sympathy rather than on that of social utility; on the basis of his religious and political convictions and in the terminology of catch-phrases, symbols, and shibboleths rather than on that of formal scientific principles. Yet it would be quite inaccurate to say that no appeal for the better things of life can be presented to the farmer. On the contrary, there is perhaps no industrial class more conscientious within the limits of his thinking."¹⁶

6. *Suspiciousness* is another attitude of the rural mind. There is a surprising amount of distrust among rural people of the same neighborhood. Those who have grown up

¹⁶ L. L. Bernard, "Theory of Social Attitudes," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1917, p. 648.

together are apt to exhibit this trait toward one another. One wonders if the Scotch verdict which holds every man guilty until he is proved innocent was not of rural origin. The existence of this attitude must be referred to the situation in which men are habitually more dependent upon and conversant with inanimate things and domestic animals than with their fellows. They have a nature rather than a social configuration.¹⁷ Out of this situation there arises distrust of human nature. Moreover, there has been almost no dependence upon organizations of one's fellows—nor, in fact, have such organizations existed. So the countryman has staked little on the action of other men and has not learned to trust them much.

Part of the hostility of the farmer toward the townsman is doubtless to be explained by this suspiciousness. In this relation is fostered an anti-social attitude that works to the disadvantage of the farmer.

7. *Frankness* is a further characteristic of the rural mind. A blunt, straightforward, direct method of approach and communication is in vogue. It is in rather marked contrast to the tact, diplomacy and indirection that conceals as much as it reveals which we find in urban life. In the rural environment the conditioning circumstances are perhaps first of all to be found in the play of Nature upon human beings. Nature is straightforward and sincere and the occupation that has commerce with her must play fair. The absence of the artificial and made-to-order tends to beget a genuineness in men. In the second place, all associations are highly personal. Everybody knows and is known to everybody else in the community. That knowledge, moreover, is pretty thoro and comprehensive. So pretense and efforts to conceal virtually become impossible. To pose, to "put on airs," to hide behind a mask, will not go in the country. Thus a premium is put on frankness and truthfulness is developed. The farmer says what he means and means what he says; he does not flatter or speak for effect.

This attitude shows itself in a considerable disregard

¹⁷ J. M. Williams, *The Expansion of Rural Life*, p. 6.

for social conventions. The countryman tends to look upon them as unnatural and put-on and hence insincere. He is, therefore, inclined to lean too far the other way and to become boorish. Traditionally the American farmer has taken pride in his crude ways, sometimes no doubt merely for the sake of self-expression in competition with the city man, but more often as a natural man asserting his integrity unconsciously. The few conventions that function in rural society are those meeting the needs of direct, personal contacts within a like-minded group. More social ritual than this seems to the farmer false and hollow form.

The foregoing list of rural attitudes is not necessarily a complete and exhaustive inventory of the rural mind. Other traits more or less in contrast to those of the urbanite might be pointed out, but it is enough to indicate the outstanding differences between the two types. For what is significant for our purpose is to show that there are two general types and that rural and urban social behavior are in consequence more or less divergent.

CHANGING ATTITUDES

In the foregoing discussion of rural mental attitudes occasional reference has been made to changes that are taking place in them. This aspect of the subject deserves further attention, for it would be entirely false to give the impression that these attitudes are generally fixed. Conditions change and mental habits must perforce sooner or later follow suite. Rural society in America is undergoing alteration, fairly rapid in some respects, slow in others, but certain in all. And one discerns a modification of the farmers' psychology to correspond.

Urbanization is said to be taking place. There is abundant evidence to confirm it, but it is not sufficient to demonstrate that the rural mind is going to disappear and leave only the urban thruout the land. For so long as there remain two distinct types of environment, two widely different sets of occupations and two wholly unlike modes of dwelling in which men are born and bred there will

remain a rural mind and an urban mind. Certain differences that have hitherto made the rural and urban types distinct may tend to be toned down under the urbanizing influences of the present, but scarcely more is to be expected.

There are certain specific factors at work effecting change. One is the *mechanization of agriculture*. Altho this influence has been at work for a long time, it has been accelerated in recent years and thru a cumulative effect is being felt more and more profoundly. The psychology we have described was a product of a non-mechanized agriculture. It came of a hoe-culture under which brawn counted for more than brain and men had to rely more on their power to lift than upon ability to make subtle adjustments thru thought processes. Farming in the pre-mechanical era made the peasant type ox-like in strength, but mentally static. There was neither occasion nor time for mental alertness. As Dr. Galpin has said: "Nature denies to the mind of the peasant lifter and carrier the privilege of having his big muscle movements summon into the stream of his ideas and thinking the rich and varied ideas stored up in latent form in his higher brain areas. Provided by heredity with all the mechanism of suggestibility and a consequent potential wealth of ideas in his upper brain, the primitive hoe man's heavy work in the major activities of his occupation cannot automatically relate itself to this mechanism and awaken an intellectual life."¹⁸ And when we recognize in addition the fact that the grind of hard manual labor in which the farmer spends most of his time is extremely fatiguing and stultifying, we have gone far toward explaining rural mental life. Altho the American farmer has generally been incomparably superior to the European peasant both in economic status and mental quality, he has not escaped the hoe-farming influences that shaped the peasant mind. His psychology in consequence has much in common with the peasant's.

But the extensive mechanization of agriculture is lifting the burden of hard, "bone" labor, preventing so much

¹⁸ C. J. Galpin, *Rural Life*, pp. 33-34.

excessive fatigue, increasing leisure, and making both possible and necessary more thinking and a more subtle type of adjustment. The author quoted above thinks a veritable new cerebral type is being selected by the use of machines. The use of the finer muscles of the hand and eye instead of the heavy muscles of the limbs and back are responsible for the change. The sensory nerve centers are thus stimulated more and on the thought side a stream of mental associations are caused to flow into consciousness. "The logical outcome of this charter of right and privilege to the muscles of the hand and fingers is a large range of intellectual intercourse, a constant enticement to a change in ideas."¹⁹ Thus the hoe-farmer mind is being modified by a new set of circumstances.

Evidences of change due to mechanization are not so easy to indicate. And yet certain things are appearing that seem to trace to this influence. There is a noticeable absence of the old-time pride in physical prowess. Countrymen do not boast of their ability to lift, to pitch so much hay or cut so many shocks of corn in a day, as they did when all work of this sort was done by hand. In fact, the older generation that was inured to these things is critical of the present one because it is said to be soft, weak and afraid of work. The real significance of this judgment is that a new set of work habits has begun to appear, giving more leisure. And these in turn perhaps imply a growing sense of mastery and freedom from customary and traditional ways. In other words, it may indicate a certain retreat from ultra conservatism.

Increased mobilization is another factor that is probably working modification in rural psychology. The introduction of motor vehicles within the last two decades has almost revolutionized country life. It has put the whole countryside in motion. Everybody is going as never before; the housewife more frequently away from home; the farmer more often away from the farm; the family more times away from the neighborhood. New contacts are being made, the number and frequency of contacts are

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

being multiplied, and a far greater variety of experiences are being secured than in the days of the horse-drawn vehicle. The area in which the farmer lives has suddenly widened in every direction. Community no longer has the narrow meaning it once had. Local isolation has been invaded by the outside world, neighborhood provincialism has been much disturbed, where not altogether broken up, and many of the old customs which bound the former generations have been discarded. The whole life of the rural people has been quickened, broadened and made more hopeful by means of this mobilization.

The specific effects upon the rural mind are certain subtle changes that will probably grow more pronounced with the lapse of time. The thriftiness of the farmer is probably undergoing alteration, not so much directly from the mobilization of people, however, as from the demands and appeals that the means of mobilizations are making. Conservatism and individualism cannot long remain quite the same under present conditions. The mind will be shaken out of its fixed attitudes by widening experiences and contacts. Already there seems to be a letting down in that individualism which so long kept the farmers unorganized, for the coöperative movement has grown rapidly in recent years. One wonders if it would have made any such headway had it not been for the influence of the automobile. There is also a wholesome growth of farmers' clubs in many quarters where such things were not thought of twenty-five years ago.

Mobilization, however, is but one development in the more general field of *widening and quickening communication*. Devices for spreading ideas, such as the telephone, the radio, and the Rural Free Delivery are of as much significance as are the means of transporting persons and goods, represented especially in the automobile. In 1920 there were 2,500,000 farms equipped with telephone, or 38.9 per cent. of all the farms in the United States. In addition the radio is being rapidly introduced in rural homes. A survey made by county agents for the Department of Agriculture in 1925 indicated some 550,000 sets in use.

The number had more than doubled within a year. In 1923 rural mail routes were serving 6,500,000 families in daily delivery. By these several means of communication the farmer is coming more and more to participate in the thought and life of the whole world, for the newspaper is coming regularly to his table, and over the telephone and radio the voices of many people from afar, together with all sorts of information and entertainment. The sum total effect of this has yet to be measured, but one may conjecture that a new mental outlook will come to the ruralite. The increased stimulation will tend to influence the emotional reactions of country people. A greater sense of unity with the town and city will naturally be fostered, for certainly the process is one of uniformitization and urbanization.

The *commercialization of agriculture* is also to be reckoned with. By this I mean the process of producing with the market definitely in view and with the agencies for marketing in the farmer's control. This process has been going on in a measure ever since world markets became available to the agriculturist and he ceased to be a producer merely for self-consumption. But the process did not signify much in relation to mental attitudes until definite emphasis began to be put on the strictly business aspects of farming and the farmer himself became conscious of the fact that selling his product was the all important feature of his occupation. As country life has passed into this phase during the last few years new practices have made their appearance everywhere. More specialized farming has come in. Products are being graded, packed and standardized in greater degree. Markets are being studied and organizations created for selling purposes. Incidentally the growth of wayside marketing and coöperative marketing is a conspicuous development. Thus the farmer is becoming more of a business man. He is taking a leaf from the townsman's book. He is out for profits, if profits can be had from agriculture.

This development indicates a changing rural psychology; it represents also a new force at work which will probably

effect still further change. Just what modifications of the rural mind are to be looked for is not altogether clear, but it would seem that competition among farmers should be lessened, suspiciousness allayed, and more interdependence created as they are forced to meet the problems of marketing. It is not unlikely that the struggle in which this commercialization is involving them will render them less frank and straightforward. Above all, more intelligence is going to be necessary to get on under this system. Those who do not acquire it will fail. Hence the prospects are that the rural mind will become more dynamic.

The rise of organization has been referred to in connection with this agricultural commercialization. The latter has been responsible for the extensive growth of co-operatives. And these mark a new phase of rural association; they represent secondary groupings instead of primary. Such associations are multiplying both in number and variety and are giving to those who participate in them something that the primary group or neighborhood does not give. New obligations, new interests, new loyalties and new opportunities are involved. These, as it were, furnish the farmer with a new education. If he proves an apt pupil in the new school he is bound to become in many ways a different sort of socius from what he has been. His old attitudes will require revision as he functions in the new relations.

Finally, of the positive forces there remains the introduction of the *scientific method into agriculture*. This has been alluded to before and need not detain us long. The impress of science is already marked and the agencies that are carrying it to the farmers are persistent. The demonstrations of scientific method in crop production, animal husbandry, the control of plant and animal diseases and insect pests and in the storage and preservation of farm products have been the means of converting many countrymen to the cause of scientific farming. With much prestige already established for this method, there is every reason to think fairly rapid headway will be made in the immediate future. To the degree such progress is made the

magical attitude will disappear. And eventually, when the habitual attitudes are broken down in relation to the agricultural process, the new reactions established will carry over into the social affairs of the farmer. It may well be that we have in the making the most scientifically minded class in the nation.

It is reported by demonstration workers that the farmer is not content alone with the technique of better production, etc., but is beginning to ask about the theory behind it. In other words, the method is awakening an intellectual curiosity and arousing the spirit of inquiry.²⁰ Whenever this happens it is proof positive that magic is doomed. For some, at least, it may mean the lifting of agriculture to the level of an intellectual vocation. Doubtless, however, for the many the scientific method will not arouse intellectual interests; they will be content to pursue the occupation merely as an art. Nevertheless the unintellectual many will hardly be able to hold fast to sign-farming with science poking fun at them and winning all the prizes.

There are forces at work tending to nullify the influences that are altering rural attitudes. The most important of these is city drift. Another is the unprofitableness of agriculture in general. The effect of these, I suppose, is to lower the quality of the rural population and the general level of rural civilization. Under such conditions the power of traditional behavior is likely to grow stronger and greatly retard the process of change. But it is not probable that there will be anything more than retardation. Fast or slow, change is inevitable.

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Some General Psychological Attitudes 245

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X

THE RURAL FAMILY

NUMBER, SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES

THE 1920 census enumerated 24,351,676 families in the United States. The urban population contained 12,803,047 and the rural 11,548,629.

The ratio between the number of families and the population varies considerably from section to section. The following table indicates the differences both for urban and rural groups.

TABLE 44.—NUMBER OF FAMILIES PER 1,000 OF THE 1920 POPULATION FOR URBAN AND RURAL AREAS BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS.

GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS	URBAN	RURAL
New England	226	247
Middle Atlantic	227	231
East North Central.....	239	239
West North Central.....	246	230
North Atlantic	234	206
East South Central.....	249	215
West South Central.....	234	213
Mountain	243	240
Pacific	263	255
Average	240 +	231 —

The differences here revealed show certain other conditions. Where the number of families is low, as in the rural South, it means a large number of children per family. Where the number of families is high it usually signifies a large proportion of married people and relatively few

children per family. Such is the case for rural New England and the Pacific region.

The actual difference in the size of the family in various parts of America is better shown by the following table:

TABLE 45.—NUMBER OF PERSONS PER FAMILY FOR URBAN AND RURAL AREAS BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS ON BASIS OF 1920 CENSUS.

GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS	URBAN	RURAL
United States	4.2	4.5
New England	4.4	4.1
Middle Atlantic	4.4	4.3
East North Central	4.2	4.2
West North Central	4.1	4.4
South Atlantic	4.3	4.9
East South Central	4.0	4.7
West South Central	4.3	4.7
Mountain	4.1	4.2
Pacific	3.8	3.9

MARITAL CONDITIONS

Every age group of females from 15 years up shows a larger per cent of married people in the rural than in the urban population. About 7 per cent more rural than urban females are married and about 0.6 per cent more of country than of city men. It will be observed from Table 45 that in four sections of the country a larger proportion of urban than of rural men are married. The striking differences are for the Northwest, the Mountain and Pacific regions. This is probably to be explained from the prevalence of mining, lumbering and frontier conditions in their rural territory, which draw larger numbers of single men than do the towns.

In the male age group 15-24 years among the native whites, more were married in urban than in rural communities. The groups 15-19 and 20-24 taken separately show larger percentages for the rural. The contradiction is explained when it is observed that the age group 15-19,

among whom the proportion of married is small, are more numerous in rural than in urban districts. Hence, when this group is included with the 20-24 year group the combination reduces the percentage more in the rural than in the urban communities.¹

The following table shows the percentages of married men and women in the various sections of the land.

TABLE 46.—PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED MEN AND WOMEN FOR THE URBAN AND RURAL GROUPS BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS.²

GEOGRAPHIC SECTION	URBAN		RURAL	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
New England	57.9	59.0	59.3	61.0
East North Central	59.8	60.4	59.4	64.9
Middle Atlantic	59.0	56.8	60.1	63.0
West North Central	59.1	57.7	57.2	64.2
South Atlantic	59.4	55.8	60.7	62.5
East South Central	60.7	56.1	62.7	63.8
West South Central	58.8	58.8	60.7	65.9
Mountain	57.1	60.2	54.7	69.3
Pacific	56.3	59.1	52.9	69.1
United States	58.9	57.6	59.5	64.3

From this table it will be observed that the highest per cent of married females is found among the rural people of the Mountain and Pacific states. At the same time these regions show the lowest per cent of married men in the rural areas. The great disparity in the number of sexes accounts for this. It will be noted further that the rural South approximates a balance in the marital state of the sexes. In other words, the situation in the South may be said to be normal as regards the numbers of the sexes and their marital condition.

Of the widowed and divorced the city shows a greater proportion than the country. Not much difference appears

¹ *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. II, p. 385.

² *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. II.

from the census data as regards the men of the two groups. But the city shows 3.66 per cent more of its females widowed or divorced than the country. The 1920 census reported .53 per cent of rural males and .56 per cent of rural females in the age group 15 years and over as divorced. It reported .72 per cent males and .94 per cent females divorced in the urban group of corresponding age. Translated into other terms, the Fourteenth Census shows for the rural districts one divorced woman to every 114 married women and for men one divorced to 81 married. In urban districts it shows one divorced woman to every 60 married women and one divorced man to every 110 married men. It is evident that divorce is much more common in the city than the country.

As we would expect from the facts already presented, the percentage of single persons of marriagable age, i.e., from 15 years up, is greater in city than in country. Of the males it is 35.26 and 33.88 per cent and of the females 28.64 and 24.36 per cent for city and country respectively.

People of the country marry younger than do those of the city. This is true of both sexes. However, there is not much data available on this question. A New York report gives some facts. These are reproduced in the following table.³

TABLE 47.—PERCENTAGES OF BRIDES IN NEW YORK (OUTSIDE OF NEW YORK CITY) MARRYING AT GIVEN AGES IN URBAN * AND RURAL COMMUNITIES.

AGE OF MARRIAGE	URBAN	RURAL
15-19	21.5	27.3
20-24	39.0	37.0
25-29	19.8	17.3
30-34	8.3	6.6
35-39	4.8	4.1
40-44	2.8	2.5

* Urban communities are certain cities listed in the Report, rural communities are all other places; the dividing line is at about 10,000 population.

³ From *Rural Demography* by W. S. Thompson, Publications Am. Soc'l Soc., Vol. 19, p. 152.

Professor Ross thinks that the tendency of marriages in America as a whole has been toward an earlier age during the last generation.⁴ Whether this is the case particularly with rural people or not, no one knows, but there are good reasons for thinking that in most sections a contrary tendency prevails.

Withal, the American people are among the most extensively married peoples of the earth.⁵ And that part of them living on the soil are the most married of them all. The author just quoted sums it up very well by saying: "Who is more forlorn than the lone man or the lone woman on a farm? Since boarding houses are unsuited to the country, agriculture *commands* people to marry. Everywhere in the country districts married life begins earlier for both sexes, lasts longer before being broken by divorce or death, and if thus broken, is more likely to be succeeded by a new union than in the large cities. Family life prevails, therefore, in country rather than in city, and this is so because on the farm the family is a more natural and indispensable unit for life and work."⁶

PLACE OF THE FAMILY IN RURAL SOCIETY

Rural society in America has its center and circumference in the family to a degree not manifest either in the city or perhaps even among rural dwellers in other lands of the Western world. Perhaps it would be putting it a bit too strong to liken the situation to that of Chinese society and yet there is more than a suggestion of similar conditions. In comparison with family the state has signified nothing to the Chinese. They have eschewed politics and patriotism and emphasized domestic interests and family fidelity instead. And in a measure so do country dwellers in America. Until of late years the state has not greatly concerned the American farmer. Nor, except under un-

⁴ E. A. Ross, *The Outlines of Sociology*, The Century Co., New York, 1923, pp. 15-16.

⁵ E. A. Ross, *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁶ E. A. Ross, *Ibid.*, p. 22.

usual circumstances, has patriotism made any strong appeal as against matters of purely individual, local and family concern.

However, one important difference is manifested between Chinese society and American rural society. It is the fact that the family does not mean quite the same thing under both conditions. With the Chinese it tends to include the larger kinship or clan group, while with us it is only the isolated household, usually consisting of parents and children with occasionally grandparents and sometimes other near kinsfolk. In other words, there is among us no clannishness comparable to that of the Oriental world. Nevertheless, in contrast to that of the city the rural family is very strongly inclined to clannishness.

The roots of this run deep into the past racial experiences of all men, but country conditions in every part of the world have nurtured a more vigorous family tree than have urban. The following describing the operation of the rural factor in China in fostering the clan is of more or less general application: "As conditions are more favorable for these achievements in rural than in urban districts, e.g., a rural district offers greater possibility for complete identification of economics with locality than an urban district,—and as the relatively unchanging conditions of a rural district offer less disturbance to the process of localization than the relatively changing conditions of an urban district, we find clans better localized in the rural than in the urban districts. Localization is conducive to complete organization and so we find clans retain their solidarity as long as they remain in rural districts, but begin to disintegrate when subjected to urban influences."⁷

Isolated highlands like those of Scotland and the southern Appalachian regions of our own country have been especially favorable to the growth of the clan spirit. Moreover, a homogeneous rural stock undisturbed by the

⁷ Ye-Yue Tsu, "The Spirit of Chinese Philanthropy," *Columbia University Studies in Economics, History and Public Law*, Vol. 50, 1912, p. 76.

incursion of new racial elements tends to the same end. So we find thruout the Southern states a strong sense of kinship and wide-spread clannishness. There is much pride of blood, resulting in the definite recognition of the larger kinship family everywhere.

At the North, where conditions have been different, owing to more migration and stock mixing, together with the absence of a definite ruling caste, the clan feeling has been far less manifest. However, from many sections it has not been absent and of late it has become rather prominent. Kinsmen are cultivating the "we" feeling as never before. Particular evidence of this has appeared during recent years in the rising tide of family reunions thruout the Middle West and the older sections of the Northwest.

CUSTOMS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FARM FAMILY

The American mode of dwelling on the land has made the family an unusually strong and effective economic and social unit. In the very nature of the case it has been somewhat more exclusively and closely identified with the occupation than is usual in other agricultural lands. As one has said, "The home life of the farm family is interwoven with the operation of the farm in a way that is not possible in any other line of business."⁸

Not only is American farming an occupation; it is also a distinct mode of living. The occupation has, therefore, been entirely domestic. While forces have been at work completely severing the ties of family and occupation in practically every other important vocation, they have passed by agriculture. And rural society is the gainer in that this unity has remained unbroken. For thus a more stable family has been preserved than would otherwise have been the case.

The full significance of this unity becomes apparent only when we recall that it is upon an occupational corner-

⁸ "Successful Farming," August, 1922, p. 3, quoted by William C. Smith in "The Rural Mind," *Am. Jour. Sociology*, March, 1927, p. 774.

stone that the family has always rested. Doubtless the fact that it became a social unit at all was due to the pursuit of economic interests. Therefore, a common occupation became indispensable to its solidarity. Thus it was when tribesmen hunted and fished for a living. Likewise when they had tamed animals and turned herdsmen. And so when they had tamed plants and had learned to cultivate the soil. And still again when they evolved numerous arts of manufacturing and were engaged in making things. Indeed, thruout the whole course of social development down to the industrial revolution the economic process was a domestic one and the family was essentially rural. But the machine age rudely shattered the process and separated the family from its craft practically everywhere save in the business of agriculture. And this separation also involved removal from the rural environment and has gone far to destroy the family itself. It has made the institution exceedingly unstable. Altho the agricultural family has felt the general influences of the age and begun to respond to them, there remains the unifying and stabilizing factor of an occupation upon which its unity securely rests.

Moreover, this factor may be attributed to a certain integrity and nobility characterizing the typical family of the open country in a degree not so commonly found under urban conditions. Thus with the rural family has been associated much of our strength of character, idealism, democracy and high achievement as a nation. And so the rural situation has operated to keep the nation sane and whole and the fountain head of its life relatively clean and pure. Always the rural family has been able to perform its functions and satisfy the demands that society puts upon it and as a rule generally better than the urban family. In so doing, it has been more enduring than the city family. The latter ever tends to die out much more quickly. Celibacy, sterility, disruption, and other influences bring an end to families under urban conditions, while rural families persist. In persisting they have made the country the source of a refreshing stream of

men and women supplying the city with life as well as with food.⁹

The conditions of its existence have fostered an unusual degree of interdependence among the members of the farm family. In no other sphere of society do we find the sexes quite as indispensable for each other's well being as they prove to be in the country. The spheres of labor allotted by custom to men and women can be interchanged less easily under agricultural conditions than under urban. There is rare mutuality of interests. One farmer's wife has declared: "An important advantage is that farm life makes it easier for the wife's and husband's interests to be the same. Everything is to be cared for and planned together and at home instead of outside the home. This I think makes for greater companionship between them, which is the idea of married life. Thus a man is not so apt to become a meal, clothing and shelter coupon for the wife, and she to become just cook and housekeeper."¹⁰ Moreover, the members of the rural family, isolated as it is, must find sources of sympathy, discipline, pleasure, companionship, counsel, hope, aspiration and happiness largely in one another. As a Minnesota woman has put it: "Instead of seeing my son rushing off with the fellows, my daughter going off for a good time that I'll know nothing about, and the younger children coaxing to go to the movies, we'll be spending our evenings together with our music, books, or mutual friends or going to some amusement together."¹¹ Social reactions are thus markedly centripetal. The chords of domesticity strongly bind. Family rules supreme in the lives of country people.

This state of interdependence, coupled with relative isolation, the influence of primary group traditions, property interests, and numerous children, tends to make the marital relation more stable and lasting in the country than it is in the city. The divorced woman finds it more difficult to

⁹ T. N. Carver, *Principles of Rural Economics*, p. 21.

¹⁰ *Do You Want Your Daughter to Marry a Farmer?* Pamphlet by the *Farmer's Wife* (St. Paul, 1922), p. 29.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

support herself in the country than in the city. In the latter environment many opportunities open which are not available in rural sections. Then family affairs are generally neighborhood affairs in country neighborhoods. Group standards are more respected and enforced. Moreover, it is reasonable to think that common property interests, which are far more general among farmers than among urban people, are conducive to marital stability.

This family, however, often tends to be patriarchal in type, i.e., it is under the father's domination. It is altogether natural, if not altogether good, that it should be so, for much in the farming situation fosters such relationships. The management and direction of the enterprise, the necessity for someone to assume responsibility, the pressure for husbanding resources, and the lack of counter-vailing influences all operate to perpetuate and to establish the father's lordship. It is patriarchal for much the same reason that urban industry is autocratic. Only, in the country the autocracy involves the family as it does not in the city. Above all, the patriarchal relation prevails in a more intensified degree in the farm family on account of the greater isolation of the household in the country from other social forms. The family is always comparatively isolated but the American farm conduces to this in extraordinary degree.

Conversely, the city family is more democratic. Indeed, this type of family is essentially an urban product. It has grown up under conditions where the members of the household have been independent of one another. It has arisen chiefly where there has been little or no unity with the occupation or where that unity has broken down. Some are wont to attribute the democratic family to frontier influences.¹² It is contended that women acquired freedom of necessity as they pioneered and left behind the Old World traditions of the colonial area. So the democratized family is said to have arisen. No doubt the frontier was a factor, but its force was soon spent. The greater influence

¹² J. M. Meeklin, *An Introduction to Social Ethics*, pp. 233-234.

seems to be that of modern industry. At any event, the rural family is generally the more patriarchal in type.

Howbeit, patriarchal authority in the country has generally been mild and wholesome, for it is modified by the necessity for coöperation and partnership in a common enterprise. Farm women have usually shared this partnership about as much as they have cared to. As one has truthfully remarked: "Nowhere does a woman have a better chance to be her husband's partner in every sense of the word. The business itself is spread out in front of her door. Its details come into her kitchen. She sees the plans for the work going on about her. She hears the talk of the business at her table."¹³ If, therefore, the country has tended to be a man's world, it has been so naturally enough, but in spite of exceptionally favorable conditions for women to be partners.

Where patriarchal authority has gone to extremes, as indeed it sometimes has, family unity has often been destroyed. The boys and girls have often fled from it at the first opportunity and, if the wife and mother has remained to endure it, force of habit or lack of other alternative has prevailed over counter motives. The husband's control of the pocketbook has been one of the evidences of patriarchal authority as well as a frequent occasion of family rebellion. A niggardly attitude toward the wife and children has often resulted, and led to serious dissatisfaction. Nowadays, however, the greater freedom, wider knowledge of the world, and the more abundant opportunities for self-support that are within reach of all, including country women, are under-mining the old-time arbitrary lordship of the countryman over his family.

Altho the rural family inclines to the patriarchal type, it often manifests certain noteworthy democratic traits. One of these is the very common practice of counselling together. It is a wide-spread custom for each member to participate in household discussions, projects, plans, policies, and procedures that pertain to all individually and

¹³ Emily Hoag Sawtelle, "The Advantages of Farm Life," *Bureau of Economics, U. S. D. A.*, March, 1924.

collectively. This custom tends not only to hold the family together and give it unusual solidarity but it also affords valuable training in the habits of democratic citizenship. The experience and observations of many who have been bred in the country lead them to assert that here is a force unmatched in other walks of life. Certainly, for the urban multitudes there is nothing comparable to it. Under this influence the country child grows up with a knowledge of affairs that the city bred child rarely gets and with a training by participation in matters of moment that is virtually denied the youth of the streets.

"The commonality of discussion in the farm home," says Dr. Bailey, "appeals to me as having much significance. If all the members coöperate on one economic basis, we have not only a school in democracy but a means of the most effective intellectual development. It is also difficult to disrupt a family that is founded not only in affection, but also in a relationship of common economic and intellectual interest. As rapidly as we add new knowledge to the farm enterprise, and stimulate new incentives in it, we shall find the new interest reflected in the home circle. Every new resource added to the farm is a contribution to the home life. This may not be apparent in all homes, nor all at once, but it lies in the necessity of the situation and in the main it is now a reality. With the greater division of knowledge among the different members of the household, consequent on the increasing complexity of farming, this coöperative conference will increase. If the farming is well conducted, the home will feel the effect of it directly, and even quite independently of the financial influence."¹⁴

Mention of the family council suggests the custom of talking "shop" in the rural family circle. "I am impressed," says Bailey, "that in most homes outside the rural places the conversation does not turn very much on the occupation or the profession in which the head of the house is engaged. There is a curious notion in men's heads that one should not talk 'shop.'"

¹⁴ L. H. Bailey, *York State Rural Problems*, II, pp. 14-15.

"The important thing about this farm home conversation, beyond its immediate interests to the persons concerned, is the fact that all members of the family speak of common knowledge, and they are all partakers in the farming enterprise. They all work at it. They all coöperate in it, to the extent of their strength and their abilities. The guest soon comes to know that the farming is a family undertaking."¹⁵

Undoubtedly, this practice often indicates only a narrow experience and paucity of ideas. Moreover, it reflects and fosters a materialistic outlook. Nevertheless, the custom appears to be more good than bad, for it contributes to the continuing solidarity of the family and affords invaluable training for the junior members of the household.

Children have been counted economic assets in the country. The cost and burden of rearing them is ordinarily more than compensated for by the assistance they eventually give in the work of the house and field. There is therefore a sense in which the farmer has brought children into the world as part of the farm crops. It may not have been so consciously materialistic in many cases as this statement would imply but nevertheless a real if undefined motive of this sort has not infrequently existed. In the past at least, if not so much now, the farmer who did not have boys coming on as prospective helpers was looked upon as economically unfortunate. In consequence, the birth control motive has not been strong among rural people. They have been exceedingly prolific. Changing conditions, however, are beginning to leave their impress. An altered economic status is rendering the rearing of large families less a matter of course. Evidence of birth control is appearing among countrymen in certain sections as well as among certain classes of the city.

Hospitality has been counted a custom of the farm home. The rural fireside has had a place for the stranger in most sections of America. The Southern planter in particular has long prided himself upon the cordiality with which he could welcome the visitor. More was made of this in the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

days of the slave system in the South and in the pioneer days of the Midwest than subsequently. Some travelers in the Old South pronounced the hospitality more sentimental than real and in no wise more in practice than at the North. F. L. Olmstead, for instance, in his well-known work, *A Journey in the Back Country*, published during the fifties of the last century, was led to say concerning the notion that the Southern planters were "more generous, more heartily kind and genial than Northerners," that he did not find it to be the case in his travels. "According to my experience," he says, "the reverse of all this is true, as a general rule. Families live so isolated at the South, that any social contact, out of the family, is of course much more eventful and stimulating than it is ordinarily at the North, and this accounts for the common opinion. I could not but think, however, that most persons at the South looked to the voluntary good offices and conversation of others, both within and without their families, for their enjoyment of the world, much less than most of the North."¹⁶ But the South still talks of its hospitality, probably more from force of habit than anything else, since the practice in any special sense is little more than a memory there as elsewhere in the farming regions. Altho by comparison with town or city the country everywhere is still hospitable, it is rapidly losing that attitude through the rapid changes in transportation and means of communication by which isolation has been removed, contacts multiplied and the edge of welcome thoroly dulled.

PROBLEMS OF THE RURAL FAMILY

The rural family for all its merits is not without shortcomings and problems. The most important of these pertain to childhood and the proper appreciation and use of parental opportunity.

One outstanding need is a wiser handling of the problem of sex. Youth needs to be guarded against prococious sex

¹⁶ Frederick L. Olmstead, *A Journey in the Back Country*, Vol. II, p. 201.

interests. This is difficult to do, for the rural environment, both physical and social, conduces to early knowledge in this line. It is readily acquired from contact with farm animals and from an unusual amount of conversation on sex topics heard among country people. Supplied with such information, the age of adolescence is made rather difficult in the country. This is so because social relations are direct and unconventional. Association among boys and girls is singularly free. Where there is so much opportunity for isolation, without chaperonage, sex vice may easily result. There is no evidence that it is wide-spread but plenty of communities are found where the amount of vice is out of all proportion to the population.¹⁷

The situation also leads to early courtship and premature marriage. A sentimental and ill-advised community attitude toward marriage aids and abets. It is customary for country people to construe all comradeship between boys and girls as courtship. Admiration will be openly expressed and congratulations offered the couple who chance to be thrown together. Such teasing will often convert what would otherwise be only good companionship into match making and marriage. After this manner premature marriage is apt to be brought about. The difficulty with such marriage is that it is likely to be determined chiefly by physical sex attraction rather than by mental and moral character traits. It is apt to be narrow and devoid of the richer qualities found in more mature cases. It "often represents," as Groves well observes, "the reaction from an uninteresting and empty environment and, however fortunate in itself, certainly does not demonstrate a socially wholesome situation."¹⁸

Even though the rural mores at this point are faulty and improvement can be suggested, changes cannot easily be made. More artificial restraints on sex interests would certainly seem to be called for. There is room for more social conventions designed to encourage wholesome companionship without premature courtship. Above all, the

¹⁷ E. R. Groves, *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare*, p. 100.

¹⁸ E. R. Groves, *Rural Problems to Today*, p. 27.

sentimental attitude of interference on the part of the community should be discouraged.

A second need of the rural family is a wider range of contacts. Its life turns too much upon itself and its own affairs; it is too solitary. This results in following standards of its own make—low or high, as the case may be—without adequate correctives from outside. In so far as outside standards play any part they are chiefly those of other families of like type. The tone of the country home is, therefore, too often commonplace and mediocre. In this respect, there is of course difference between communities but, taken in the large, the characterization remains true. Unwholesome community relations grow out of this. The narrow, clannish spirit gives rise to keen rivalry, jealousy and vicious competition between families at many points in neighborhood affairs. Feuds have their basis in this. These often persist from generation to generation.¹⁹

A wider field and variety of contacts with other types of families would be a corrective to narrowness, clannishness and mediocrity. It would bring to bear new standards that would tend to elevate both the domestic and community circles. Fortunately, the trend of development seems to be in the right direction now that improved facilities for movement and communication are coming into use.

In the third place, the rural family needs more idealism. Materialism has been too much with it. The world of things and daily toil easily crowd out much that gives meaning to life. Farming is so much a mode of living that the family is consumed by the occupation. It fails to rise above certain degrading influences that make for cultural barrenness. Attitudes of hardness arise that easily turn to sordidness. In making a living people forget to make a life. This is well illustrated, for example, in a grudging disposition toward play, and in an unsympathetic attitude toward cultural activities.

A remedy for this will be found partly thru means that will relieve farm women from drudgery and make the

¹⁹ E. R. Groves, *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare*, p. 94.

farmer himself more the master of his economic destiny. But there must also be injected into the situation new valuations and new attitudes. In fact, a broader philosophy of life is needed.

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XI

THE FARM HOME

THE WHOLE FARM THE HOME

THE dwelling place of the farm family is the farmstead. Normally this consists of the buildings, gardens, orchards and grounds embraced in house and barnyards. This farmstead is situated in the midst of others similar to it, joining it at a distance on every side. To the farm family, however, home means not merely the farmstead proper but the broad acres of fields and woodland in the whole farm. This is a little world—a homestead—encompassing the domestic sphere with the domains of other families fenced out. Said a farm woman: “You don’t think of your home on a farm as just a space inside four walls. The feeling of home spreads out all around into the garden, the orchards, the henhouses, the barn, the springhouse, because you are all the time helping to produce live things on those places and they, or their products, are all the time coming back into your kitchen from garden, orchard, barn, or henhouse, as a part of the thing you handle and prepare for meals or market every day. It is one of those peculiarities of making a home on the farm.”¹

This American farm home is rather unique among the homes of agriculturists round the world. For ordinarily farmers in other countries do not dwell apart on separate farmsteads. They are settled in villages along a common street on which reside the families of other farmers. The fields and forests lie about the village within easy reach and yet apart somewhat. Under this mode of settlement there is group contact and community life but on the American farmstead there is the single family in isolation.

¹ Emily Hoag Sawtelle, *op. cit.*

HOUSING

Wide extremes are found in the types of farmers' houses thruout the country. There are log cabins, common in the Appalachian highlands, clapboarded shanties and spacious plantation mansions in the cotton kingdom, modern comfortable dwellings in the region of "big red barns" of the Middle West, roomy tho antiquated houses in the colonial areas, sod houses on the prairie frontiers of the West, attractive bungalows in the Far West, and no end of characterless, non-descript "frame" and "Jim-crack" houses everywhere.

Naturally, the kind of house country people live in depends somewhat upon economic conditions and the state of material development in the locality. Often, however, one observes even in the most prosperous sections poor houses beside fine barns and outbuildings. This is seen especially in the Middle West and the Northwest. It reflects the farmer's sense of relative values, for he is inclined to put working capital before family welfare. However, he should not be too hastily or harshly judged for this, since the saying is very true that "a barn can build a house sooner than a house can build a barn." Experience has demonstrated this and established as a custom this order of making improvements. Therefore, anyone reversing this order is thought to be putting the cart before the horse and showing himself to be a poor manager. Farmers judge farmers by the money-making equipment of their farms, not by any display, and a good house built before a good barn is likely to be considered more of a display than an asset.

Surveys of farm housing have not been numerous, but such as have been made furnish fairly representative data on a number of points. Size and number of rooms is one criterion of adequacy. The standard of minimum comfort set up by urban housing experts calls for one and one-half rooms to the person and one and one-half persons to the bedroom. An adequate house, therefore, should have three

FIGURE 37.—THE PIONEER FARMER'S HOUSE IN THE "WOODED WILDERNESS" OF THE MIDDLE WEST



FIGURE 38.—THE PIONEER FARMER'S HOUSE ON THE WESTERN PRAIRIE



rooms to each two inhabitants and two bedrooms for each three persons.

In the light of this standard what do the surveys of country homes reveal? A limited survey in a single county of Michigan discovered houses ranging in number of rooms from 4 to 15 with an average of 8, exclusive of halls. This gave on the average two rooms to each person in the family, or a condition quite the reverse of what one ordinarily finds in the congested sections of cities, where there is likely to be one or two persons per room.² Obviously, in this case, the houses more than meet the minimum standard. A survey of 402 farm homes in Livingstone County, New York, showed 1.9 rooms per person and 1 bedroom per person. In over 40 per cent of the cases an average of more than 2 rooms was used per person. No evidence of overcrowding was found.^{2a}

A more extensive survey of 1,140 homes in various typical areas of Nebraska found houses ranging all the way from 2 to 14 rooms.³ The typical house of farm owners and part-owners had 7 rooms, while that of tenants had 6 rooms. One out of every 5 was found to be a 6-room house, 1 out of every 6 a 5-room house, practically 1 out of every 6 a 7-room house, and 1 out of every 7 an 8-room house. Only 1.4 per cent of all were 2-room houses. The average household had 6.4 rooms and 3.2 bedrooms for an average of 4.6 persons. These averages obviously came very close, though not quite up to the minimum urban standard.

From another survey of 657 homes in eleven communities of eleven counties of West Virginia we get a glimpse of the Appalachian region.⁴ Owners' houses were found to average 5.84 rooms; tenants', 5.77; and laborers, 4.79. In terms of the number of rooms per person these figures mean that

² Ilena M. Bailey and Melissa F. Snyder, "A Survey of Farm Homes," *The Journal of Home Economics*, Aug., 1921, p. 348.

^{2a} "Family Living in Farm Homes," *Bulletin No. 1214*, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, January, 1924, pp. 13-14.

³ J. O. Rankin, "Nebraska Farm Homes," *Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Nebraska, Bull. 191*, May, 1923.

⁴ National Child Labor Committee, *Rural Child Welfare*. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1922.

owners have 1.20; tenants, 1.01; and laborers, 1.02.⁵ In this case the houses of tenants and laborers are manifestly lacking in an adequate number of rooms.

A careful study of 1,014 farm residents in North Carolina reveals the typical housing situation in wide areas of the rural South.⁶ Here it was found that 10.6 per cent of the farm owners and 17.6 per cent of the landless were living in one or two room houses, and that 14.4 per cent of whites and 13.9 per cent of Negroes lived in such houses. 14.2 per cent of all families dwelt in houses having less than three rooms.⁷ The houses of operator landlords averaged 5.42 rooms for whites and 4.46 for blacks; of owner operators, 3.95 for whites and blacks alike; of tenants, 3.98 for whites and 4.02 for blacks; of croppers, 3.62 for whites and 3.33 for blacks. The average number of persons per room and per bedroom for these various classes appears in the following table.

TABLE 48.—AVERAGE PERSONS PER ROOM AND BEDROOM IN NORTH CAROLINA.⁸

	Room	Bedroom
Operator landlords		
White	.825	1.47
Black	1.45	1.87
Owner operators		
White	1.19	2.06
Black	1.5	2.1
Tenants		
White	1.24	1.99
Black	1.46	2.16
Croppers		
White	1.34	2.16
Black	1.57	2.44
Total		
White	1.11	1.89
Black	1.52	2.27

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁶ C. C. Taylor and C. C. Zimmerman, *Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers*, Univ. of N. C., 1922.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

These averages do not indicate a general lack of room, tho they do show a marked failure to reach standards in bedroom space. In case of the considerable percentage of families living in one- and two-room cabins there is much overcrowding.

Overcrowding is unquestionably serious in many of the homes of the landless class thruout the South and Southwest. President Bizzell calls attention to this in his study of tenantry in those sections. He says: "It is hard to realize that real overcrowding exists in the rural districts. But this is obvious to anyone who has studied the rural housing situation. The homes occupied by tenants are usually very small. In many cases they consist of two rooms with a back shed room that is used both for a kitchen and dining-room. The Negro tenant farm house often does not possess even glass windows. Light and ventilation are received through an opening that is protected from rain by a small door on hinges. It is not exceptional for from five to ten people to be housed in a building of this kind."⁹

The conclusion of the surveyors in Nebraska was that general lack of room in farm houses was not at all serious.¹⁰ Outside the southern sections, as indicated, this conclusion would seem to be fairly valid, if one may trust general observations. However, a relatively negligible number of much overcrowded farm homes can be found in most every section. Dr. Bashore has directed attention to such cases in rural Pennsylvania. He cites a few instances. One farmhouse was found where five people were accustomed to sleep in one not very large bedroom. This room had but a single window which was nailed shut, and one of the five persons had incipient tuberculosis.¹¹ Another fairly typical home of the Pennsylvania mountains had a bedroom loft with a floor surface of fifteen square feet, where eight people habitually slept.¹² A third case, where a family of

⁹ W. B. Bizzell, "Farm Tenantry in the U. S.," *Texas Agr. Expt. Station Bulletin No. 278*, 1921, p. 279.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 16, 13.

¹¹ Harvey B. Bashore, *Overcrowding and Defective Housing in the Rural Districts*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., N. Y., 1915, p. 000.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

6 adults and 13 children—19 in all—occupied a 6-room house, might have been reported from Hester Street, New York, says Dr. Bashore. But as a matter of fact it was a farm house in one of Pennsylvania's most beautiful valleys, far from any city.¹³ Apart from a few rather sporadic instances of this sort, the general housing situation at least as regards space on the farms of the North and West is fairly good. It can be safely asserted that the crowding of people as in city tenements is virtually unknown to rural America.

Often a chief cause of bad housing conditions is absentee-landlordism. The influence of this institution has been observed for a long time in England. In the late fifteenth century there was legislation dealing with the housing of rural tenants. Again and again throughout the intervening centuries the question came up in Parliament. In 1909 an act was passed extending public aid to Rural Councils for the purpose of building cottages. There was a dearth of houses, and wretched conditions were common where their numbers were sufficient. Investigations disclosed serious overcrowding in comfortless, unsanitary quarters such as the following depicts.

"Two rooms and no outhouse or pantry. . . . At the floor line it (the upstairs room) was 17 feet by 9 feet, but as the roof sloped the space above was not so large. The window was 24 inches by 18 inches. In this room eight children were reared with their parents. In the sister cottage adjoining, also two-roomed, lived seven children and their parents, making for the four rooms a total of nineteen whose water supply was a filthy hole in the garden."¹⁴

In the county of Hartfordshire in 1910 the Rural Council found one-third of the cottages unfit for human habitation. Perhaps not all counties were as bad as this particular one, but it is evident that under the English system of great estates and absentee owners, tenants and laborers are often denied decent homes. Naturally, the landlords are opposed to reform and do much to thwart it. The testimony before

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁴ H. Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, Vol. 2, p. 65.

the Rural Council made this clear. When asked if the investigators had come to look at her cottage, a witness replied: "They came to look at it, but I could not let them go over it because the landlord had just been around and said I should have to go out if I did and there was nowhere else to go to!"¹⁵

Of course England is not America nor is America England, but absentee landlordism is much the same the world around. Altho with a different background and in the midst of better conditions generally, some of its baneful influences are appearing in our midst. The bad housing situation in the South and Southwest often must be laid at the door of the absentee landlord system. Altho this system is widely prevalent in the Middle West no such generally extreme results as have appeared in the South are yet to be observed. The figures already given speak to this point. But it is not unlikely that the future will see like conditions wherever absentee landlordism prevails.

In some sections the protest of renters has been raised. A few years ago the renters' unions of McClain County, Oklahoma, made specific demands on the landlords for better houses. These demands revealed at once the conditions and set standards of improvement. They are of sufficient importance to quote in full:

"(a) We demand that the landlords of this state shall provide their tenants with a house in which to live, which shall consist of not less than two rooms and a lean-to. The said two rooms shall not be less than 14 feet square, with a ceiling not less than 8½ feet high. The said room shall be plastered and have a lumber floor.

"The lean-to shall not be less than 8 by 20 feet and built substantially to exclude the elements. It shall be partitioned one-half into a kitchen and one-half into a porch, which said porch shall be screened in. There shall be at least four windows to said building and two to the lean-to, which said windows shall consist of two sashes to each window and so constructed that the sashes can be

¹⁵ Hugh Aronson, "Rural Housing," *Contemporary Review*, May, 1912, Vol. 101, p. 710.

raised and lowered. The doors to said buildings and all of the windows to said building shall be screened with wire and in a manner to exclude the flies and mosquitoes. There shall also be built to said building a front porch at least 16 by 6 feet, which may be roofed with boards and batten.

“(b) We further demand that a stable be provided for three horses, and also a shed of reasonable size in which to store implements. We also demand a chicken coop not less than 10 by 12 feet and 6 feet high.

“(c) We also demand that the well on the premises shall be curbed and so fixed as to prevent the surface water from getting into it.”¹⁶

MODERN CONVENIENCES AND FARM HOMES

Water piped into the house is one of the requirements of a modern dwelling. However, relatively few farm houses have such arrangements. “There is every gradation from the most unmodern and unsanitary open well, from which water is drawn with wheel and bucket and carried to the house, on thru the more convenient arrangement of pump in the kitchen or water piped into the house to the truly modern water system with hot and cold water flowing on one or more floors of the house.”¹⁷

About 10 per cent of the farm houses in 1920 reported “water piped into the house.” The accompanying map shows the number and distribution. There is the greatest difference in various sections. New England and California show nearly half the houses provided with such arrangements; New York, Pennsylvania, Oregon and Washington, one fourth; the Corn Belt, one eighth; and the Cotton Belt, one in 50. This does not in most cases really mean modern water systems. Nebraska, for instance, reported one in six houses with “water piped in” but only

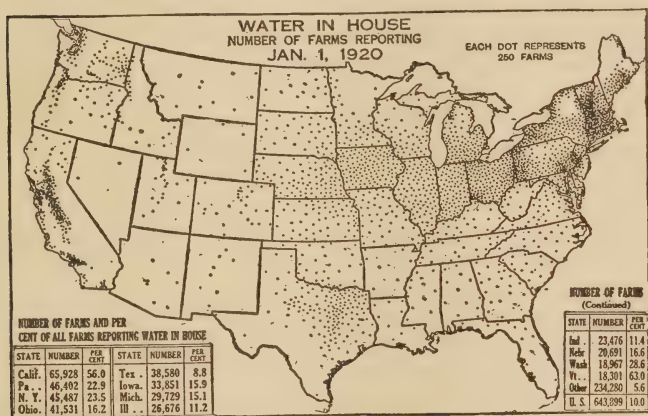
¹⁶ Quoted by W. B. Bizzell in “Farm Tenantry in the United States,” pp. 285-286, from *Report of Commission on Industrial Relations*, Vol. 10, p. 9067.

¹⁷ J. O. Rankin, “Nebraska Farm Homes,” *Bull. 191, Agr. Exp. Station, University of Nebraska*, May, 1923, pp. 41-42.

one in sixteen had modern water systems.¹⁸ The survey of 1,000 farm homes in North Carolina already cited disclosed but 1.66 per cent of land owners whose houses had running water and but .885 per cent of all farm houses. No Negro farm whatever had any convenience of this sort.

The real test of a modern water system is the presence of a bath tub and indoor toilet. The two states for which data are available make a very unequal showing on these

FIGURE 39.—FARMS WITH WATER IN THE HOUSE.¹⁹



points but they illustrate the general difference between North and South. In Nebraska the sample survey indicated that about 16.7 per cent of all operators had bath tubs in their houses. It varied from about 23 per cent of owners to 10 per cent of tenants.²⁰ In North Carolina the average for the area surveyed was only .885 per cent of farm houses. The range was from 1.84 per cent for land owners to 1.23 per cent for landless farmers among the whites and none at all for Negroes.²¹ Indoor toilets were found in 1.24 per cent

¹⁸ Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

¹⁹ From "A Graphic Summary of American Agriculture," by O. E. Baker. Separate from *Yearbook of Department of Agriculture 1921*.

²⁰ Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

²¹ Taylor and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

of owners' houses and in .82 per cent of the houses of the landless among the whites in North Carolina. The blacks were wholly without such facilities. The average for all farm homes was .591 per cent.²² In Nebraska 10.2 per cent of all farm homes had indoor toilets. For owners it was 14.2 and for tenants 5.9 per cent.²³

Perhaps no improvement for the farm is so useful as a modern water plant. A Minnesota engineer has calculated that the average housewife who carries water from an outdoor well or rain-barrel will spend 20 eight-hour days a year in doing it. If she carries the waste water out again, it will add 10 more days of work. Thus, the farm woman is sentenced "to 30 days hard labor every year carrying water."²⁴

Heating by modern means, i.e., by other than stoves or fireplaces, is less common than water piped into the house. In Nebraska only 6.3 per cent of the houses had modern heating. Among owners it was 8.8 per cent; part owners, 9.4 per cent; and tenants, 2.8 per cent.²⁵ In North Carolina the sample surveyed showed but 3.1 per cent of all houses with "other than fireplace."

Lighting by modern means is not much more in use. Gas or electric lighting is found in about 7 per cent, or one out of fourteen farm houses, thruout the United States. The following table shows the percentage of such lighting by geographic sections.

TABLE 49.—PER CENT OF FARM HOUSES WITH MODERN LIGHTING.²⁶

New England	15.3	South Atlantic	3.9
Middle Atlantic	14.1	East South Central	2.0
East North Central	10.5	West South Central	1.9
West North Central	8.9	Mountain	10.3
Pacific	19.6		

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

²⁴ "What Farm Women Are Thinking," *University of Minnesota Agr. Bull. No. 71*, May, 1923, p. 13.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

²⁶ Summary of *Census of Agriculture*, 1919 and 1920.

It seems that a very small per cent of the houses even in the most progressive states of the Union have all three of the conveniences mentioned. In Nebraska, for instance, only about 2 per cent of all houses are so equipped.²⁷

Screening is indispensable for comfortable and sanitary living. The Nebraska data indicate from 95 to 99 per cent of all farm houses as having screened windows and doors. No great difference is seen between owners and tenants in this respect. Screened porches are less prevalent but average from 41 to about 47 per cent for back porches and around 16 per cent for front porches.²⁸ The contrast with North Carolina conditions is striking. In the latter state only 30.4 per cent of the land owners and 12 per cent of the tenants had houses with doors and windows fully screened. The averages are 27.5 per cent for whites, 3.9 per cent for Negroes, and 20.9 per cent for all the homes surveyed.²⁹

Telephones may be listed as another convenience in the home. On this we have the data of the Federal Census for the whole country. Figure 40 shows their distribution.

For 1920, 38.7 per cent of all farm houses were reported supplied with telephones. It varied from 69.5 per cent in the West North Central to 14.2 per cent in the South Atlantic states. In the corn belt and Kansas they are most common. In the hay and pasture regions of the Northwest, the spring wheat region of the Northwest, and the Pacific Coast region about half the homes have this convenience. In the South West it is about one-third. In the winter wheat region except Kansas, in the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountain region about one-fourth are supplied. In the cotton belt east of Texas and Oklahoma the percentages are only five to fifteen.

NEEDS OF FARM HOMES

The foregoing canvass of home equipment is not exhaustive. No attention, for instance, has been given to the use

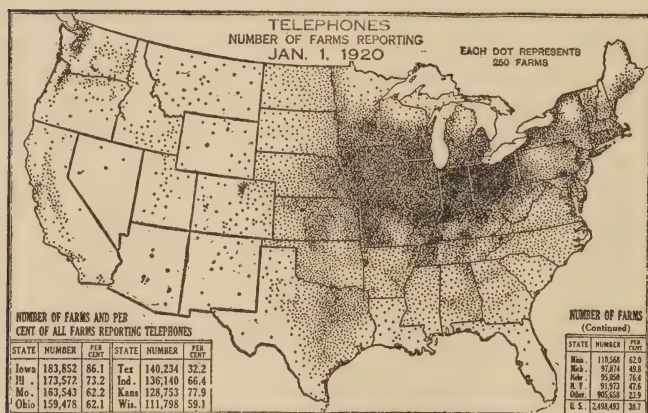
²⁷ Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁹ Taylor and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

of motor and electric power for lightening labor. Satisfactory data showing the use of such power are not available. However, there are many indications that it is rapidly coming into vogue. Mechanical devices, such as cream separators, washing machines and vacuum cleaners are being introduced. These greatly lighten the heavy burdens that country women have to bear. Labor-saving power and mechanisms, coupled with modern housing, are

FIGURE 40.—FARMS WITH TELEPHONES.³⁰



unquestionably the great needs of homes on the farms today.

These needs are becoming wants of the present generation of farm women, and the farmer's habitual indifference toward the equipment of his home is being broken down. The following declaration of a group of Nebraskan farm women seems fairly typical of the new attitude. They called for:

1. "A power washing machine for the house for every tractor bought for the farm."

³⁰ From "A Graphic Summary of American Agriculture," by O. E. Baker. Separate from *Yearbook of Department of Agriculture*.

2. "A bath tub in the house for every binder on the farm."
3. "Running water in the kitchen for every riding plow for the fields."
4. "A kerosene cook-stove for every auto truck."
5. "A fireless cooker for every new mowing machine."
6. "Our share of the farm-income."

These modest demands are no doubt quite within the financial reach of a large majority of country homes in a state like Nebraska and indeed in the homes of a few other states where farm incomes range above the average for America. But in the majority of states and for the majority of farms this standard does not come within easy grasp. Hence, the landless farmer, the debt-burdened farmer, and the tenant farmer will long continue to live in a house without modern conveniences.

This will be so because the cost of many of these things is much higher for the farm than for the city home. Modern lighting and water systems are thus reserved chiefly for the most prosperous farms. Still, there are possibilities of coöperation in securing improvements at a cost not beyond the reach of the average farmer in many sections of the country.

The problem, however, is not altogether economic. There are too many cases where farmers can easily afford modern houses equipped with modern conveniences and do not, to lay the deficiency all to inadequate incomes. It is often a matter of educating country people to a proper standard of living. Primitive standards carried over from pioneer days too often prevail. The habit of doing without things too often reigns. But when once the benefits to be derived are clearly demonstrated old standards and habits tend to give way. If one farmer in a neighborhood installs a modern heating, light or water plant others are likely to see the advantages and follow suit.

Country homes have many advantages over those of the city in the matter of location and surroundings. They do not suffer from inadequate light and fresh air. There is no lack of the great out-of-doors. They are not beset by

the filthy dust of streets, the noisome smells of urban districts, nor the din of crowded thoroughfares. The peaceful, wholesome, open spaces are theirs. In these things many find deep satisfaction. But these advantages, in the estimation of many others, are more than outweighed by the lack of modern houses and of conveniences that are a matter of course in every city. Good surroundings do not recompense for the dreadful burdens of home-making that the average farm woman is compelled to carry. Much dissatisfaction springs from this source and until these handicaps are pretty generally removed, the ordinary country home will not hold its own against the lure of the city.

The need therefore for modern houses with comfort-giving and labor-saving equipment on the farms is, in the last analysis, a distinctively sociological need. To supply it is to emancipate the country woman from much drudgery, increase her leisure, give a larger measure of contentment, and withal strengthen the ties that bind her to the rural community.

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XII

PASSING ON THE SOCIAL TRADITION OR EDUCATION

EDUCATION has always concerned itself primarily with passing on the social tradition to the rising generation. Much of this has been done by informal and unorganized methods. It has been accomplished by examples and imitation more than by other processes. At bottom it has been largely a function of the home and family.

TRANSMITTING THE AGRICULTURAL ART

The techniques of the group's ways of getting a living have been from earliest times generally imparted to youth under an informal apprenticeship incidental to the association with adults engaged in pursuing these occupations. The skills, arts and customs of society have thus been commonly passed on from generation to generation. No other ways that men have devised of teaching the occupational technique have proved so effective as this apprenticeship thru informal association. For in no other way does an art become so real and interesting to youth as by being seen applied in the actual struggle for a living.

Of all great occupations today, agriculture remains the chief one in which the group art is transmitted in an altogether natural, spontaneous, matter-of-course and informal manner. On the farm every boy serves an apprenticeship in agriculture. He begins in infancy and serves under the tutelage of his family until he is grown to maturity. By virtue of having been born in a farmer's family he is automatically apprenticed to a farmer until he is old enough

to take care of himself. Without knowing that he is serving an apprenticeship or realizing that he is acquiring what is perhaps the most difficult, because the most embracing art in the world, the country youth receives a technical education as a matter of course. No scheme of formal training can equal this for efficiency nor can farmers usually be made successfully otherwise.

The unexcelled facility with which country life trains youth in the art of getting a living is due to the fact that farming is not only an occupation but a unique mode of living. The home is the business, the business is a family affair, and the two united in one afford the great school for the rural child. It is a school which is in session seven days of the week and fifty-two weeks of the year. It is a happy combination of living, working and learning.

All this may be obvious enough. Nevertheless, it is apt to be overlooked by the farmer and his family, while it is not even perceived at all by urban people. Generally speaking, the techniques of urban occupation must be acquired by the city child thru painstaking efforts. He does not ordinarily grow up imperceptibly into them as the boy on the farm grows into his art. The latter's technical education is essentially a "handed-down" thing, while techniques open to the city child are things to be achieved.

Significant differences between city and country are to be observed in this connection. Uniformity and universality of technique are seen in the country but diversity and inequality in the city. In the former one normally finds none without agricultural skill. Much the same training has been received by all. Hence, farmers form a vast body of nearly equally skilled men. The city has many techniques and the widest variation in the proficiency of men following them. It also has something that is not seen in the country, viz., many without any specific technique. The difficulties of vocational education in the city are handicaps that some cannot overcome. Such difficulties the child of the soil does not have to face. In this he is a child of fortune compared with his city cousin.

THE FARMER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOLING

This "handed-down" technique of the farms has given rise to certain unfortunate attitudes on the part of farmers toward education in general. This seems to be common among country people. At least it is the case in France, as one has pointed out in the following:

"Different governments have made the most praiseworthy attempts to raise the peasants from their ignorance; not only are the children given every opportunity for being educated in their villages, but even adults, who are made conscripts at twenty, find in the regimental schools an excellent system of instruction in the most necessary subjects. Yet, in spite of these provisions, and the fatherly anxiety of the government, in spite of the *compelle intrare* (force them to enter) which is continually dinning into the ears of its agents, the agricultural classes learn nothing whatever. Like those who have lived in the provinces, I have seen how parents never send their children to school without obvious reluctance, how they regard the hours spent there as a mere waste of time, how they withdraw them at once on the slightest pretext and never allow the compulsory number of years to be extended. Once he leaves school, the young man's first duty is to forget what he has learnt. This is, to a certain extent, a point of honour with him; and his example is followed by the discharged soldiers, who, in many parts of France, are not only ashamed of having learnt to read and write, but even affect to forget their own language and often succeed in doing so. Hence, I could more easily approve all the generous efforts that have been so fruitlessly made to educate our rural populations, if I were not convinced that the knowledge put before them is quite unsuitable and that at the root of their apparent indifference there is a feeling of invincible hostility to our civilization."¹

Thruout most of our history agriculture has been the

¹ Arthur de Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races*, p. 98. Courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1915.

only occupational outlook for the country youth of America, and in that period and in those sections where this was especially true, countrymen were disposed to discount any considerable education save that afforded by the farm itself. They were unable to see of what use "learning" could be for the farmer, since the man altogether ignorant of the world's general store of knowledge, of its history, literature, languages, mathematics, sciences, etc., could do quite as well cultivating the soil as the most scholarly. Tho wholly illiterate, he could normally hold his own with the educated man in ploughing corn or making hay. In other words, it was not obvious that the agricultural art was derived from books or particularly benefited by any knowledge of them. Such knowledge was but "culture" or ornamentation, not something especially "useful." Thus confronting conditions, the theory that "education" was necessary for the making of good citizens never became popular among farmers. They might approve the teaching of what was considered practical knowledge, but beyond the obviously "useful," educational subjects have found little favor and received little consideration. So the school has always had a relatively hard time of it in the country. Moreover, it still continues to confront unusual difficulties.

It is not that farmers have been indifferent to the training of their children, but rather that the rank and file of them have been relatively little interested in "book learning" and school training. Hence, in no small measure the school has been forced upon them thruout much of America. Even at the present time it cannot be said that farmers as a class believe overmuch in schooling. At least they put no such value upon it as do townsmen as a class. There are, of course, plenty of exceptions to this rule, for many communities everywhere are eager for good schools and exert themselves to secure and maintain them.

The attitude and conditions described are partially responsible for a cultural poverty in many rural neighborhoods. What I mean by this is concretely described in the case of the Porter, Missouri, school district by Evelyn Dewey. In substance she says: The life of country chil-

dren is extremely vacuous, for they have neither books, conversation nor playfulness at home. And at school a few minutes of recitation from elementary text books is all they get. Because the farm mothers are tired out at the end of the day from overwork they do not tell their children stories nor read to them. In consequence, the child's world of Mother Goose, fairy tales, myths, and adventure is not opened to the country children as we assume it is to all children. In the whole Porter district but three families could be found where children had so much as heard of Mother Goose. At school a little lad remarked of a picture of cherubs, "Why, I did not know that children had wings." Good Friday meant only the day in which to plant potatoes. About the only positive constructive influence in the lives of these children, says this author, are the chores they have to do. But even this yields little, since "it is part of the hated endless farm grind" and does not appeal to children as their own.²

The attitude of the farm child toward schooling naturally reflects much the same conditions that manifest themselves in the adult's attitude. In consequence, the rural child is on the whole less favorably inclined toward school than is the city child. The latter normally has nothing else to do but go to school. Not so with the country child. For him the world is full of a multitude of things to do that are far more interesting than any school of which he is likely to have experience. His appetite for school is thus less keen than the city child's. So, it is the habit of the country child to go to school when nothing else calls or interferes. Of course, the state has intervened with compulsory laws and truant officers, but not with such success as to end irregularity of school attendance. Often public opinion in the country will not brook enforced school attendance. Locally controlled schools generally suffer from the prevailing customs of the country in this respect. They are short-term schools and irregularly attended.

Facts that are probably fairly representative for much of rural America have been gathered in a wide survey of

² See Evelyn Dewey, *New Schools for Old*, pp. 139-140.

country districts in West Virginia. They indicate that more than one-third of the owners' and practically half of the tenants' children do not attend school regularly. The reason assigned in the great majority of cases was work to do at home.³ But the real reason is indifference to education thru the schools. This is very general among parents and children alike. The rural schools of the South suffer most from this attitude but in many sections of the North they would fare no better were it not for the dominance of urban ideals and a greater general solicitude for the social welfare leading to more stringent regulations of education.

RURAL ILLITERACY AND SCHOOLING

Illiteracy indicates the lack of schooling. The following table reveals the status of the rural and urban population in this regard.

Of the 4,931,905 illiterates of 10 years of age and over in the total population for 1920, the rural group, with less than half the population, furnished 2,976,793, or more than three-fifths of all the illiterates. The rural population makes a poorer showing than the urban in practically every class and age group. It appears that the country child is four times as likely to be illiterate at maturity as the city child.

The extent of practical illiteracy is probably far greater in rural districts than the census data tend to indicate. The draftees in the Great War showed 25.3 per cent of illiteracy, i.e., of practical illiteracy which rendered them "unable to read and understand newspapers and write letters home." If the truth were known, it is likely that a far greater per cent of these hailed from the country districts than from towns and cities. A sample farm survey in North Carolina indicates that about one-fifth of the parents cannot read and write. This varied from 9.4 per cent

³ National Child Labor Committee, *Rural Child Welfare*, pp. 44-45, 108-109, 114, 118. The Macmillan Co., 1922.

TABLE 50.—PERCENTAGE OF URBAN AND RURAL ILLITERACY FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1920.^{3a}

AGE PERIOD	ALL CLASSES		NATIVE WHITES OF NATIVE PARENTS		WHITES OF FOR- EIGN-BORN OR MIXED PARENTS		FOREIGN-BORN WHITES		NEGROES						
	U.S.	Urban	U.S.	Urban	U.S.	Urban	U.S.	Urban	U.S.	Urban					
	Rural		Rural		Rural		Rural		Rural						
10 years and over	6.0	4.4	7.7	2.5	0.8	3.8	0.8	0.5	1.4	13.7	13.0	13.3	22.9	13.4	28.5
Male	6.0	4.2	8.0	2.7	0.8	4.2	0.8	0.5	1.6	11.7	11.4	12.4	23.5	12.6	29.8
Female	5.9	4.7	7.4	2.3	0.8	3.5	0.7	0.5	1.3	14.8	14.9	14.4	22.3	14.2	27.2
10 to 15 years . . .	2.3	0.5	3.8	1.1	0.3	1.6	0.6	0.2	1.2	4.4	1.8	11.9	11.5	2.8	14.2
16 to 20 years . . .	3.3	1.3	5.2	1.6	0.5	2.3	0.6	0.4	1.3	6.6	4.7	13.5	15.1	6.1	19.0
21 years and over	7.1	5.5	9.1	3.0	1.0	4.8	0.9	0.6	1.5	13.7	13.8	13.3	27.4	16.0	35.7

^{3a} *Fourteenth Census.*

of land-owners to 31.3 per cent of the landless among the whites and ran to 40.1 per cent of the Negroes.⁴

Literacy signifies only the minimum of education. It does not disclose the amount of it; hence is an index of very limited value. The degree of schooling would be more illuminating, but this is not known except as revealed by sample studies made in a few rural sections. In the state of Nebraska it was found in the survey of a limited number of farm families that the average school grade attained by all farm operators was 7.8 for men and 8.4 for their wives. There was very little difference among the various tenure groups. For the youth of 22 years and over the average grade attained by all classes was 10.2. From 15 years up a marked difference in favor of the children of owners as against all classes of tenants appears. This difference ranges from one to four or more grades. Of the sons and daughters, 20 years old or more, of all classes of operators, 8.6 per cent are university or college graduates.⁵

Conditions in this state are probably as good as can be found anywhere in America and certainly well above the average. In North Carolina quite contrasting conditions were found. A survey of 1,000 farm operators in three typical counties disclosed the fact that the average grade attained by the fathers in the families was 3.69. For the owners it was 4.9 and for the landless men 2.55 grades. The white fathers averaged 4.55 grades and the Negro 1.49 grades.⁶

EDUCATION THROUGH LITERATURE

The printed page is one of the chief agencies of present-day education. What people read and how much they read, throw considerable light upon their state of knowledge and intelligence. Reading as an agency of rural education therefore merits consideration. It is related especially to adult education.

⁴ C. C. Taylor and C. C. Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁵ J. O. Rankin, "The Nebraska Farm Family," *Bulletin No. 185*, University of Nebraska, Feb., 1923, pp. 25-27.

⁶ C. C. Taylor and C. C. Zimmerman, *ibid.*

In the matter of reading the habits of the farmer have differed from those of the city dweller in a rather marked way. Little use has been made of the printed page in the country. Reading has not been a rural custom. Agriculturists have felt no particular need for literature until of late. However, the ravages of insect pests and animal diseases, such as boll weevil, San Jose scale, hog cholera, etc., have recently caused many farmers to resort to bulletins and book farming. City people have always been more or less dependent upon reading in all their civic and vocational affairs. It has been almost as necessary as speech. The rôle of literature has, therefore, been more important and the reading habits more widely established in urban than in country communities.

No data are available for making statistical comparisons between country and city on this point, but certain studies of reading matter in farm homes have been made. These give some idea of the place of literature in rural education. The conditions in three states representing the relatively high and low levels of country life will be summarized.

A study of 1,500 farm homes in Nebraska disclosed conditions in a relatively high state of rural life.⁷ It was found that practically every home received periodical reading matter. Either a county weekly or city daily came into almost every home. Three-fourths of the homes received farm papers and a majority of them two or more. Only one out of four homes received any woman's magazines; one out of five, any family magazines; and less than one out of thirty-three, any juvenile publications. Books loaned from libraries entered about one home in twenty. Less than two-fifths of the people had access to public libraries. The bulk of the reading was furnished by farm journals and newspapers. Books and magazines were largely neglected.

In Cedar County, Iowa, a study of 396 farmers disclosed the fact that 87 per cent were taking farm papers; 81 per cent, daily papers; 53 per cent magazines, other than farm

⁷ J. O. Rankin, "Reading Matter in Nebraska Farm Homes," Agr. Exp. Station, University of Nebraska, *Bulletin No. 180*.

journals; and 44 per cent, daily papers, farm journals and other magazines. Only 11 of the 396 made use of books from the public library.⁸

In contrast to Nebraska and Iowa, North Carolina may be cited to show conditions in a relatively low level society. In fact, it falls to the lowest rank in the circulation of newspapers and periodicals. Its standing is put 44th or 45th from the top among the states of the union in reading matter of this type. Only South Carolina, Mississippi and New Mexico are below.⁹ Here 1,000 families in three typical areas were recently studied.¹⁰ It was found that about one out of five homes was taking weekly and daily papers; a little better than one out of four received farm journals; less than one out of five received magazines; and only 1.5 per cent of all received any children's papers. An inventory of books disclosed the fact that the white landlords possessed on the average about 26 volumes and that less than 18 per cent of these families borrowed books. It was further discovered that a third of the white and 47.1 per cent of the Negro families had no other books than Bibles. A Children's Bureau study of several counties in this state is authority for the statement that two-thirds of the Negro homes were without a newspaper or magazine of any sort. "One mother explained that they sometimes see a paper in the neighborhood and she thinks 'it makes your mind feel better' to read the paper. Another family brought out three mail-order catalogues which constituted the family reading matter for the year."¹¹

Facilities for borrowing books are limited. In North Carolina for instance, there are but 67 libraries, public and semi-public—64 for whites and 3 for Negroes. They contained in 1922 some 213,408 volumes, or one to every 12 persons. But the significant fact is that out of 2,600,000

⁸ *Bulletin No. 217*, Aug., 1924, Agr. Exp. Station, Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, p. 466.

⁹ Louis R. Wilson, "The Use of Books and Libraries in North Carolina," *The Journal of Soc. Forces*, Vol. I, p. 81.

¹⁰ C. C. Taylor and C. C. Zimmerman, "Economic and Social Conditions of N. Carolina Farmers."

¹¹ F. S. Bradley and Margaretta A. Williamson, *Children's Bureau Publication No. 33*, 1918, p. 56.

TABLE 51.—PERCENTAGE OF OWNER FARMERS AND OF TENANT FARMERS TAKING VARIOUS CLASSES OF PERIODICALS; 10 SURVEYS.¹²

White Owner Farmers.

SURVEY AND DATE ¹	NUM- BER OF FARM- ERS IN SURVEY	PERCENTAGE OF ALL FARMERS TAKING—				
		Dai- lies	Agri- cul- tural pa- pers	Week- lies ²	Maga- zines	Others
Southwestern Ohio, 1912	273	³ 94.9	57.9	³ 13.2	⁴ 27.1 ⁵ 13.6	⁶ 14.3
North Carolina, 1922.	436	40.1	45.6	69.0	48.1	⁷ 2.8
Nebraska, 1920	406	84.0	77.8	38.9	⁴ 21.7 ⁵ 18.2	⁷ 3.2
Texas, 1919	106	⁸ 67.9	59.0	62.1	53.3	....
Kentucky, 1919	122	91.8	61.5	57.4	41.8	....
Madison County, Tenn., 1919	63	74.6	69.8	47.6	38.1	....
Montgomery County, Tenn., 1920	87	59.8	57.5	36.8	42.5	....
Williamson County, Tenn., 1919	100	70.0	66.0	72.0	37.0	....
Total or average.	1,593	70.8	60.9	59.8	43.2	5.7

Negro Owner Farmers.

North Carolina, 1922.	54	1.9	37.0	31.5	5.6	⁷ 3.7
Virginia, 1921	149	³ 16.8	69.8	...	2.0	....
Total or average.	...	12.8	61.1	31.5	3.0	3.7

population only 85,882, or one in 30, were enrolled as borrowers from these libraries. In addition, rural school libraries with a total of 500,000 to 600,000 books reach half the common schools. But reports indicate rather meager use of these libraries.¹³

¹² From *Yearbook United States Department of Agriculture*, 1923, pp. 579-580.

¹³ Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80, 85.

White Tenant Farmers.

SURVEY AND DATE	NUM- BER OF FARM- ERS IN SURVEY	PERCENTAGE OF ALL FARMERS TAKING—				
		Dai- lies	Agri- cul- tural pa- pers	Week- lies ²	Maga- zines	Others
Southwestern Ohio, 1912	203	³ 89.7	42.8	³ 4.9	⁴ 21.7 ⁵ 4.4	⁶ 11.8
North Carolina, 1922.	297	10.1	25.6	16.2	27.6	⁷ 1.3
Nebraska, 1920	384	82.6	72.7	29.2	⁴ 19.8 ⁵ 16.1	⁷ 2.1
Texas, 1919	248	⁸ 52.0	46.3	54.5	42.4	....
Kentucky, 1919	148	84.2	43.9	33.1	12.2	....
Montgomery County, Tenn., 1919	77	9.1	22.1	18.2	18.2	....
Madison County, Tenn., 1920	84	17.9	41.7	17.9	11.9	....
Williamson County, Tenn., 1919	52	38.5	46.2	44.2	17.3	....
Total or average.	1,493	55.1	46.7	29.9	28.8	4.1

Negro Tenant Farmers.

North Carolina, 1922.	227	2.2	13.7	5.7	3.1	....
Virginia, 1921	112	⁸ 2.7	36.9	11.4	1.8	....
Total or average.	339	2.4	21.3	7.9	2.7	....

¹ Sources as follows: Southwestern Ohio, *A Rural Survey in Southwestern Ohio*, Department of Church and Country Life, Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, 1913; North Carolina, *Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers*, State Board of Agriculture in coöperation with United States Department of Agriculture, 1923; Nebraska, University of Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station in coöperation with Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Divisions Land Economics and Farm Population, data unpublished in this form; Kentucky, Tennessee, and Texas, same sources as in Table 7, footnote 1, data unpublished; Virginia, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division Land Economics, data unpublished.

² Including religious magazines.

³ Reported as "news" hence probably not all dailies, probably includes local weeklies.

⁴ Women's magazines.

⁶ Cheap advertising.

⁵ Standard magazines.

⁷ Children's papers.

⁸ For the Texas and Virginia survey, the total number of operators reporting on other periodicals than dailies varied with each, hence percentages here given are not on basis of those reporting for dailies.

For comparison, reports on library facilities for Ohio may be considered. There are 33 public libraries in places under 2,500 population. In addition there are about 80 public school and church libraries. Four counties of the state have full county library service and four others partial service. The state maintains a traveling library service, which is used chiefly by village and farm people. In 1921 this service went to 187 villages of under 2,500 population and to 80 unincorporated places.¹⁴

The state of Indiana has library facilities for about 105,000 out of some 1,160,000 rural people. At the same time three-fourths of her urban population enjoy public libraries. The chief supply of books for rural districts is thru the traveling library service.

In Wisconsin, 129 local libraries are found in places of less than 2,500 population. They are in only 8.5 per cent of such places. Six whole counties have no local libraries whatever. The state library commission provides a traveling library service and in addition 13 counties have traveling library service. In other cases local libraries are given county funds on condition that they do extension service thruout the county. By these means a considerable number of people are reached, altho relatively the number is small. About 44.9 per cent of the people of the state live in counties with from .67 to .99 available volumes per capita. Another 7.1 per cent live in four counties with more than one volume available. Only 10 per cent of the population are in counties where 30 per cent or more of the people are actual book borrowers. This percentage is the minimum for local library service, according to the American Library Association.¹⁵

The United States Bureau of Education collected data for 1910 which showed that only 27 per cent of the counties of the states had free libraries of as many as 5,000 volumes. In 30 states less than 50 per cent of the population had access to any free public libraries. The extreme range was

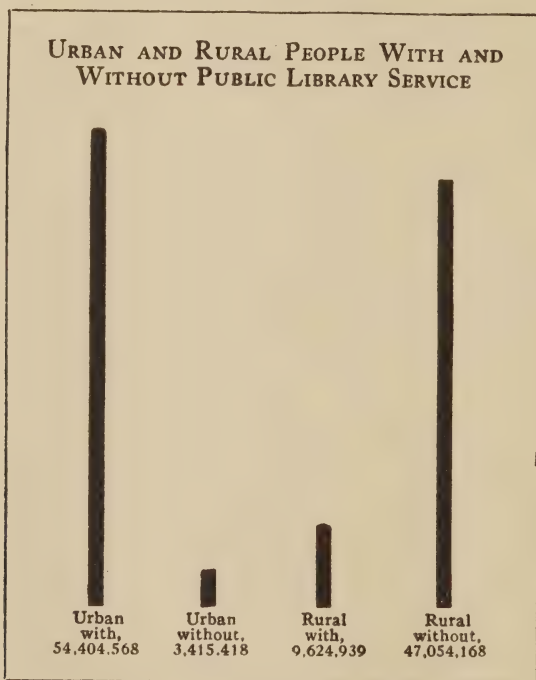
¹⁴ E. C. Lively, "Some Rural Social Agencies in Ohio," *Bull. 1922-23*, Ohio State University, Agr. Exp. Station, pp. 10-11.

¹⁵ J. H. Kolb, *Research Bulletin 66*, University of Wisconsin Agricultural College Experiment Station, Dec., 1925, pp. 27-28.

from Massachusetts, where practically 100 per cent have access to such institutions, to South Carolina, where it was less than 2 per cent.

In 1927 the American Library Association reported that 83 per cent of the entire rural population was without

FIGURE 41.—URBAN AND RURAL PEOPLE WITH AND WITHOUT PUBLIC LIBRARY SERVICE.¹⁶



library facilities. Ninety-three per cent of all those without such service lived in open country districts or in towns of less than 2,500 population. Of the 3,065 counties in the United States, 1,135 have no public libraries. Altho many

¹⁶ From Report, Committee on Library Extension, American Library Association, 1927.

cities are without such libraries, the urban deficiency is nothing in comparison with the rural. This report indicates that in 32 states there are 223 tax-supported county libraries. These are the hope of the farming population and are heartily endorsed by the National Grange, women's clubs, and other representative organizations. Figure 41 shows the library situation at a glance.

In Nebraska there was no great difference in the reading materials found in the land owners' and tenants' homes, but in North Carolina a deep gulf separates these classes. Five times as many owners' as tenants' homes had daily papers and three times as many had weekly papers. Farm papers were twice as prevalent; church papers eight times; and children's papers four times as prevalent in owners' homes as in those of the landless. Two-thirds of the landless and three-fourths of the Negroes had no magazines whatsoever. A like disparity as regards books was revealed. The owners had four times as many books as the tenants and borrowed books three times as often. The Negro families had less than half as many books as the white and borrowed them forty times less frequently.

Some 37 farm journals with more than 15,000,000 circulation are published in the United States. These may reach half the farm operators of the nation.¹⁷ The subject matter covers practically every phase of agriculture and country life. It includes technical production, nature study, marketing, home and family interests, coöperation, politics, schools, health and sanitation, transportation, recreation, labor, etc.¹⁸ All evidence indicates that the farm journal occupies first place in the estimation and actual reading of farmers. Next stands the country weekly, with the daily paper taking third place.¹⁹

The farmer's reading is not confined to the classes of material enumerated. In addition bulletins from the state colleges, experiment stations, and other public agencies reach the farm homes. A study of 3,698 homes in various

¹⁷ C. C. Taylor, *Proceedings of the Fifth National Country Life Conference*, p. 60.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

sections of the land showed that one out of 2.3 farmers received agricultural bulletins.²⁰ A rapid development of bulletin literature and rural agency publications is now taking place. Such organizations as the Farm Bureau Federation, coöperative societies, and country life departments of religious bodies are issuing publications that reach a fairly large element.²¹

How much educational value the farmer's reading has, is difficult to estimate. Farm journals are evidently worthwhile agencies of instruction in farm practices. And so, for the most part, are the bulletins from the experiment stations. Publications of other agencies are informative on the business side of agriculture. The ubiquitous country weekly, however, is of questionable educational value. It is with rare exception little more than a purveyor of trivial gossip and political party dogma. Daily newspapers bring the wider world to the farmer's hearthstone, but otherwise it is doubtful whether they should be counted educative. Books play so small a part that they are all but negligible. Magazines probably wield a somewhat more potent influence.

A fuller appraisal of the country weekly is in order, since it is everywhere a distinctive local agency. As such its function in educating the community toward self-understanding and unity of purpose should make it one of the most vital influences. A recent study of the thirty-five country newspapers of Connecticut by Professor M. M. Willey has given us reliable information as to their merits. His conclusions are that they fail woefully as newspapers of the communities in which they are issued. Their particular deficiencies are pointed out under three heads:²²

(1) They are deficient in the amount of local news that they print. It is assumed that at least 75 per cent of the paper's reading matter should deal with the local town and county news. But in Connecticut one-half of the weeklies fall below 50 per cent, and only five exceed 75 per cent.

²⁰ Bureau of Plant Industry, U. S. D. A., *Circular 117*, 1911.

²¹ C. C. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

²² M. M. Willey, *The Country Newspaper*, p. 111, *passim*.

The range is from less than 4 per cent to nearly 92 per cent, indicating indifferent editing and failure to appreciate the real task of a local paper. Where there should be local news, space is filled with "boiler-plate" magazine material of inferior and questionable value. Thus the papers defeat their own true purpose. (2) They are deficient in the amount of socially significant news printed. Of the five news categories, political, economic, sporting, cultural, and editorial matter, that would most help the citizen understand his community and relate it to the outside world, only one contains a percentage of reading matter adequate to the needs of the readers. Political news tends to fall below 5 per cent of the total reading matter. Generally speaking, three-fourths of the papers devote less than 7.5 per cent of space to economic news, exclusive of advertising. Sporting news is even less prominent than political and economic. Thirty papers fall below 7.5 per cent in space devoted to this. Thus the papers neglect the play life of their communities. Opinion expressed in editorials fares a little better. Still, half of the papers devoted less than 4 per cent of their reading matter to editorials. The rôle of interpreting local problems in the light of world-wide events and of explaining the latter in their local bearings is evidently neglected. Cultural material, that is, matter dealing chiefly with school and church, is more adequate in amount than is any other type of news. More than half the papers carry above 7.5 per cent of such matter. However, the space given is in no wise commensurate with the importance of the religious and educational activities of the community. (3) They are deficient in that they show great variation in the consistency with which they print given kinds of news, and in the fact that this variation is high in some of the most important news categories. This means that the papers are erratic in the news they present. Four of the five socially significant types of news suffer from this variation.

Withal, Willey thinks that the claim of these papers to the title "local" is often questionable. They are frequently more akin to magazines. Altho not devoid of influence.

“they are not achieving the place that they might attain as important factors in the community life. In them is an example of lost opportunity.”²³

If the Connecticut papers are typical rural news sheets it is evident that they have rendered little valuable service to countrymen. Altho in a few states, such as Texas, Kansas, Wisconsin, Missouri, and New York, state universities are coöperating with country editors in building up worthwhile papers,²⁴ it is probable that in most states the papers are no better and are often worse than the Connecticut type.

EDUCATION BY DEMONSTRATION

Education by practical demonstration is one of the most significant movements in rural America today. It is perhaps our most original contribution to instructional methods. The scheme was largely invented by the late Dr. Seaman A. Knapp to counter the ravages of the cotton boll weevil in the gulf states in 1904. The plan was to have a farmer raise a single acre of cotton under supervision and according to instructions. The superiority of the method as seen in the results spoke more convincingly to the neighbors than any amount of preaching. Thus, the method spread rapidly by imitation. Out of it grew the nation-wide farm demonstration movement. Starting with one crop it has been applied to many other phases of farming and rural home life. It began as adult education but by 1908 was applied to the instruction of boys and girls. It is now employed for such training in all the states.

This movement now operates as a government enterprise under the name of “coöperative agricultural extension work.” It is carried on jointly by state and Federal action and is recognized by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. By 1922, a maximum sum of \$4,580,000 of Federal money was available, provided an equal amount was forthcoming from the several states. Thus, a fair endowment was created for a highly useful and efficient type of education.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

In 1916, the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act made further provision for the dissemination of information. It created a Federal Board of Vocational Education and appropriated money for the purpose of cooperating with the states in paying the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects. The purposes of the Smith-Lever Act are accomplished thru the extension service of the agricultural colleges and experiment stations. The Smith-Hughes Act functions thru state boards in supporting vocational education in day and night schools.

The actual work in the cooperative extension service is done by county agricultural agents, home demonstration agents and leaders of boys' and girls' clubs. In two-thirds of the counties the first two classes of agents are instructing the adult population in better methods. The club work with juveniles has grown rapidly since it became a national movement in 1908. In 1924 it was reaching more than 600,000 country youth directly and not less than 2,000,000 other people thru them in a dozen or more kinds of enterprises.

Here is instruction that is highly effective. It is scarcely equalled by any other type of education. Its one fault is that it is almost wholly vocational. Invaluable as education in better farm practices is, rural people need also instruction in other things, including those that will widen their outlook and improve the whole art of living.

The boys' and girls' club work does, of course, involve more than training in improved methods of farming and home making. As organized groups these clubs are important socializing agencies. They systematize the child's activities in carrying out his project. Habits of self-control are thus inculcated both in relation to work and to other people with whom he is in competition. The ultimate results of this movement ought to appear not only in a future generation of better husbandmen but also in a type of farmer better able to carry on community life.

PURPOSE OF RURAL EDUCATION

In discussing the extra-school education of country people no question of purpose was raised. Inasmuch as such education is concerned chiefly with the domestic and agricultural arts, their perpetuation and improvement, the purpose is at once apparent and self-justifying. But when the school is considered, this is not the case. Its purpose and function are not so obvious. Altho a general purpose is behind and lies implicit in the general school system, it cannot be said to be very clearly defined. And, when it comes to particular groups, specific aims, if such there should be, have not been fully declared. Assuming for the moment that there should be specific educational aims for distinct special groups, we need to formulate these for the rural school. For some years rural sociologists and educationists have been attempting to state these aims, but so far no unanimity of agreement has been reached.

The numerous statements that may be gleaned from the literature on country life disclose a wide variety of aims. Professor Brim has gathered and classified them in relation to children, adult and community life, and non-rural life.²⁵ With reference to children he finds the following general classes of purpose: retaining children on the farm, providing vocational preparation, preparing children for a satisfying country life, preparing them for general efficiency by means of rural resources, and for general efficiency by supplementing rural resources. With reference to the adult and the community group, he classifies the equally diversified aims as follows: retaining adults in the country, contributing to adult vocational efficiency, developing a broad rural citizenship, serving the local community, and serving the child and society rather than the local group.

These varied statements really fall into two general divisions. The emphasis of one division makes the school

²⁵ O. G. Brim, *Rural Education*. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1923, Chapters I to III.

an agency for conserving country life, and the emphasis of the other makes the school the agency of adjustment to general society. The champions of the latter position would generally agree that "the purpose of rural elementary education is the same as for elementary education anywhere."²⁶ And they would insist that the work of the country school is to "provide the fullest socialized growth for the child and thru this growth to integrate society."²⁷ They would offer the country child all possible information looking toward the choice of some calling from among the vocations of the city as well as from those of the country. They would have the door from country to city swing wide so that there may be no rustic groups and no possibility of farmers being sharply distinguished from other classes by their culture.²⁸

Proponents of the purposes that fall in the first division insist that the schools of the country must educate specifically for country life. They would have vocational training make efficient farmers of the sons of farmers and efficient housekeepers of the daughters of farmers. They would redirect the school so that it would tend to keep children on the farms, "would give them the education that is necessary to make a success of farming, and enable them to find for themselves the interests and connections which are necessary for a contented and well-balanced life."²⁹

In appraising the aim or function of any social institution or program it is well to ask how it will affect the individual and how the group. By these standards the proposed aims of the rural school may be tested. From the viewpoint of the individual, the school that promotes the fullest growth of personality and introduces the child to the largest range of possible opportunities is greatly to be desired in country and city alike. But how about this

²⁶ Brim, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

²⁸ K. L. Butterfield, *The Farmer and the New Day*. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1919, p. 51.

²⁹ Evelyn Dewey, *New Schools for Old*. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1919. p. 67.

from the group's viewpoint? What may be desirable for the individual may not always be good for the group; or, again, what may be good for one group may not be good for another. Thus, to open for the city child as many possibilities as civilization presents and invite him to choose will be good for the child and presumably good for the urban group of which he is a part. But to do this for the rural child, beneficial tho it may be to him as an individual, may work to the disadvantage of the rural group by causing needless depletion of its ranks. Such an outcome would seem probable since rural society at the present time, when compared with urban has a very limited range of opportunities to offer. The advantage is largely with the city. Hence, however praiseworthy from the viewpoint of the individual it may be to bring to the country child a knowledge of all that is good in city and town, the possible harm resulting to the group makes such a program of doubtful merit from the group's standpoint.

The sociologist does not, of course, assume that all who are born in the country should stay there or that the rural population may not be further diminished. The good of the rural group requires, however, that it be not depleted unnecessarily or by influences that are preventable. If economic forces operating to keep in balance vocational groups continue to pull people from country to city, rural society must learn how to adjust itself to the situation. But it should not deliberately work its own undoing by educating the youth away from the country.

To obviate the possible harm we have mentioned, the procedure is not to narrow the scope of education or to circumscribe the child's possibilities for development. It is rather to utilize fully the educational resources of the rural environment with a view to making it a richer environment offering opportunities comparable to the urban. This involves unfolding the possibilities of agriculture as of first consideration. If it be not advisable to give a bias toward any vocation to the child in the common schools, there is certainly no harm in helping him to justly and favorably appreciate country life. The world beyond the fields

should also be unfolded to him but not as a doorway from a potentially inferior culture to a superior culture, a more ennobling vocation, or a better mode of living. Nothing should prejudice him against country life. All broadening influences should be utilized to help him discover himself and to discover the world in which he desires to live. But they should not be such influences as will purposely seek to blend rural and urban life. A distinct rural culture, equal to the best that society affords but still rural, should be sought. A rural group consciousness and pride of class should be inculcated and a social order of countrymen built up. Any educational purpose that would tend to detract from the strength and character of the rural group or that would operate to submerge its culture in that of the larger social whole or to fuse it with that of urban communities would seem to be for any except an idealistic world sociologically undesirable and unsound.

More specifically stated, the function of the country school from the standpoint of the child should be the fullest personal development, and from the standpoint of the group the transmission, conservation, and development of the rural culture.

Opinion is divided over the question of vocational training in the schools. The cleavage tends to follow the lines already indicated with the dominant thought favoring such training. In principle it may be wise for society to assign to the schools the function of preparing the young for the callings followed by their groups. If so, the schools of the country presumably should train the youth in domestic science and agriculture, and the schools of the city in the numerous callings of urban life. But since conditions in country and city are different, it is doubtful if the principle holds with the same force for vocational education in the country as in the city. The country child learns domestic science and agriculture at home, but the city child, as a rule, learns no calling at home. Hence, the latter must depend upon the school, while the former is virtually independent of them. To be sure, the home training of the country youth may have many shortcomings;

but these are certainly not so serious as to call for the assumption of vocational training by the rural elementary schools. The burden of improving methods of production, business, home-making, and the art of rural living in general may well devolve upon the country high school and upon those extra-school agencies of the agricultural colleges and extension services that are already carrying the gospel of new and better methods into the rural community. At the very most the elementary country schools should consider vocational training of incidental importance.

In the city it may be advisable for the elementary schools to shoulder more seriously the burden of vocational training. For if, as estimated, 50 per cent of the children never go beyond the elementary grades, and practically none get vocational training at home, this function cannot justly be assigned to the high school. It must be given in the grades to meet the needs.

If, therefore, the elementary country schools need not assume the burden that the city schools must, an important advantage accrues to the farmer. Being freed from the burden of providing vocational training, they can devote more attention to general culture. In view of this the possibilities of the common country schools becoming exceptionally efficient cultural agencies is obvious.

THE SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY FUNCTIONS

Although the primary function of the school is juvenile education, the institution, being public, has responsibilities of a general community nature. The country school is especially obligated to render social service, since the poverty of institutions and agencies in most rural districts throws the burden of many functions upon what few agencies there are. Often the school will be the only local public institution. In that case it has no choice but to assume leadership. Social improvement will depend upon its initiative. Its duty to the community will be to stimulate and arouse dormant activities and to generate new ones. Whatever service is needed and lies within its power will

be rendered. Naturally, if it has the field all to itself, it will become the center for all community building and the focal point of organization. The school plant will be the "social center" and the school the great social force of the community, motivating economic, recreative, sanitary, cultural and welfare activities along with the educational.

In an ordinary community where there are other active institutions the social functions of the school are not so numerous. Indeed, it may be relieved of all except its educational obligations. There are many communities where this is possible, though it cannot be expected in the typical open country districts.

Theoretically, the country school, like the country church, has a distinct function, but social conditions do not commonly allow either of them to hold strictly to their prescribed activities. Like the farmers themselves, the institutions of rural society must often be jacks of all trades as well as masters of one. However, the school, like the church, should strive for the day when it may stick to its last alone. If it must assume the dominant place of leadership, it should endeavor to bring the community to a stage of development where other agencies will make possible a division of functions and allow the school to relinquish the leadership of all save educational activities. In other words, its general social service should be temporary, a means to the establishment of other agencies for performing the non-educational functions.

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XIII

THE RURAL SCHOOL; ITS STATUS AND IMPROVEMENT

THE school as the chief agency of formal education deserves the fullest consideration in relation to society. To comprehend the status of this institution is to appreciate one great phase of the rural problem. And to take account of the plans and efforts in behalf of better schools is to catch a glimpse of the more hopeful aspects of rural progress.

NUMBER AND TYPE OF SCHOOLS

For the year 1924 the Federal Bureau of Education estimated the number of rural schools to be 269,848. Of this number 179,455, or practically two-thirds, were classified as one-room schools. The vast majority of the latter are no doubt in the open country and hamlets.

Consolidated rural schools numbered approximately 12,310 in 1923. That number is being increased year by year. From 1920 to 1922 some 8,590 single-room schools were closed or absorbed in the process of consolidation. With no reports from 14 states, some 1,628 consolidations were effected in 1921-22.

During 1920 the reports indicate that over 351,000 rural children were being publicly transported to and from school. At the present writing (1926) it is estimated that 500,000 are being transported. The greater part of them are open country children. All states now have provision for this.

The number of high schools for all America was not far from 18,000 in 1922. Of the 14,056 reporting to the Bureau of Education, 11,102 were schools for white children located in the open country or in villages of 2,500 or less, and 33 were colored schools. Estimates of the Federal

Bureau of Education in Newsletters published in 1925 indicate that 80 per cent of all high schools are located in the open country or in villages of less than 2,500 population. These schools enrolled on an average 69 pupils each, compared with an average enrollment of 590 for other high schools.

Since two-thirds or more of all country schools are of the single-room type we need to ask just how they function. In the first place, it is a matter of common observation that a very large portion of them have an exceedingly small enrollment. Hundreds of them have but 5 or 6 pupils and other hundreds have not over 10 or 15 pupils. Such schools are found in practically every state of the union. In the second place, the inadequacy of such schools is becoming apparent to all students of rural conditions. No child group so small as multitudes of these are is sufficiently large to give the full advantages of a typical primary group for either class room or playground purposes. The range of interstimulation is too narrow and the possibilities of organized play are too limited for the best results in the socialization of the child. Again, the burden placed upon the teacher in the one-room school where the enrollment is large is such that only the poorest work can reasonably be expected or accomplished. With 6 or 8 grades to teach and anywhere from 15 to 40 classes to hear for only 5 to 12 minutes each, the situation is almost impossible. There is no opportunity for concentration on any grade or any subject comparable to that which prevails in the grade schools of towns and cities. In the latter, teachers commonly devote themselves to single grades and are able to give 25 to 40 minutes to a class recitation. A few things are taught efficiently instead of many things superficially and hurriedly, as the teacher of the country school must teach them.

THE LITTLE RED SCHOOLHOUSE AND ITS EQUIPMENT

The single-room country school building, once glorified as the home of the greatest institution of America, has long

since ceased to merit or to receive either praise or respect from educators. It is customary to think of it today as a back-number and in every way insignificant. One has said that it is a "little house, on a little ground, with a little equipment, where a little teacher at a little salary, for a little while, teaches little children little things."¹ But this characterization is very moderate compared with what may be truthfully said concerning a large per cent of the rural school plants. Thomas D. Woods declares: "The rural school from the standpoint of health and general fitness for its important use, is the worst type of building in the whole country. When I say this, I include not only all types of buildings used for human beings, but also those used for live stock and domestic animals. Rural schools are, on the average, less adequate for their use than prisons, asylums, almshouses, stables, dairy-barns, pig-pens, chicken-houses, and dog-kennels are for their use."²

Extreme as this sounds, a panoramic view of the country schools of almost any section of America would convince the most skeptical that it is no mere caricature. There are, of course, plenty of good buildings and not a few that are all one could wish; but not such the average. The utter inadequacy of the majority is the striking feature of rural school buildings. They are poorly situated, often without any grounds, or, if they have them, grounds that are grassless, treeless and beautyless. As structures they are poorly planned, poorly lighted, poorly heated, poorly seated, poorly equipped or virtually unequipped either for comfort or education, and poorly kept. Drinking water is not usually supplied. Sanitary arrangements and toilet facilities are as likely to be entirely lacking as to be provided in even a half-way decent manner. And yet to such places a large portion of the American youth must resort for their schooling. From 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 children, if they are enrolled in any school, must attend them.

¹ T. J. Coats, Circular Letter, United States Bureau of Education.

² "The National Menace of Rural Bad Health," *Outlook*, Feb. 21, 1917, pp. 321-327.

Teacherages are rarely found in connection with the school plant. The Federal Bureau of Education estimates that the total number is about 3,000. That means an average of something like one to every ninety schools. The school laws of 15 states gives specific permission to school boards to provide teacherages and in 27 other states the law interposes no objections to them. In the six remaining states the law does not permit them.³ Inasmuch as three-fourths of all the teachers' homes are found in 10 Western and Southern states, it is evident that the idea is largely sectionalized. The sparsely settled regions of the West and the tenant-ridden regions of the South seem to have found teacherages a pressing necessity. However, the need for them is general everywhere.⁴

In lieu of any teachers' home those who teach must take such accommodations as they can find. These are rarely satisfactory or conducive to good work and contentment. Probably four-fifths of all country teachers spend at least the school week in the community, and must put up with what the community offers in board and lodging. The other one-fifth appear to dwell outside the communities where they teach.

According to the 1920 census there are approximately 17,169,577 children of school age, 6 to 20 years, in rural territory. The farm dwelling element numbers about 11,000,000. Those dwelling in places of less than 2,500 population number some 6,246,000. In incorporated villages of less than 2,500 there are probably some 3,000,000.

Data for 1920 indicate that 61.6 per cent of the urban and 64.3 per cent of the rural population of school age were enrolled in the schools. The general rural enrollment seems to be higher, relatively, than the urban, tho this may not hold true of the farm element taken by itself. However, it is customary to assume that it does.

If we follow this rule and assume a uniform enrollment

³ J. C. Muerman, "The District Owned or Controlled Teachers' Home," Dept. of Interior, Bureau of Education, *Bulletin No. 16*, 1922, pp. 4, 7, 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

for all elements of the rural group to be 64 per cent, the following numbers result: 11,325,293 for the total rural enrollment; some over 4,000,000 of those living in places under 2,500; 1,920,000 in incorporated villages of less than 2,500; and something over 7,000,000 of the children of the open country.

No doubt the villages actually have a larger relative enrollment than the open country, for they draw from the farms. Hence, it is reasonable to think that the total enrollment of the open country schools is very much smaller than the figure given.

It appears from the Federal Census for 1920 that there are over 3,000,000 more children of school age in the rural districts than in the urban. There is an excess of about 150,000 in unincorporated territory over those living in places of 2,500 or more population. At the same time the latter group claims 51.4 per cent of the total population. The farm children alone constitute over 35 per cent of all those of school age in the nation. Inasmuch as more than one-third of the future citizens must get their schooling in the little red schoolhouses at the country cross-roads, the great importance of these schools is apparent.

RURAL TEACHERS

More than three-fourths of the rural teachers are girls and women. The most conspicuous fact concerning them is *immaturity*. Out of a total 300,000 probably more than 50 per cent range between 17 and 26 years of age. Most of them are the daughters of farmers living in the counties in which they teach. A few are bred in the small towns and villages. They are, as a rule, of the old native stock except where the newer American stock is dominant.

A second characteristic of rural teachers is *lack of training*. They are very deficient even in general education, not to mention lack of professional training. Of public school teachers of America in general about 5 per cent have had no education beyond the elementary schools, 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent have had less than two years of high school,

one-third have not completed high school, and one-half have completed but not gone beyond high school.⁵ "Four-fifths of all our teachers" says Bagley, "are to be classified as either quite untrained or deplorably untrained."⁶ Everything indicates that the rural teachers as a class do not begin to average up to the general level. Probably 10 per cent have had only elementary schooling and 50 per cent have failed to complete high school. The number having received professional training is practically negligible.

There is, of course, considerable difference in the educational attainments of teachers from state to state. Sample studies and reports indicate this variation. The following table throws some light upon the question.

In a few states with more exacting standards a fair proportion of the rural teachers have had some training in normal schools. Thus Pennsylvania reports 24 per cent, West Virginia 31.7 per cent and Texas 25 per cent. These figures, however, seem to include all classes of rural teachers and not merely those in the one-room schools. Of late there has been a marked tendency for many states to set up more exacting requirements.

Generally speaking the educational qualifications of teachers range from better to worse as one goes south. The teachers of Negro schools are of all the most poorly equipped. Not half of them have had any elementary education beyond the sixth grade.

In the light of this general inadequacy in preparation for teaching it is significant to note that whereas 35 per cent of the children of America go to the open country schools but 1.7 per cent of the normal school graduates are found teaching in such schools.⁷ There is but one conclusion to be drawn, namely, that farm boys and girls are not getting a square deal in their schooling.

Professor E. A. Cross has summed up the situation for teaching in general in contrast to other professions. What

⁵ *Bulletin No. 3*, National Education Association, 1918.

⁶ *Proceedings Fifth National Country Life Conference*, 1922, p. 41.

⁷ United States Bureau of Education, *Rural School Leaflet*, No. 14, May, 1923, p. 6.

he says is doubly true of rural teachers in particular. "The usual preparation," he says, "for law, medicine, architecture, and engineering is eight years above the eighth grade. The men and women who educate them-

TABLE 52.—EDUCATION OF TEACHERS IN ONE-TEACHER RURAL SCHOOLS.⁸

	ALA- BAMA ¹	COLO- RADO ²	NE- BRAS- KA ³	PENN- SYL- VANIA	SOUTH DAKO- TA ⁴	VIR- GINIA ⁵
Elementary educa- tion only	16.0	7	4	⁶ 25	..	9.6
One year of high school or less . . .	10.1	..	9	18	..	3.5
Two years of high school	17.2	16	16	18	..	9.4
Three years of school	18.0	..	15	17	..	10.2
Four years of high school	38.0	⁷ 35	36	22	⁷ 58	⁷ 41.0

¹ Educational Study of Alabama, U. S. Bu. of Educ., Bul., 1919, No. 41, p. 349.

² Administration and Support of the Colorado School System, U. S. Bu. of Educ. Bul. 1917, No. 5, p. 213.

³ The Rural Teacher of Nebraska, U. S. Bu. of Educ. Bul. 1919, No. 20, p. 31.

⁴ Educational System of S. Dakota, U. S. Bu. of Educ. Bul. 1918, No. 31, p. 213.

⁵ Virginia Public School Survey, p. 334.

⁶ Estimated and probably too low.

⁷ Per cent do not total 100.

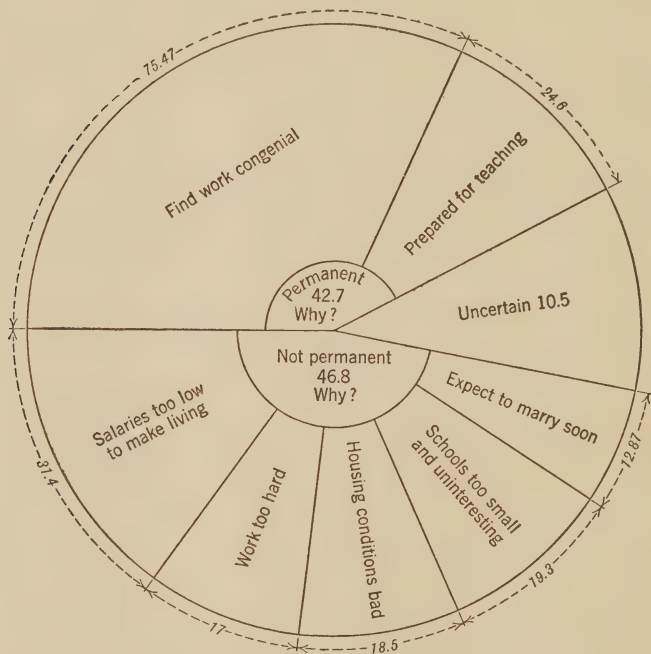
selves for these professions except to work for a lifetime in the profession for which they fit themselves. The public does not trust its health, its disputes, its buildings, its engineering projects, to boys and girls of eighteen; but it does entrust to such untrained youths what is vastly more

⁸ This table is taken from L. R. King's "Status of the Rural Teacher in Pennsylvania," *U. S. Bu. of Educ., Bul. 1921*, No. 34, p. 33. The point is made with reference to the data that they are not exactly comparable from state to state, since in some cases other than one-teacher schools are included.

important: the training of the next generation of the citizens of the republic."⁹

A third characteristic of rural teachers is *transiency* in the calling. School teaching in America is generally de-

FIGURE 42.—REASONS ASSIGNED BY 3,941 RURAL TEACHERS AS TO WHY THEY HAVE OR HAVE NOT REMAINED IN THE PROFESSION.¹⁰



scribed as an avocation, not a vocation. For the vast majority of women it is not a profession or true calling at all, but only a pre-marriage occupation. Proof of this is found in the fact that half the teachers do not spend

⁹ E. A. Cross, "The Truth About Teachers," *The Yale Review*, July, 1920.

¹⁰ From *National School Service*, Feb. 15, 1919.

more than four or five years at it, and fully one-fourth not over one or two years. Among rural teachers transiency is more pronounced than among urban, for the latter spend from eight to nine years. This transiency applies also to the length of time served in one school. It is estimated that two-thirds do not remain more than one year in the same place.¹¹

A fourth characteristic following as a consequence of the third is *inexperience*. Probably one-third of the teachers leave the calling each year and are succeeded by raw recruits. The effect of this is to make bad conditions doubly bad.

A fifth fact concerning rural teachers is their *underpaid* status. This is perhaps a natural result of their being poorly equipped and transient. Salaries for rural elementary teachers in single-room schools for the year 1921-22 are reported to have ranged from \$300 to \$1,257. The median salary for all such teachers in the United States was \$774. This means that 50 per cent received that much or more, and 50 per cent received that much or less. In contrast, elementary village or town schools, with salaries ranging from \$581 to \$1,436, showed a median of \$1,010. Urban elementary teachers received median salaries that varied with the size of the community. Places of 2,500 to 10,000 showed \$1,097; places of 10,000 to 25,000, \$1,241; places of 25,000 to 100,000, \$1,379; and places of over 100,000, \$1,848.¹²

TABLE 53.—TEACHERS' SALARIES IN CITY AND COUNTRY.¹³

Salaries of Elementary Teachers in Cities

\$1,968	\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$	.In cities of 100,000 and over
1,528	\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$	In cities of 30,000 to 99,999
1,341	\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$	In cities of 10,000 to 29,999
1,231	\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$	In cities of 5,000 to 9,999
1,129	\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$	In cities of 2,500 to 4,999

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹² *Bulletin I* of the Research Department of the National Education Association, June, 1922.

¹³ From *Rural America*, September, 1925.

Salaries of Teachers in Rural Schools

\$1,142	\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$	In country villages and towns
1,017	\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$	In consolidated schools
820	\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$	In schools of 3 or more teachers
742	\$\$\$\$\$\$\$	In two-teacher schools
735	\$\$\$\$\$\$\$	In one-teacher schools

This table compares average salaries paid to elementary teachers in five classes of cities with those paid in five classes of rural schools. The data showing average salaries in rural schools are compiled from reports of county superintendents for 1924 as they were sent to the Federal Bureau of Education. In the table each dollar sign represents \$100 of salary.

It appears from other sources that from 12 to 15 per cent of the rural teachers receive a salary of less than \$500 for the year. In nearly all the Southern states a far larger portion fall below that figure. The rural Negro teachers perhaps do not average more than \$200 to \$300.

Some states fix a minimum monthly salary. Wisconsin, for instance, provides that it shall be \$60 a month. West Virginia puts it at \$75, \$60, and \$45 for teachers with first, second, and third grade certificates respectively. However, such minimum salaries are not generally provided, and where they are there is no guarantee that the teacher's yearly income will be adequate.

The salaries of rural teachers are obviously on a level with the earnings of unskilled labor, with that indeed of "grocery boys and kitchen mechanics." On the basis of merit, the majority doubtless get all that unskilled labor can expect and all that it is worth. But the shame of it is that the salary to be had is so low that no incentive to become skilled is given those who aspire to teach. Hence, low pay produces untrained, inexperienced, transient and inefficient teachers, whose qualifications in turn keep down the pay, in a vicious circle of cause and consequence.

The teacher is the heart of the school problem in rural America and the school problem is the heart of the educational problem for millions of country children. If the teachers of these millions are to be chiefly of low caliber,

the educational handicap upon the rural child cannot be removed. He must continue to be deprived of a fair birth-right to which the urban child is a natural heir.

SCHOOL TERM AND ATTENDANCE

Nine months of school each year is the minimum standard approved by educators and child welfare agencies. Many towns and cities and a few states have adopted this standard. But the country schools almost everywhere fall far short of it. They average at least two months less than urban schools. In some whole states and in many districts of most states the rural school term is four or five months shorter than the urban term. Even where the law requires a longer term the rural schools frequently ignore it. On account of shortage of funds or the pressure of farm work school will be curtailed.

School attendance is low in the country as compared with the city. It is not uncommon to find 50 per cent of the enrollment absent daily. Reports from cities seem to indicate not more than 25 to 30 per cent as daily absentees.

From short term and non-attendance there results widespread retardation in the country. Studies in West Virginia, where conditions are probably worse than in most states except those of the far South, revealed the fact that one-third of all the children were retarded. One-fifth were as much as three years behind grade. This retardation naturally increases with the age of pupils. Eleven per cent of those under 12 years and 43 per cent of those over 12 were found retarded as much as three years. Similar data from Colorado and Michigan indicate a retardation of 27 to 29 per cent among rural pupils in these states.¹⁴

THE BETTERMENT OF RURAL EDUCATION

The main deficiencies of rural education have been pointed out. How these may be remedied and the handi-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

caps removed from country children, is one of the most vital problems concerning country life. In the succeeding paragraphs we shall canvass the ideals and practical projects for the improvement of conditions.

1. The betterment of the single-room schools seems to be the most promising point of attack. Inasmuch as from two-thirds to three-fifths of the single-room schools must remain such indefinitely, they must be made more useful and efficient. This calls for such buildings as will be comfortable, sanitary and adequately equipped. It calls for playgrounds and their equipment also. It calls, further, for a school term of nine months. Above all it requires well-trained teachers, able to lead community enterprises, sufficiently paid to feel bound to the profession, and altogether capable of teaching a curriculum properly directed to the needs of rural society.

That much can be done with the little country school, which has now become a byword in education circles, has been demonstrated in a few cases. The most notable single case is that of the Porter school near Kirksville, Missouri. This has become the model for successful education under adverse conditions. Although the teacher of the Porter school was an educational expert, and the developments have been quite phenomenal, there is little in the situation that is impossible of attainment by the average district.

The most important case of a state-wide effort to resuscitate the single-room district school seems to be that of Vermont. In that state poverty, sparse population, topographical conditions and social stagnation had effectively combined to prevent the rural school reforms that have had vogue elsewhere. In particular they had forestalled any movement for rural school consolidation. Of late, however, Vermont has caught a modern note from the outside world, and has seen new possibilities in her supposedly antiquated district schools. She has in consequence begun to restore them, confident that with modern improvements they still have value. The State Board is doing all it can to improve them materially; to raise the salaries of teachers

in them; and to get books and maps for them. The Vermont Branch of the American Association of University Women is engaged in a steady campaign to arouse people to an interest in the rural school nearest them and to supply books for the schools. The State Federation of Women's Clubs is providing scholarships to enable girls to get the best training possible on condition that they will teach a certain number of years in a one-room district school. A wealthy family has instituted prizes for those rural schools which show the greatest improvement. "Schoolhouse bees" are being revived, in which the whole neighborhood turns out to work on the schoolhouse. Old buildings and grounds are thus being put into good shape. New books and modern equipment are making their appearance in the remote schoolhouses. Thus in a variety of ways numerous agencies are doing their best to make the most of the little country school. Back of the movement is the idea that, if rightly managed, the little school has advantages for education that have been overlooked by the advocates of graded schools.¹⁵

The merits of the little country school are receiving new emphasis and deserve attention. In the first place, the absence of grading is declared to be good rather than bad, for it prevents pigeonholing children. Each child is taught in accordance with the degree of proficiency to which he has attained in arithmetic, reading, etc., without being standardized on a single grade level in all subjects. Thus a degree of individualization in instruction is secured. In the second place, it is contended that conditions in the district school develop a sense of self-responsibility which all the artifices of the perfectly equipped and organized graded school fail to give. In the district school the children have to meet all sorts of conditions and to manage themselves in the midst of them. They must for instance, split the kindling and build the fire to keep warm, and clean the stove-pipe if it smokes. These are common tasks thru which they learn responsibility for the common good.

¹⁵ Dorothy Canfield Fisher, "A Cinderella Among Schools," *The Survey*, June 1, 1926, Vol. 56, pp. 293-296.

No janitor does such things for them. In numerous ways the little school is a place where the child is forced into active citizenship as he is not in the "up-to-date" graded school. A third merit of the one-room country school is its play activities. On its playground all ages and types of children are mixed as are people in the big world. Driven by the same forces that impel us all to some working compromise which makes life in society possible, the children learn to manage their affairs so that the rights and interests of one group do not seriously interfere with those of another. Withal, in the fourth place, the little school preserves the family relationship of older and younger in intimate association. The older ones have some responsibility for the younger and are thus helped to mature. The younger ones learn more of the vital things of life, such as the rules of the game, from their older companions than from their carefully trained teachers. For this reason it is contended that the ungraded school has advantages for younger children over the best graded school. It is not so much in the impartation of formal knowledge, for on that side it is admitted that the grading system has advantages, as in the realm of nurturing personality.¹⁶

2. The consolidation of single-room schools wherever possible is generally looked upon as the best solution of all. It involves the merging of two or more small districts into one, the building of an adequate plant, and the public transportation of the children. Under ordinary conditions an area about the size of the Congressional township, with 30 to 40 square miles of territory, has been found satisfactory for purposes of consolidation. Those states having townships, like Indiana, have made much progress by uniting the schools of entire townships. They are usually consolidated at or near the township center, sometimes in a village or hamlet, but often at the cross-roads among the cornfields. Hence, the term "cornfield high school."

The merits of consolidation are many. In the *first* place, it brings together enough children to permit grading and

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

the establishment of a high school. The group thus becomes large enough for organized play and for all those advantages that flow from a fairly wide range of contacts. The immediate benefits that accrue to the children by way of developing broad sympathies, toleration, group loyalties, leadership and cooperation will ripen into future gains for community life. The youth of today nurtured in the consolidated school group are the best guarantees of a wholesome community life in rural America for tomorrow.

In the *second* place, the consolidated school conduces to better teaching by better trained teachers, who are more attached to the community. It also conduces to better organization and supervision. There can be specialization in teaching along the line of agriculture, home economics, music, recreation, and manual training. Reasonable time and attention can be given to each subject and to recitations therein. This is all to the gain of education.

A *third* advantage of consolidation comes thru the plant. Modern buildings and grounds equipped for school and community purposes are required. The little red schoolhouse can never meet such needs either for school or community as are met by the consolidated school. "School buildings and grounds," someone has said, "designed to safeguard and promote the children's health, supply them with an abundance of mechanical means necessary for work and recreation, and develop in them an idea of the æsthetic. In this respect the consolidated school of the country has many natural advantages over the best of the city schools. More room for play space, gardens, and outside laboratories may be had for less expense. There is greater freedom from annoying noises, and much less danger from traffic. Consolidated schools furnish means of interesting the community in the betterment of its own life to keep pace with the ideals set before the children."¹⁷ Most open country communities need meeting places. Consolidated school buildings usually provide auditoriums and supply the needs of a social center. Com-

¹⁷ *American Education Week Circular*, Dec. 3-9, 1922, U. S. Bureau of Education.

munities need also playgrounds, parks, and public demonstration plots. The consolidated school calls for these. Ten acres is common, tho many campuses run to 30, 40, or 50 acres.¹⁸ Thus, the plant, together with the type of school it houses, becomes an agency of better neighborhood life, adult education, and social progress.

A *fourth* gain from school consolidation appears in the tendency to lengthen the school term and to retain a more permanent teaching staff in the community. A good-sized enrollment furnishes more incentive for a long term of school than does a little handful of pupils whose ranks are early decimated by the call of farm work. Moreover, in some communities the consolidated schools are finding all year employment for their teachers, by utilizing their services in community activities such as boys' and girls' club work, home demonstration enterprises, etc. This, in conjunction with the movement to build teachers' homes as part of the school plant, is looking toward a settled and more permanent teaching force as part of the rural community life.

If, in connection with the consolidated school, the teachers can be made residents of the community, much is to be gained. L. H. Bailey has justly emphasized this in saying: "Our country schools are impersonal not only because there are no homes in them, but also because of the frequent change of teachers. The change in office, which is a part of our popular political heritage, breaks up our schools into fragments of teaching. In Germany, on the contrary, the teacher is an officer of the State Service, holds office for life and is not removable except for extraordinary reasons; he becomes a factor in the community. He plays the organ in the church. With a continuing mastership and a home establishment, there may arise both skill in meeting the educational needs of the locality and a centralizing social influence. . . .

"A teacher of even moderate ability, but of long-con-

¹⁸ W. A. Hayes, "Community Value of the Consolidated School," *Tulane University Research, Bull. No. 2*, Feb., 1923, pp. 31-32.

tinuing service, will accomplish much more for his people, if he has good qualities of heart, than any number of highly trained pedagogues who take their baggage into the community and then take it out of it."¹⁹

A *fifth* gain is seen in the increased enrollment, attendance and continuance in school thruout the grades and high school. In North Dakota the enrollment in consolidated schools is reported to be 15 per cent higher than in one-room schools. The daily attendance is a fifth better. In West Virginia it seems to be 40 to 50 per cent better. Continuance through the eighth grade and high school is often doubled and trebled. A single case will illustrate the gains in this line. Randolph County, Indiana, where in eight years 96 one-room schools were put into 20 modern consolidated schools, and 15 high schools established where there had been just one before, the number of grade-school graduates entering high school jumped to 93 per cent whereas it had ranged from 20 to 50 per cent previously.

School consolidation meets with opposition on a number of grounds. Chief of these is the increased taxation which it doubtless entails. The tax burden on farmers is already great and they hesitate to add to it for school purposes.

However, the cost when once consolidation is effected is probably no greater than under the existing system. At least the United States Bureau of Education holds that the per capita cost of operation of consolidated and single-teacher schools is approximately the same. The saving thru consolidation lies in utilizing the full capacity of a few teachers in contrast to the single-teacher schools, where many teachers in many schools have small quotas of pupils. Verification of this contention comes from a study by the research department of the Illinois State Teachers' Association. The daily current expenditure per grade pupil was 45.9 cents, including transportation expenditure in 36 consolidated schools where cost of transportation was highest in 1924-25. In the 330 out of 745 single-teacher schools

¹⁹ *York State Problems*, Vol. II, pp. 31-32.

of 6 counties in the same section of the state the cost per pupil was 46 cents and over.²⁰

But with this, as with all social advancement, there is a cost that must be borne. The larger and more intangible gains unquestionably far outweigh the extra cost.

Again, many parents dislike having their children go so far away from home to school as many do under the consolidated system. There are unquestionably disadvantages and possible evils in it, but probably these are of little significance beside the advantages that are generally recognized.

Consolidation, for all its merits, is not "a panacea for all rural school ills; it cannot cure the evils of a sparse, scattering, low tax paying population. In such areas it must await closer settlement, increased earning power, or a greater volume of both wealth and population."²¹

The record of growth in consolidation is the best evidence of its value. With only 300 consolidated schools a decade ago, the number now exceeds 12,300. Each year sees more added. The Federal Bureau of Education reports over 1,100 formed in the year 1919-20, and over 900 in 1921-22. North Dakota has the largest number of any state in proportion to the rural population. Indiana with 1,100 or more consolidated, or about one-sixth of her total number, follows next after North Dakota. Kansas also is making progress, with 140 consolidated schools in 55 counties, enrolling some 18,000 children in 1924. There remain, however, 7,500 one-teacher schools in that state. Sixteen hundred of them enroll only 10 or less children each. More rapid progress is being made in Ohio. From 1914 to 1924 the number of one-room schools was reduced from 9,489 to 5,222. This state looks to the abandonment of half the remaining one-teacher schools.²² In the Southern states the movement is beginning to make notable headway.

²⁰ *Rural America*, November, 1926, p. 6.

²¹ A. W. Haynes, "Community Value of the Consolidated School," *Tulane University Research, Bull. No. 2*, Feb., 1923.

²² *Rural America*, November, 1925, p. 15.

3. The third proposal for the betterment of rural schools goes to the bottom of the problem. It is to provide better teachers. Better teachers mean trained, efficient, reasonably mature, experienced and permanent teachers, in contrast to the poorly educated, professionally untrained, green girls who in an unsympathetic, indifferent, mechanical way endeavor to run the country school. The kind of teacher needed has been well described by Professor Bagley, as "a mature man or woman, well grounded in fundamentals of elementary and secondary education, and with the additional equipment provided by two, three, or better four years of a broadly conceived, specialized education pointed directly toward this important job; fired with a love of country life, familiar with its problems; competent to the difficult task of working the rich environment that lies all about the school yield up its valuable lessons; competent as well to open to the country child the world that lies beyond his horizon; living in the community as a part of it; perhaps as its very soul and center; proud of his profession but humble with a sense of its responsibilities; ambitious not to attain 'promotion' in the current meaning of that term, but finely ambitious to grow in a work in which the possibilities of growth have no limit."²³

To get this sort of teacher will require radical measures of reform. The first measure demanded involves the system of recruiting and training teachers. If 50 per cent of them have not finished high school and a third have had no professional training, the fault lies in the prevailing lack of standards for teaching. But if one-fourth of the rural teachers leave the ranks annually, it would not take long to put trained teachers into all the schools. To do this, however, would require adequate facilities for training them. Such facilities as exist are not adequate to the needs, or at least fail to meet them. The normal schools and other institutions offering training for rural teachers

²³ W. C. Bagley, "National Responsibilities for the Improvement of Rural Education," *Proceedings Fifth Nat. Country Life Conference*, 1922, p. 43.

number but 140.²⁴ These schools turn out some 21,000 graduates annually. But the town and city schools absorb all save a negligible fraction of them, for ²⁵ less than two per cent of the rural teachers are graduates of normals. Others with professional training have merely dropped out of the normals to teach for a time in order to get funds to complete their course. This number probably does not exceed 20,000 annually.²⁶ Thus, at most, not much over the latter number of trained or partially trained teachers is found among the 90,000 new recruits that are required annually to fill up the ranks.

To meet the obvious deficiency of trained teachers, many states are resorting to courses for teacher training in the high school, either devoting the last two years or adding an extra year. Some 15,000 or more graduate annually with such training. Twenty-four states had such provisions in 1923. They were Arkansas, Florida, Maine, Michigan, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.²⁷ Training of this nature is by no means desirable except as an emergency and makeshift measure. The real remedy must be sought in college courses for all who teach. Another source whence come some trained teachers are the agricultural colleges. In several states these institutions have departments of education that prepare students for rural teaching.

Marked progress has been made in the last twenty years in providing for the training of rural teachers. At the beginning of this period there were only a half-dozen normal schools and the high schools of five states where rural teachers were being trained. Today there are 50 normals in 24 states.

Moreover, most states provide some training for teachers in service thru institutes, reading courses and super-

²⁴ Mabel Carney, *Rural School Leaflet No. 14*, Bu. of Ed., May, 1923.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

visory agencies. The county superintendent of schools is supposed to give attention to this. There are some 3,500 county superintendents and rural school supervisors. Of these, 2,639, found in 39 states, are themselves without professional training.

Noteworthy progress has been made also in establishing standards of training for teachers. About one-third of the states make graduation from a four-year high school the minimum legal requirement for teaching. About 10 states require additional professional training. California and Massachusetts require most; the former, two years of normal training beyond high school; and the latter, graduation from either college or normal school. Year by year, other states are falling in line with better standards.

Altho the standards of most states are too low, it is almost useless to raise them unless at the same time means are provided whereby the teachers may meet the standards. And it is of little use to raise the standards and provide the means for training unless adequate inducements are held out to lead men and women to take up teaching as a profession. But until salaries commensurate with the requirements of the work are provided there is little inducement. Hence, better salaries are the second point of attack upon the problem.

Without the salaries there is strong opposition to higher standards. In order to down this opposition, state subsidies or scholarships for the training of capable students have been proposed. It is urged that with such assistance two years of normal training should be required.²⁸ Some such plan as this together with the establishment of adequate salaries, would probably furnish the country school with the kind of teachers they so much need.

4. Compulsory schooling. It is not enough that the rural school term be standardized at a minimum of nine months. Compulsory attendance must also be added. Altho nearly all states have such laws, it is not evident that they are well enforced in many cases. Indeed, outside of cities it is very hard to enforce school attendance

²⁸ Bagley, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

laws. In many states they are dead letter laws whenever the farmers so wish. Truant officers are local individuals who will not go against community sentiment in carrying out the law. In fact, they often deliberately agree with the farmers to ignore the law at certain seasons. A number of states make the county superintendent the truant officer. But in such cases the function is too often neglected as of minor consideration. Hence, it follows that in many sections where farm work of which children are capable conflicts with school attendance, the latter yields. The tobacco fields, truck gardening areas, small fruit and sugar beet sections have been great offenders in this matter.

Where child labor is of a relatively harmless nature, there is no good reason why the school term should not be adjusted to avoid interference as much as possible with the work season. A wise system would provide a standard school term distributed over such periods of the year as would largely avoid the work periods. Then with proper laws, properly administered, compulsory attendance could be carried into effect without afflicting hardship or arousing opposition.

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XIV

RURAL RELIGION

NATURE OF RELIGION

RELIGION has to do with human values. It lays hold of the common values of life, intensifies, idealizes, universalizes, and seeks to conserve them. So the things, both personal and social, which men count most worth while become the objects of religion. But as circumstances change, so do these values. Hence, the objects of religion also tend to change, and there is thrust upon it the duty of laying hold of the new while holding fast to that which is good in the old.

The values that we cherish are social products. We have received most of them from the past. Even Christianity as a value conserving movement has been handed down to us. Thus, both the religion and the values that concern it are primarily legacies of the social heritage. The living generations and the present world have therefore had nothing to do with producing them. Only modifying influences have they exerted. Hence, having a common source of origin, it is obvious that the religion of urban and rural America is much the same. However, this is not altogether so. There are certain differences which are to be attributed to differences of environment and occupation in the two spheres.

NATURE ELEMENTS IN OUR RELIGION

There is a sense in which our entire religion, urban and rural alike, might be described as distinctly rural in that

it originated among agricultural people and has its background in country life. The imagery of its literature in both the Old and New Testaments is pastoral. Life's values are seen thru the husbandman's eyes as he sows and reaps, tends his flocks, and prunes his vineyards. Moreover, the Christian tradition carries along with it certain elements of nature worship. It received many of these to start with from Judaism, but has gathered new increments while coming down thru many ages and cultures to our day. The primitive religion of every people has had to do with the physical environment and the phenomena of nature. These older practices were swept up by Christianity and many of them have become factors in this religion as we know it.

Two or three instances will serve to make this clear. Our Thanksgiving festival is one. It is a day of worship in celebration of harvest. The custom is very ancient, going back to the time when primitive hunters performed ceremonies to cajole their nature gods into giving them abundant fish or game for food. And agriculturists likewise have very generally observed some social feast in commemoration of the harvest time. Easter is another holy day of similar origin. Originally it was a pagan celebration expressive of joy over the return of springtime. The renewal of plant life and the germination of seeds that gave rise to it led to appropriate religious rites. With these the idea of the resurrection of the dead became identified in the Roman world and so was handed down to us. These and other elements of nature worship associated with Christianity are, however, really not germane to it; they are adventitious elements, for Christianity is essentially an ethical religion. The nature elements do not vitally concern it; they are only accidental factors. Wherefore, we cannot say that there is anything peculiarly rural about our religion except the background of its sacred books and the accidental factors in it, together with the greater emphasis that such elements normally get when the religion is practiced under rural conditions.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL RELIGION

1. While the characteristics distinguishing rural religion from urban are not numerous, they are of sufficient importance to be indicated. *First* of all, it is to be noted that the country is overwhelmingly Protestant, whereas the city is largely Catholic. This is due, not primarily to any differentiating influence of environment, but rather to historical causes and the selective effects of occupations. It is a fact of history that the pioneering of America was a Protestant movement. The great stretches of the hinterland were naturally filled up by emigrants from the original Protestant colonies along the seaboard. When, under the impulse of modern industry, cities commenced to rise, they began to draw large elements of their population from the Catholic countries of Europe. Hence, the cities have become predominantly Catholic. Altho the main difference is thus explained, the fact, for fact it is, that rural Protestantism is more Protestant than urban is not accounted for. But I think we may account for it on the ground that country life is particularly congenial to the Protestant spirit. The independence, initiative and self-reliance of the farming people have found natural expression in the faith that so generally emphasizes personal responsibility. A rampant individualism has afforded the most fertile soil for the growth of a religion of dissent. Consequently we see Protestantism undergoing its most extreme development in rural society. Freedom of belief has run riot and led to the multiplication of sects and schisms almost without limit. Sectarianism has always been most at home in the country.

Moreover, rural Protestantism has been predominantly of the evangelical type. It has stressed preaching and relied almost exclusively upon this method of recruiting. Creed, not cult, has been uppermost in its worship. Liturgy has not made strong appeal to a people whose conduct in every other respect has necessarily been unceremonious and informal.

2. A *second* characteristic of rural religion has been its Puritanic quality. The self-denial and rigorous discipline called for on the farm are reflected in religious faith and practice. Naturally enough the God of the countryman is a being relentless and exacting, even as the world of nature all about. Wherefore, the religious life becomes austere, overburdened with a sense of duty, and largely devoid of privilege or pleasure. It is suffused with the harshness of the Old Testament rather than with the charity of the New. City people quickly shed any Puritanic attitudes of which they chance to be possessed; but not so those who dwell on the land. The most rural parts of the older sections of America today remain the most Puritanic. Thus in the Southern states one finds much the same attitude that characterized New England when it was preponderantly rural. Says Thompson:

“The idea that the South is convivial and mercurial in temperament is erroneous. It would be more nearly correct to say that gravity, amounting almost to austerity, is a distinguishing mark of Southerners. In any southern gathering, representing the people as a whole, there is little mirth. There is much more Puritanism in the South today than remains in New England. The Sabbath is no longer observed so strictly as twenty years ago, perhaps, but only recently has it been considered proper to receive visits on Sunday or to drive into the country. As for Sunday golf or tennis, the average community would stand horrorstruck at such a spectacle.”¹

3. In the *third* place, it may be said that rural religion tends to be highly emotional. Indeed, rural people when aroused, are much more generally given to strong expressions of feeling than are city dwellers. Their contacts are neither many nor varied; hence there is a limited range of impressions. Thus, there is wanting such counter checks among the reactions to stimuli as make for balance

¹ Holland Thompson, *The New South*, Vol. 42, The Chronicles of America Series, p. 217. By permission Yale University Press.

and restraint. So the farmer's feelings, when once stirred up, have tended to run away with him. To the new forces that have played upon him he has responded in extreme degree. Religion has been one of them. In fact, it has often been almost the only important cultural stimulus or social force with which he has come in contact. Where so, its claims have been imperious, and commonly the response has been virtually without reserve.

This was notably true in earlier times in frontier settlements all over the land. In the midst of isolated and primitive conditions whole communities were swept by the blasts of frenzied revivalism into strange and weird emotional orgies. We read of the famous Cane Ridge meeting in Bourbon County, Kentucky, where a vast multitude of 20,000 or more people fell under the spell of wildest fanaticism. An eye witness, describing one such meeting, the like of which was common thruout Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Pennsylvania, said:

"Many, very many fell . . . and continued for hours together in an apparently breathless and motionless state, sometimes for a few moments reviving and exhibiting symptoms of life by a deep groan or a piercing shriek or by a prayer for mercy fervently uttered. After lying there for hours, . . . they would rise, shouting deliverance."²

In western New York much the same sort of thing continued at intervals thruout the first half of the last century. Mrs. Trollope, in her *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, describes a southern Indiana camp meeting which she attended in 1829. The following is taken from her account:

"Above a hundred persons, nearly all females, came forward uttering howlings and groans so terrible that I shall never cease to shudder when I recall them. They appeared to drag each other forward and on the word

² F. M. Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, p. 74.

being given, 'Let us Pray!' they all fell on their knees; but this posture was soon changed for others that permitted greater scope for the convulsive movements of their limbs; and they were soon all lying on the ground in an indescribable confusion of heads and legs. They threw about their limbs with such incessant and violent motion that I was every instant expecting some serious accident to occur."³

It is only fair to say that these incidents occurred in a time when religious fanaticism and superstition everywhere abounded, but for all that the urban places do not appear to have experienced such emotional outbursts. They were particularly rural phenomena. And so, thruout our history, have they continued to be essentially rural. The emotional revival has its stronghold in country districts today. It prevails extensively in the South⁴ and is more or less common in most other sections. It is a winter indulgence in the North and a midsummer affair in the South. Says Walter Burr:

" 'What sort of community activity do you have here through the winter?' I asked a farmer in a Kansas town. 'Oh, there's plenty doing,' he replied. Then he went on to tell me how the Baptists began their revival meetings early in the fall as soon as corn was out of the way, another church started immediately after the Baptists were through, and then two others finished the season up to March when spring work began, 'And the Holy Rollers' he added, 'keep theirs going all the time.' " ⁵

Altho by no means all rural communities have been given to religious emotionalism, and none anywhere are so much subject to it as once they were, they are, nevertheless, pretty generally characterized by this sort of behavior.

The fruits of such religion are seen in a crop of queer movements and sects that have arisen and continue to

³ Pp. 240-241.

⁴ J. C. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*, pp. 182-183.

⁵ Walter Burr, "What's the Matter with the Rural Church," *The Unity Messenger*, December, 1924.

spring forth in one form or another from the rural soil. Among them are to be counted Spiritualism, Millerism, Mormonism, Perfectionism, the Anti-Masonic Craze, the "Holy Rollers" and Ku Klux Klanism. Doubtless there are forces at work toning down the religious intenseness of the country districts. As someone has said, "scientific agriculture is too intelligent to be romantic," and so the commercialization of agriculture takes out some of the awe and mystery that underlay the religious experience of an earlier day.

More significant is the by-product of unrighteousness and immorality yielded by the emotional appeal. Thus, F. M. Davenport, in describing conditions in western New York resulting from revivalism at an earlier time says:

"There are whole stretches of country in these parts that for generations were known as the 'burnt district,' and which Finney found so blistered and withered by constant revival flames that no sprout, no blade of spiritual life could be caused to grow. Only the apples of Sodom flourished in the form of ignorance, intolerance, a boasted sinfulness, and a tendency to free-love and 'spiritual affinities'." ⁶ And just recently a church survey of Ohio discovered similar conditions in certain counties of the southeastern part of the state where revivals had been much in vogue. It was found that immorality of every sort flourished most where revivals had frequently stirred the people. In such communities vice, illegitimacy and vote-selling were conspicuous. ⁷

4. Ultra-conservatism may be put down as a *fourth* characteristic of rural religion. The fundamental tenets of traditional orthodoxy are tenaciously upheld by the rank and file of rural Christendom. Aberrant types have appeared and there has been plenty of deviation from conventional modes of religious expression, as we have already shown, but this has almost never meant theological, philosophical, or sociological radicalism. It has meant only variation within the limits of traditional theological orthodoxy.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁷ Gill and Pinchot, *6000 Country Churches*.

Nor could anything else be expected, since country people are not normally and in principle given to radical thought of any kind. Influenced by the environment about them, theirs is a static rather than a dynamic type of mental behavior. So we see the country today presenting a pretty solid front of opposition to religious modernism.

INSTITUTIONAL RELIGION

Religion expressed itself in the church. The nature of this institution is therefore largely determined by the kind of religion back of it. Even so has it been with the country church.

The men who pioneered and settled America all professed essentially one general type of religion. It was concerned primarily with the other-worldly salvation of the individual. The soul was the object of chief value which men wanted most to conserve. In keeping with this aim the church was conceived to be an organization of saved individuals devoted to the saving of other individuals. It was a fold for gathering and sheltering the lost sheep. That done, its task was thought to be completed. As a social institution it was therefore an end in itself. Practically and at variance with its theoretical intent, it did fulfil a purely social function in affording a community assembling place and occasions. These were much needed and well worth while, entirely apart from any religious features.

This was the type of church set up everywhere throughout the land. In village, town, and city alike, on the frontier 'mid the wooded wilderness, or on the prairie, its sole business has been to preach the hope of personal salvation. This "pioneer" church, as it is called, has been preeminently the church of the country districts. It may be said to be typical of all rural America. It was companion to the "little red schoolhouse." The farmer's individualism found free rein and great satisfaction in this church. It ministered fairly well to his needs. Sufficient unto the day of the self-sufficient farmer was such a reli-

gious institution. There was no rural social problem, and consequently no church problem then. No signs of maladjustment and decay were to be detected.

Thruout the entire "classical" period of country life, which succeeded the settlement stage and persisted until about 1890, the pioneer church was pretty generally the center of community life. Its interests were paramount, even as they still are in thousands of communities, especially in the Southern states. During this period one of the outstanding features of rural religious life appeared at its best. I refer to the custom, so wide-spread in the country, of making the church the real "meeting house" rather than a mere sanctuary of worship. The practice of converting the occasion of worship into a weekly, bi-weekly, or monthly neighborhood gathering for the purpose of greeting friends, transacting business, and arranging all sorts of engagements, was indicative that the church was serving certain social needs.

In keeping with its object, this pioneer church naturally stressed preaching. That was what the farmer wanted and that was about all the church gave or was expected to give. A weekly sermon or two, or, only one or two "preaching" services per month and an annual revival meeting, was the usual church's program. A poorly trained preacher, poorly paid and dependent for the greater part of his living upon some other occupation, dividing his time between two or more congregations and dwelling as a rule somewhere outside his parish, satisfied the demands of the religious farmer. Pastoral service was not rendered and parish activities did not often reach beyond the church door. The farmer built the house of God for "preaching"; he paid for "preaching"; he attended "preaching"; and when each "preaching" was over, closed the building and did not return again till the next "preaching time," a week, two weeks, or a month later. Thus the church fulfilled its function in the halcyon days of country life.

CHURCH AND SOCIAL CHANGE

But during these same days forces were at work which were about to bring great changes in country conditions. Soil mining had been carried so far that new methods of cultivation were becoming necessary. The development of agricultural machinery was altering the productive process and the labor situation. Improved transportation was widening the farmer's market and the world was becoming his competitor. Urban industry was growing apace and the lure of the city was beginning to entice from the country its youth. Western free lands were becoming exhausted; and land speculation, farm tenantry and absentee landlordism were beginning to appear. In a word, a veritable agrarian revolution was at hand.

The full results of this revolution have become evident in a greatly mechanized, mobilized, commercialized and urbanized country life. As regards the people themselves, their horizons and interests have been immensely widened. And they have been seized with a great dissatisfaction and unrest. City drift has become a swelling tide and migrating movements within and between rural communities have grown to surprising proportions. In the light of these developments it is clear that the old rural order has passed away and a new day has dawned for the country. Does the new day demand a new church?

THE CHURCH OF THE NEW DAY

The needs of this new day are clearly not those of the old, and the rural institutions that have not faced about from the old to the new are not adequately supplying those needs. This is the situation that confronts the rural church. In the face of it the pioneer church is proving inadequate. In many quarters it is languishing and dying, for the society has shifted its interests and country life its meaning, the church has not often sensed these

facts. New life values are needing religious sanction and are not generally getting it.

In the urban world the church adapted itself to modern social conditions. It resorted to a new evangelism and to new methods of work. In the words of Walter Rauschenbusch, it began to "supply a working organization to create the Christian life in individuals and the Kingdom of God in human society." As such it stands more generally for social service and community progress than does the country church. No human interests are so wholly foreign to it as they are to the average country church. Whatever will contribute to a more abundant life for all, tends to be its concern. It exists, not alone for the safeguarding of the elect, but, at least in some measure, for the saving of the community.

The country church must likewise become this sort of institution if it is to meet the needs of the new day. It must redirect its efforts and reconstruct its organization to community ends. Its exclusively pioneer habits and programs must be laid aside. It must do something more than hire annually an absentee preacher to retail sermons and hold revivals, if religion is to survive as a vital force and pagan forces not reconquer the rural regions.

The needs to which the country church is called to minister are emphatically no longer altogether personal; they are also communal. When it was asked of the countryman of old, "What doth the Lord require of thee?" he could answer to the best of his knowledge, "Save my soul!" But today a broader vision compels him to give a different reply. His first answer will be, "To secure better farming, better business and better living for my neighbor and myself." And this, being translated concretely, means to provide good roads, good schools, good houses, sanitary surroundings, adequate opportunities for play, wholesome neighborhood relations, and every other facility for the enjoyment of health and the pursuit of happiness. And, having realized the first answer, his second will be, "Seek my personal salvation!" It is not that the second requirement is at all of secondary importance, but that personal

righteousness is now understood to be tied up with social conditions. Economic prosperity, wholesome recreation, general education and intelligence, sound minds and bodies for all in the community, are needed in order that the individual may be morally whole and religiously sane. So the country church must devote itself to social service as well as worship. It must teach as well as preach, minister to the welfare of the community as well as to the redemption of individuals.

In fulfilling these functions of the new day, the country church must meet situations as it finds them and adapt its methods to them. Where it finds other social agencies at work trying to improve conditions it has only to coöperate with them. Its mission is to furnish encouragement and inspiration, to rally the people to their support and promote organization. Under such conditions its primary task will be "to infuse the spirit and motive into the activities of all individuals and collective life rather than to embody the tangible expression of those activities."^s Concretely, it should be back of every well-conceived educational and school project, in league with the health board, the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Sunday School Association, the Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls, the Farm Bureau, the Grange, Club work, Coöperative Associations, and whatever other agency or movement there may be at work. If agencies devoted to these specific tasks are not at work in the particular community, then it behooves the church to take the lead and secure them. If their services are not available, then the church must somehow contrive to supply the needs on its own initiative, perhaps going so far as to "embody the tangible expression of those activities," i.e., set up the necessary machinery itself. Its duty is to champion every good work, yes, even to perform that work itself until such time as some other agency may be created to take it over and be responsible for it. When that is done, the church may give attention to other needs; and when all are being cared for, then there remains its

^s K. L. Butterfield, *The Farmer and the New Day*, p. 177.

peculiar function of ever keeping alive the ideal of the Kingdom of God in the hearts of the people.

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XV

THE RURAL CHURCH

GENERAL FACTS

THE Federal Census of 1916 reported 227,487 religious organizations in the United States. Of these, 101,477 were rural; 63.7 per cent of them were in the open country and hamlets; 30.7 per cent in villages having from 250 to 2,500 population; and 5.6 per cent in towns or places having from 2,500 to 5,000 population.¹

The total church membership of the United States was 41,926,854. The rural membership was 8,969,603, or 16 per cent of the total population living in the rural area as above described. Of the rural membership, 49.7 per cent was in the open country and hamlets; 38.8 per cent in villages; and 11.5 per cent in towns. The proportion of the population of the three areas included in the church membership decreased from town to open country. In the towns it was 24.3 per cent; in the villages, 22.8 per cent; and in the open country, 13.1 per cent.²

Some 60,127 ministers were serving the rural churches. Less than two-thirds were found devoting their entire time to the ministry. The other third divided their labors; 26.6 per cent of them between two churches; 14.5 per cent between three; and 14.4 per cent between four or more churches.³

There were 78,093 rural Sunday Schools, enrolling some 6,600,000 members. Of these schools 2,165 were independent of any church. A large per cent of the town and vil-

¹ Morse and Brunner, *The Town and Country Church in the United States*, 1923, p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

lage churches had Sunday Schools, the percentage being 88 for the first and 89 for the second. Of the open country churches but 67 per cent had such schools.⁴

A REGIONAL VIEW

Because widely different conditions prevail thruout the country, no general description of the rural church can do it justice. It must be looked at by geographical sections. Until recently this was impossible for the lack of data. But thanks to the work of the Interchurch World Movement and its legatee, The Committee on Social and Religious Surveys, now known as The Institute of Social and Religious Research, we have been given a representative body of facts that permit us to get a fair view of the rural church in the several sections of America. The summaries made by the committee referred to were based on the data from 300 counties. Twenty-six of these were studied intensively to get a view of conditions by regions.

Nine more or less distinct church regions have been indicated.⁵ They are based on physical, economic, and social differences as these relate to the church. The report of the surveys referred to has been compiled with these regions in view.⁶ In the following analysis we shall attempt to present the facts in accordance with the same scheme. In doing so, full and free use will be made of the data published in the work cited.

1. *Colonial Region.* This includes New England and the Middle Atlantic states. Most of this area is highly urbanized and industrial, with agriculture of very secondary importance. The rural population is being drained to the cities and at the same time recruited by a foreign influx. What remains on the soil is fairly stable and retains many of its Colonial characteristics. The church too retains the marks of its European origin and its established status of earlier days. There is a permanency about

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

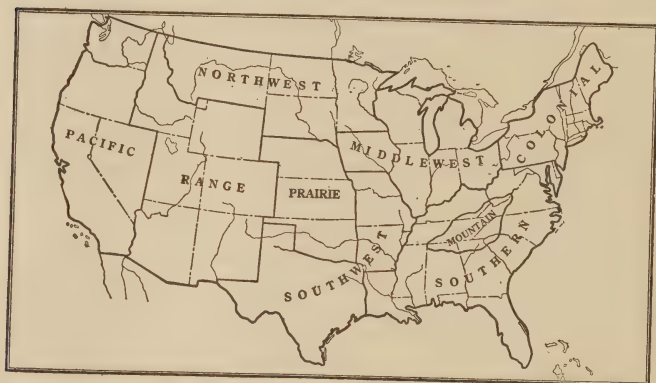
⁵ Dr. Warren H. Wilson first published this mapping in *Home Lands*, August, 1920.

⁶ See Morse and Brunner, *op. cit.*

its buildings, its pastorates and its traditions, even the conditions of social change are all about.

Of leading denominations—and by leading denominations we mean those that embrace 90 per cent or more of the church membership in a given region—this region has relatively few. New England averages but eight, which is less than any other region, and the Middle Atlantic States but 11.7, which is less than most regions. The Catholic

FIGURE 43.—RURAL CHURCH REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.⁷

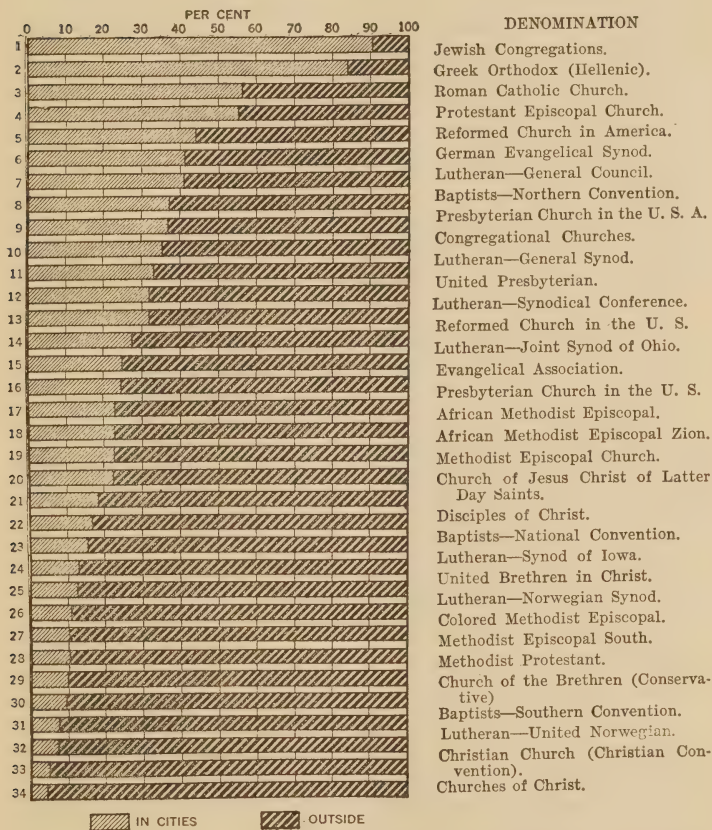


Church is relatively the strongest, exceeding the Protestant bodies in membership. Denominational rivalry is keener than elsewhere except in the South and Middle West.

It is estimated that thruout America there is one town and country church to every 463 persons. This region has one to every 434 persons and ranks third in the list of three regions that exceed the average. When one church to 1,000 people is taken for a norm, the Colonial area appears greatly overchurched. Indeed, next to the South and the Prairie sections it is the most overchurched part of the United States. Nevertheless, here as elsewhere, underchurched communities are to be found. Some 7.5 per cent

⁷ Courtesy of *Home Lands*, August, 1920.

FIGURE 44.—PER CENT OF CHURCH MEMBERS IN PRINCIPAL CITIES AND OUTSIDE, FOR DENOMINATIONS REPORTING 100,000 OR MORE: 1916.⁸



of the communities, containing 2.3 per cent of the town and country people, have no Protestant churches. However, except for the Middle West, this is the lowest per cent of any area.

⁸ *Federal Census Religious Bodies*, p. 122.

Parishes are smaller than in any section outside the Southern mountains. The superabundance of churches explains this. The average parish is about 12 square miles. More stagnant churches are found here than elsewhere. If the sample studied is typical, there are also fewer growing churches. The number runs under 50 per cent and but one-third of these made a gain of 10 per cent or better during the last decade. There are a good many abandoned churches. About one-sixth receive missionary aid. Not a few have endowment funds—something rarely found in other sections.

These conditions obtain despite the fact that 25 per cent of the churches have full time resident ministers. The region takes fourth rank in this respect. Yet, 15.5 per cent of the entire number of churches are pastorless, only one other region showing so many as this. The villages are well ministered unto, but the open country suffers neglect. More than one-fifth of the distinctly open country churches are unsupplied. This puts it highest among the regions in pastorless country congregations. Contrary to the situation almost everywhere else, the churches of this region are more successful in reaching tenants than landowners. Of the latter but 23.7 per cent are members, whereas 26.9 per cent of the tenants are members. Here tenantry is less prevalent than in any other section, only 15.9 per cent of the operators being tenants. However, the tenants constitute 18.1 per cent of the farmers who are church members.

A considerable foreign immigration onto the farms is taking place, but the Protestant church feels little responsibility toward this group.

Of the whole white population in the town and country area 21.2 per cent are church members. In this respect the Colonial Region stands fourth from the top.

Next to the Pacific and Middle West this region ranks highest in average number of Sunday Schools in proportion to churches. Of the farm population, however, a far smaller portion is enrolled in Sunday School than in any

other region. In the matter of young people's societies this region is perhaps the best provided of any.

The churches of this region fare well financially. The buildings in village and country are on the whole the largest and most expensive in rural America. Here too, the part of the budget devoted to salaries is always larger than it is elsewhere. It averages about 46.3 per cent of the whole. This means the pastors are the best paid. Around one-third of the income goes to benevolent purposes. In this the Colonial Region ranks below the South but with the Middle West, the Range and the Pacific. If we except the South this region shows generally more devotion to the church than is common elsewhere. Next to the Pacific coast it ranks highest in the land when measured by norms of adequacy.

2. *Middle Western Region.* This includes the North Central States and Iowa. It is the most fertile and uniformly prosperous section. The best type of general farming prevails. Land values average high. Country life in general has attained its highest development here. And yet rural population is declining, urban centers growing, and farm tenantry approaching the extremes found only in the South.

This region is the home of the village and little town, in which country life tends more and more to become centered. Hence, open country communities, unrelated as social units to towns or villages, are perhaps fewer than in any other section. Three fourths of the town and country churches are in the villages. Those of the open country tend to die out, and the villages to draw away their members.⁹

The people who originally filled up the Middle West were pioneers from the Colonial Region and the South. Later came many foreign strains, particularly the Germanic stock, till in parts the newer elements are in the majority.

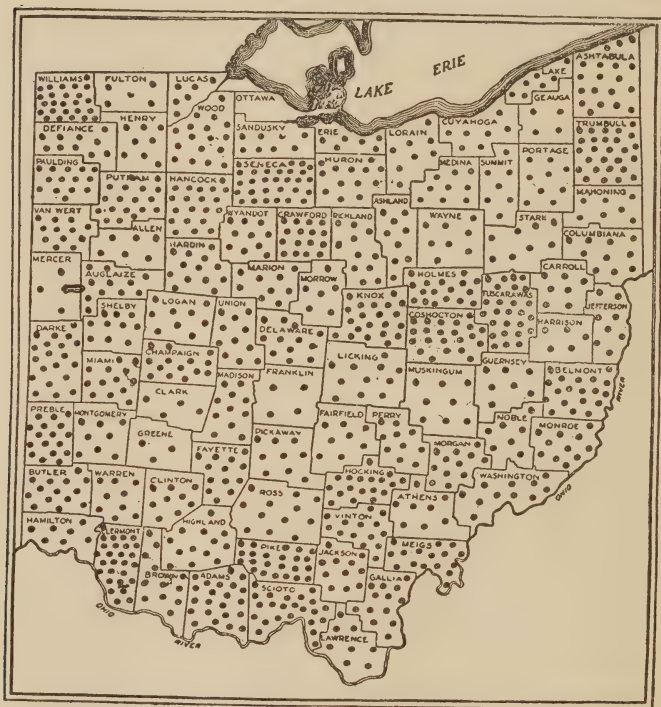
The region has more strong denominations than any

⁹B. Y. Landis, *Rural Church Life in the Middle West*, pp. 64, 65, 73.

other. The average for the six states is 17. About one-third of the church membership is Catholic.

The Middle West is not so overchurched as the Colonial, Southern, and Prairie, nor has it so much underchurched

FIGURE 45.—1,058 ABANDONED RURAL CHURCHES IN OHIO, DISTRIBUTED BY COUNTIES.¹⁰



territory as the Range. There is one church for every 447 people. Only about 6.1 per cent of the communities, including 2.1 per cent of the town and country population, are without Protestant churches. No other region

¹⁰ From C. E. Lively's "Some Rural Social Agencies in Ohio, *Ohio States University Agricultural Extension Bulletin*, Vol. 18, No. 4, p. 17.

makes as good a showing on this point. Parishes will average double the size of the Colonial. They lack compactness and overlap a great deal. No section has so few

FIGURE 45^a.—3,291 RURAL CHURCHES IN OHIO WITH NON-RESIDENT PASTORS, DISTRIBUTED BY COUNTIES.¹¹



small churches. In fact, this is the region of largest rural churches.

The reports indicate that 61 per cent of the churches are growing. Some 55 per cent of them gained 10 per cent or more during the last decade. In recent years many country and village churches have been abandoned. Ohio

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

alone reports 1,058 abandoned.^{11a} Less than 10 per cent of the rural churches receive missionary funds which is the best showing of any section in this respect.

So prosperous a region ought to have a large percentage of full time resident ministers in the rural fields. But, as a matter of fact, only 19.2 per cent of the churches are so supplied. Only two other sections show worse records. The South and the Southwest have fewer non-resident ministers. The Middle West leads all sections in the proportion of part time resident ministers. It holds fourth place in the percentage of churches that are pastorless. Here as elsewhere the open country churches suffer most from the lack of pastoral care.

The rural ministry of the Middle West is not well-trained. Six other regions show a larger per cent of men with college and seminary preparation. The showing is creditable in that most ministers of this area live by their calling. Only 9.28 per cent follow other occupations. No other region has as good a record. Pastorates are short, averaging about three years.^{11b}

Here as nowhere else except in the Pacific region the Sunday School flourishes. Nineteen out of every twenty churches afford one. They enroll on the average 83 as against 103 in the Pacific. From the sample studied by the surveyors there appears to be but 63 per cent of the church membership on the Sunday School rolls. The type of religious education in vogue among the churches of the foreign elements tends to keep this figure low.

Churches are pretty well housed in this region. In country communities of the foreign born, the building, as in the Colonial Region, is large and often costly. The per capita financial support of the church strikes about an average for the whole country. About 31 per cent of the church budget is devoted to benevolences.

Withal when checked by approved standards of church efficiency, this region easily ranks third.

3. *The Southern Region.* This includes all territory

^{11a} *Ibid.*, p. 17.

^{11b} Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

FIGURE 46.—A NEW ENGLAND COUNTRY CHURCH



south of the Mason and Dixon line and the Ohio River, east of the Mississippi, together with Louisiana, but excluding the Appalachian region. The Southern region is the most distinctively rural part of America, with three-fourths of the people living in the country. The communities are of the open country type. Few are village or town centered, for villages and towns are not numerous. Considerable urban and industrial development is now taking place, but agriculture is almost everywhere supreme. A one-crop system tends to give way to diversification. Farm units are smaller than in the North and the per cent of tenantry greater than in any other section. The large Negro population constitutes the chief tenant class. The white population is almost exclusively old American stock. Generally speaking, life is relatively primitive in the South. Economic inequality and social stratification are more evident than elsewhere.

With the exception of Maryland and Louisiana the South is the land of Protestantism. The average for the area is 12 leading denominations. Upwards of 90 per cent of the church population in a number of states is Baptist and Methodist.

Church organizations are superabundant, much duplication being due to the color line and the highly developed sectarianism. No other section has such excessive over-churching and at the same time so many communities unchurched by Protestant bodies. The number of such communities is double that of the Colonial area, with nearly 5 per cent of the population unchurched. Naturally, parishes run small when there is on the average one town and country church for every 317 people.

The churches of the rural South are in one sense pretty vigorous institutions, for 63 per cent are growing as compared with less than 50 per cent in the Colonial region. During the past decade 54 per cent made a gain of 10 per cent or more. Still, there are abandoned churches in the South. In 1914 the Baptists found evidence that 3.5 per cent of their churches had been abandoned in the pre-

ceding five years.¹² The Methodists in surveying half of their rural churches found over 10 per cent had been abandoned. Missionary aid is not a big factor. It is extended to about the same proportion of the churches as in the Colonial region.

The rural churches of the South suffer particularly from an absentee and itinerant ministry. Only 6.1 per cent have full time pastors. Of the strictly open country churches only four in a thousand can boast such a ministry. Nearly 70 per cent have non-resident ministers. Despite this, only one other region has so few churches without ministers. A circuit system which prevails more widely in the South than elsewhere accounts for this. A very large majority of the churches have only once-a-month services. Dr. V. I. Masters says that 33,000 white rural Baptist and Methodist churches, or 90 per cent of all Southern rural churches, are dependent on once-a-month services.¹³

The ministry is poorly equipped, poorly paid, and restless. Many make part of their living in the pursuit of some other occupation. The survey of 70 counties showed as high as 48.1 per cent of the ministers getting part of their living from teaching, farming, or business.¹⁴ There is frequent moving about among them, due in part to the ecclesiastical policy but also to custom and dissatisfaction and lack of vision.

The large tenant class is not being reached by the church. Altho 59.5 per cent of the farm owners are members of the churches, only 33.5 per cent of the tenant class are so counted. On the whole, however, the white Protestant churches reach a larger per cent of the total town and country population than they reach in any other area of America. There are perhaps more extreme variations from place to place in this respect than in the North, but the average for the South is 28.3 per cent of the population enrolled in the church.

¹² V. I. Masters, *The Country Church in the South*, p. 122.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

¹⁴ Brunner, *Church Life in the Rural South*.

The Southern rural churches are largely wanting in auxiliary organizations. The Sunday School is the one exception but even this is not found in over three-fourths of the churches.

The annual revival is almost universal. It is a midsummer occurrence upon which the church depends for recruiting its membership.

Materially the church is not well provided for. Altho the buildings in Southern villages compare favorably with those in the Colonial region, the open country churches are of the poorest and cheapest sort. They will not average much over \$500 in value. Per capita giving is the lowest for the United States and yet support of benevolence runs the highest. It takes little to finance the rural church in this region, since, as a rule, it opens its doors but one day in thirty.

The church is the most important institution in this area. Apart from the school it is the only organized expression of community life in thousands of neighborhoods.¹⁵ The South is greatly devoted to the church and despite the once-a-month system, poor equipment, absentee clergy, and overchurched development, the institution has held its own better than elsewhere in rural America. However, when measured by generally accepted standards of social adequacy, the churches of this region stand at the bottom of the list for all America.

4. *The Southern Mountain Region.* These highlands cover about 112,000 square miles in 250 counties of nine states. They are often referred to as the "back-yards" of these states.¹⁶ It is a rough and undeveloped section. Agriculture is difficult and crude. Timber and mineral resources are now being extensively exploited. Isolation has been extreme, poverty general, and living more primitive than in any other large area of the United States.

The people number about six millions and dwell under strictly rural conditions. Less than 20 per cent live in

¹⁵ Masters, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

¹⁶ See J. C. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*, which work is the source of most of the facts here presented.

villages of from 1,000 to 2,500 inhabitants. Three-fourths live in smaller communities. Outside the new industrial developments, where a few foreigners and some Negroes are found, the people are of old Anglo-Celtic stock. Civilization is retarded to such a degree in the highlands that the people have been called "our contemporaneous ancestors." They are extremely individualistic, with characteristics and customs of early frontiersmen.

The church is even more Protestant than in the Southern region proper. It is fully 90 per cent so outside the new industrial areas. Baptist, Methodists and Presbyterians claim three-fourths of the membership. Campbell says a majority are of some form of Baptist persuasion. Denominational loyalty is stronger and more controversial here than is common anywhere else.

Fully one-third of the total mountain population belong to the church. However, many sections of the region show far less, even as few as 10 or 12 per cent.

The topography of the country if nothing else, with its narrow valleys between difficult ranges, would make for small parishes. They average only about 8 square miles. However, a contributing factor is the tendency toward too many churches for the number of people. Still, under-churching is not so manifest as in the South outside the mountains.

There is the same absentee ministry and infrequency of service as in the South generally. In addition, the hiring of a new minister annually tends to be the practice of the mountain church. Far more of the clergy earn their living by some occupation outside their calling than elsewhere, even in the South generally. The typical mountain preacher is meagerly educated and entirely without training for his work.

On the whole, the status of the mountain church is generally much the same as in the larger South, except that conditions tend to be more extreme and are not influenced by the presence of the Negro. Like the environment, the church is very poor; and like the civilization, very backward. It is entirely of the pioneer type, following the cus-

toms that once prevailed on the frontier of the West and North.

Missionary aid for educational and religious work has been poured in from Northern sources. Unfortunately it has not always been for the benefit of that region. At present the industrial invasion of the mountains is slowly changing the social life. It is breaking up the isolation, giving more ample means of living to many, and working other less desirable changes. In the face of these conditions the church is being pressed to readjust its activities accordingly.

5. *The Northwest Region.* This embraces Minnesota, the Dakotas and the east part of Montana. Agriculture dominates. Spring wheat is the chief crop. Farms are very large, except in Minnesota, and their number is growing. Tenantry, less prevalent than farther east and more prevalent than in the Range section, is on the increase. Social life is more or less in a pioneer stage and as yet not fully developed.

The population is not so dense nor does it show as much cohesion generally as in the more easterly states of the central valley. The stock is largely Scandinavian and German. Here a larger per cent of foreign born is found than in any other rural section. The traditions of this stock are communal and cooperation prevails on a much larger scale. Antagonism between town and country is widespread.

There is an average of 15 leading denominations in this region. A good third of the people are Catholic. The region stands fourth in the number of communities without Protestant churches. Not over one-sixth of the population are enrolled in Protestant communions. With an increasing rural population the church generally may be said to be growing.

One outstanding characteristic of the region is the relatively small per cent of farm owners reached by the church. It is barely one-sixth. No parallel to this is found except in the Range and Pacific regions. As usual, the tenant class is not being reached. They make up 30 per cent of

the farmers, but constitute only 16.7 per cent of the church membership. This means about 7.4 per cent of the whole tenant group. Poor as this showing is, it is a little ahead of the Middle West and far ahead of the Pacific region.

The churches of this region are comparatively well served by ministers. About one-fourth of them have full-time, resident pastors. There appear to be fewer pastorless churches than in any other region. The towns, however, make the poorest showing of the whole United States in respect to full-time pastors. Here the circuit system, or "ministerial vivisection," severely affects the town, village and open country clergy almost as much as it does in the South. The data seem to indicate that fewer ministers here follow other occupations than generally elsewhere.

In other respects the churches of this region are similar to those in the Range region, in the West or in the Middle West. It cannot be said, tho, that the church situation begins to measure up to the standards of the latter region in most things. Pioneer conditions are all too persistent.

6. *The Prairie Region.* This includes Kansas, Nebraska, and part of Oklahoma. It is not set off from the Range and Middle West by hard and fast lines. In fact, it is an area partly overlapping the others. Some sections are given to dry-farming and irrigation, and others to ordinary farming. This is the great winter wheat country, altho the single crop system is giving way to diversification. Farms are large, tenantry is very high and gaining. Seasonal labor is a serious problem. The region is predominantly rural. Towns are not numerous. Isolation, with rather primitive cultural conditions, characterizes society. Still, in some respects, it is normally the most prosperous and progressive agricultural area. Cooperation is well established among the farmers. The population is old American stock with some admixture of foreign strains.

Yesterday this was the land of mission churches. Now religion is well established. Four-fifths of the people are Protestant. Leading denominations average 15. Next to the South this region has the most churches of any region in proportion to population. Even tho the density of,

population is low, there is one church to every 384 people. The percentage of church members is relatively high. The region stands next to the South and Middle West in this regard. There are many small churches, of which more than half are stagnant or declining. Some abandoned churches also are found.

This region seems to have a fairly settled and adequate supply of ministers, tho pastorates are short. But two other regions have so many full-time resident pastors, and only three have fewer pastorless churches. In the villages three-fourths of the pastors are in residence. No other region equals this, even tho it is the habit of rural preachers everywhere to flock to town. For the open country churches it takes third rank in the same matter. Nevertheless, only two other regions have so many ministers engaged in other occupations.

In material things the churches of this region seem to lag behind general economic conditions. The small one-room structures erected when the congregations were first started are still commonly in use in the open country. The villages have much better equipment. Few churches receive mission aid. Contributions to benevolences constitute from a fourth to a third of the budget.

7. *The Southwest Region.* This includes Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, and part of Missouri. It is a region of contrasting physical and economic features, including mountains and plains, arid and well-watered areas. Agriculture is generally confined to one crop, tho that crop is not the same in the several parts of the area.

This is the meeting ground of the South and the West, with a civilization that flavors of both. The stock is often quite as heterogeneous as the country is diversified. There are white and Negro, Indian and Mexican, and various European elements in some parts. The region is predominantly rural.

In three states more than half the farmers are tenants. Poverty prevails. Social conditions are primitive, much like those of the lower South.

In the churches denominationalism is strong. Sects are

numerous, and duplicate organizations of similar bodies are common. In part this is because Northern and Southern branches of the Methodists, Baptists, etc., have been established. Thirteen general denominations enroll 90 per cent of the religious element. The church is largely Protestant. The per cent of communities having no Protestant churches will reach about the average for all the regions. Overchurching is not so pronounced as in most sections. This region holds sixth place in the average number of inhabitants to each town and country church, the number being 592. The section is characterized, like the Range and Pacific, by a marked degree of failure of religion to lay hold of the people. The Protestant faith does not claim more than 12 to 13 per cent of the population. Churches are small.

The churches of this region are poorly supplied with pastors. As in the South, there are few full-time resident ministers. The per cent is about 10.7. Nineteen per cent of the churches are pastorless. The towns and villages make the worst showing, in this respect, of the whole United States. The open country churches are almost as bad, for with the single exception of the Colonial area, they are unrivaled in this particular. It is estimated that 42 per cent of the country churches are on circuits of four or more churches. A large portion, perhaps nearly half the ministers, follow some other occupation.

There is here a large tenant class, which the church, as generally elsewhere, fails to reach. The church draws to its membership 26.2 per cent of farm owners but only 9.2 per cent of tenants. Nearly 44 per cent of the farm operators are tenants but of the farmer church members the tenants constitute only 21.7 per cent.

On most other points the church status of this section closely resembles that of the South.

8. *The Range Region.* The mountain states of the West make up this area. They are Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, Nevada, and western Montana. Rough and semi-arid, there is very little improved land. The average is about 4 per cent. Stock grazing, dry-

farming, and irrigation dominate. Naturally, settlements are scattered, and the homesteaders restless and isolated. It is decidedly the frontier area of today.

The stock is chiefly old American but with a foreign element constituting about 25 per cent of the population. There are a good many Mexicans in the southern parts of the region.

The rural church, if we except that of the Mormons, is the least flourishing of any part of America. Like the civilization in general of that region, the church struggles for a foothold. So far its hold is uncertain. Fewer denominations are found than elsewhere except in New England. The Mormon church is strong and well established in several states. It enrolls more than half the religious population in two states and nearly a fourth of it in two more. For the whole region Protestants and Catholics are about equal in strength.

The region is marked by underchurching and religious indifference such as we meet in no other section. Parishes are large, averaging as much as 75 square miles. There is one church to every 1,209 of the population. Only 6.6 per cent of all town and country people are included in Protestant communions. Fifty-two per cent of the communities and 22.3 per cent of the population are without such churches.

As one would expect of a growing country, the churches here are generally growing. Seventy-one per cent of them are so classified. Here the mission-aided church prevails. Such aid is said to be extended out of all proportion to need; for it inspires selfish denominational ambitions which keep alive churches that are superfluous and neglect wholly unchurched areas. But for this, some churches that are better dead would have succumbed.¹⁷ Not a few do die anyhow, for the membership in communities of changing frontier may all move away.

Save only the Pacific region, the proportion of resident ministers is largest here. For resident town pastors the region takes the lead, with 93 per cent. There is so much

¹⁷ Helen O. Belknap, *The Church of the Changing Frontier*, p. 68.

centering of church forces in the towns that the church has been called "the church of the center."¹⁸ Likewise, the churches of the villages and open country have a larger proportion of settled pastors than in any other region except the Pacific. At the same time no section has such a transient, "vagrant" and short-tenure ministry.

Tenantry is not excessive here and, contrary to the rule, more of this class than of the landowners are church members. The figures are 10 per cent and 7.4 per cent respectively. Altho 18.8 per cent of all farmers are tenants, 24.3 per cent of the farmer church members are of this group.

The Sunday School is in greater favor and more flourishing than the church. There are many independent schools. Altogether their enrollment exceeds church membership by 7 per cent. Young people's societies are generally found in connection with the churches. Revivals are largely depended upon to recruit church members.

Pastors' salaries are relatively high and take nearly as much of the budget as in the Colonial region. The other expenses of the church in this and the Pacific region are higher than in other regions.

While the Range is a man's country, the church is a woman's organization. Men constitute probably less than a third of the membership of the Protestant churches. The church was one of the things the homesteader left behind when he came west. Nor has the church followed him as it ought. Hence "absence of church has become a habit" and 'mid unstable and transient conditions indifference prevails.¹⁹ The late comers, however, are more responsive than the "old timers," and therein lies the promise for the future. In the final analysis the churches of this region, when scored by reasonable standards of adequacy, will not stand much above the lowest.

9. *The Pacific Region.* The Pacific coast states are included in this area. The widest variety of conditions are found here, not only between the northern and southern limits of the region but even within each state. California

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 68.

has dry-farming, dairying and extensive fruit growing. Oregon and Washington are not yet predominantly agricultural. The lumber industry is more important in these states than either general farming or fruit culture. Economically, it is a prosperous region. More than in any other save the Colonial the people are concentrated in urban districts. Church membership falls lowest.

Here, as in the Range, the churches are growing—seventy-three per cent of them. Mission funds are poured into this section as into the Range by the large national boards. Twenty-eight per cent of the rural churches receive such help. Much of it is prompted only by sectarian motives. In only about a third of the communities does real service appear to be the object. Many communities are neglected altogether.

This region leads the nation with 41.7 per cent of full-time resident pastors in the town and country churches. The open country congregations are the best supplied of any region with full or part time ministers. At the same time, it ranks close to the Colonial and Southwest in the number of pastorless country churches, and has next to the most pastorless village churches.

The population is heterogeneous. There are all kinds and sorts of native Americans mingled with a fairly large foreign-born element. In the southern part especially the latter constitute one-third of the population. The social unity of the region comes largely from its location, and a certain boosting and progressive spirit among the people.

There are almost as many leading denominations here as in the Middle West. Catholics and Protestants are about equal. Only the Range has more rural communities without Protestant churches. The surveys estimate the total at approximately 37.2 per cent. Again, next to the Range, this region has the largest average number of rural inhabitants per church. Parishes are about the size of those in the Middle West. Less than 11 per cent of the town and country population is enrolled in Protestant bodies. In this respect it is not much ahead of the Range, where church pastorates are of short duration. Less than 13 per

cent of the clergy follow other callings. Probably one-third have had college or seminary training.²⁰

The Pacific slope joins with the Atlantic in paying the best salaries to full-time resident pastors. The per capita support of the church is high—double that of the East.

The tenant class here does not respond to the churches' appeal as do farm owners. Some 16.3 per cent of the farmers are tenants, but only 11.5 per cent of them are church members. Sixteen and five-tenths per cent of the owners are church members.

As in the Range the Sunday School enrollment exceeds the church membership. The excess is fully a fifth. In fact, with an average size of 103, the Sunday Schools here outrank all other regions. Young peoples' societies are found in one out of two churches.

All in all, the churches of this region score higher on the average, when graded according to "par standards," than those of any other region.

REASONABLE STANDARDS

From the foregoing summary of conditions as reported largely by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, numerous shortcomings and failures of the rural church are apparent. Conspicuous among these are wide-spread overchurching, some regional underchurching, church stagnation and abandonment, ministerial "vivisection," poorly trained, poorly paid, and restless pastors, insufficient local organization, inadequate physical equipment, failure to reach all classes in the community, the lack of proper religious education and the absence of social programs.

In the face of these conditions certain problems arise and press for solution. In the case of overchurching, the withdrawal of one denomination in favor of another or the federation, if not the organic union, of congregations is called for. Where churches are dying because of a shrinking population, parish reorganization offers relief. And likewise, wherever there is overlapping of parishes, duplica-

²⁰ Brunner, *Irrigation and Religion*, p. 61.

tion of work, and neglected zones, compacting and readjustment of areas are required. Where villages tend to sap the life of the churches in the surrounding country, assumption of definite responsibility for the zone of their "killing range" is incumbent. The circuit and "once-a-month" systems, with their itinerant "sermon peddlers" rather than pastors, call for the substitution of a full-time resident ministry. Failure to reach the tenants and foreign elements demands adequate pastoral service and a program of social work.

And so with most other problems confronting the rural church, there are specific remedies at hand and waiting to be applied. In fact, in every section of America there are churches that have successfully grappled with these problems and become thoroly effective social agencies.²¹

The actual experiences of these successful churches have been taken as the basis for setting up a working standard for rural churches. The Institute of Social and Religious Research has called it the "par standard." They describe it "not as an ideal, but as a measurable example of what the church may, in all reasonableness, expect to attain."²² This standard is here reproduced because it at once summarizes what is being done by churches that are functioning adequately and gives a norm for the improvement of rural Christendom.^{22a}

Physical Equipment.

1. A comfortable, attractive parsonage with modern improvements, furnished rent free.
2. Auditorium with seating capacity adequate to maximum attendance at regular services.
3. Pipe organ or piano.
4. Space for social and recreational purposes fitted with movable chairs and a platform, and large enough for the largest crowds in the habit of assembling there.

²¹ See *Churches of Distinction in Town and Country* and *Tested Methods in Town and Country Churches*, by Edmund de S. Brunner.

²² Morse and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

^{22a} Reprinted from *The Town and Country Church in the United States* by Morse and Brunner, Copyright 1923, George H. Doran Company.

5. Separate rooms or curtained spaces for Sunday Schools, classes or departments.
6. Moving-picture machine or stereopticon facilities.
7. A well-planned, well-equipped machine.
8. Sanitary lavatories.
9. Parking space for automobiles or horsesheds.
10. All property kept in good repair and slightly condition.
11. Bulletin boards for display of church announcements.
12. Playgrounds.
13. Recreational equipment—games, volley ball, croquet, quoits (indoor and outdoor) and the like.

Religious and Missionary Education.

14. Sunday School maintained thruout the year.
15. Sunday School enrollment at least equal to church membership, with an average attendance of at least two-thirds of its membership.
16. Definite and regular attempt to bring pupils into church membership, and specific instruction in preparation therefor.
17. Teacher training or normal class regularly provided.
18. Definite provision for enlistment and training of leaders for church and community work other than in Sunday School.
19. Communicant classes regularly held in preparation for church membership.
20. Week-day religious instruction provided.
21. Daily Vacation Bible School held.
22. School of Missions, or systematic Mission Study class regularly held.
23. The missionary work of the church regularly presented from the pulpit and in the Sunday School.
24. At least one representative in professional Christian service.

Finance.

25. The church budget, including both local expenses and benevolences, adopted annually by the congregation.
26. Every-member canvass for weekly offerings made annually on the basis of the local and benevolent budget adopted; all church members and adherents canvassed; envelope system used.
27. The budget of benevolence either meeting the denominational apportionment in full or equal to one-third of the current expense budget (Interchurch standard 25 percent).

28. All current bills paid monthly.
29. A systematic plan of payments on principal and interest of debt on the church property, if any.
30. Property insured.

Pastor.

31. A pastor resident within the bounds of the community.
32. A pastor giving full time to the work of this church.
33. The pastor receiving a total salary of at least \$1,500 a year and free use of house (Interchurch figure, \$1,200).

Program.

34. At least one service of worship every Sunday.
35. Regular midweek services.
36. Church works systematically to extend its parish to the limits of the community.
37. Church works systematically to serve all occupational classes in the community and all racial elements which do not have their own Protestant churches.
38. A definite program setting goals for the year's work adopted annually by the officers and congregation and held steadily before the attention of the church.
39. A definite assumption of responsibility with respect to some part of this program (as in 38) by at least 25 per cent of the active members.
40. Systematic evangelism aimed to reach the entire community and every class in the community.
41. A minimum net membership increase of 10 per cent each year.
42. Community service a definite part of the church's work, including a definite program of community coöperation led by or participated in by the church.
43. Definite organized activities for all the various age and sex groups in the congregation and community (as in Young People's Society, Men's Brotherhood, Boy Scouts, or similar efforts.)
44. A systematic and cumulative survey of the parish with a view to determining the church relationships and religious needs of every family, and such a mapping of the parish as will show the relationships of each family to local religious institutions together with a continuous and cumulative study of the social, moral and economic forces of the community, with a view to constant adaptation of program to need.

Coöperation.

45. Coöperation with other churches of the community in a definite program for community betterment.

46. Coöperation with state and county interdenominational religious agencies.
47. Coöperation with local community organizations.
48. Coöperation with county, state, or national welfare agencies.
49. Coöperation with local and county agricultural agencies.
50. Coöperation with denominational boards.

COMMUNITY CHURCHES

Changing rural conditions compel institutional readjustment. Thus the farm family, in common with the urban, is feeling the effects of disintegrating influences. It is undergoing slow alteration to meet the new situations confronting it. Eventually it will emerge widely different in type from its present form. The district school, inherited from a neighborhood centered rural life, does not fit our town centered civilization. A constantly diminishing population does away with the need for so many district schools; hence a process of consolidation is going on. A new and different institution of education is to be the result. Likewise the church, affected in part by the same influences as the home and the school and in addition by forces of another nature, is decadent. The mediæval world out of which this institution came has long since given place to an age whose interests and ideals are vastly different. The denominational zeal of earlier generations that planted this institution thruout rural America in endless and wasteful duplication has grown cold and indifferent. Religion itself, once the supreme interest, has been relegated to a subordinate place in the affairs of men. It seems to be decidedly on the wane, at least as it is expressed thru the church, if we may trust the signs of the times. Protestantism in particular seems to be approaching a crisis in its career. Evidence of this, for example, is sensed in the fact that 500,000 people were lost from its ranks during 1926. In many quarters the belief prevails that the church is an outworn institution doomed to perish and to give place to some more vital expression of Christianity.

The rural church, tho less subject to the great currents of our civilization than is the city church, is by no means untouched by them. In addition it faces a crisis of its own, precipitated, as already suggested, by a changing country life. Certainly this rural institution is singularly decadent in many quarters of the land. Maybe it is doomed to disappear; but if it does not perish, it will eventually become a far different institution from what it now is. Meantime, here and there local bodies are endeavoring to meet the crisis by reorganization. This process is giving the community church.

The extent and mode of the movement has recently been disclosed in a survey conducted by the Institute of Social and Religious Research.²³ Every section of the United States except the South was canvassed. That section was omitted because there was no evidence that the movement had made any headway there. Every effort was made to locate the new type of church. Many so-called community churches were, however, found to be such only in name. These were ignored in a consideration of only the churches that had so completely altered the conventional organization as to fellowship persons of all Protestant faiths.

The survey disclosed a total of 977 such churches. They were most numerous in southern New England, Ohio, Washington, California, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Kansas. Figure 47 shows the distribution.

Four distinct types were recognized by the Institute. (1) One was called the *denominational* type. This represents a union where one or more churches had left their own denomination to merge in another and pass under its control. These were the most numerous of new type churches. A total of 491 were found. They were most common in the Far West. (2) The *federated* church is a second type. This is a union where each of the uniting bodies keeps its affiliations with its own denomination. There were 312 such churches. They are most numerous in the East. (3) A third type is called *undenominational*,

²³ See Robert W. McCulloch, "The New Church of the Rural Community," *The Survey*, Vol. 52, No. 6, Dec. 15, 1926, pp. 369-371.

since neither the new church nor any of the bodies uniting in it hold any denominational connections whatsoever. Only 137 of these were found. They were chiefly in the Middle West. (4) The fourth type is called *affiliated*, since a loose connection is kept for certain purposes with some denomination. Such churches are of recent origin and few in number. There were but 37 listed.

FIGURE 47.—DISTRIBUTION OF UNITED RURAL CHURCHES.²⁴



The dots on the map show the location of 977 united churches found in the survey, which covered every part of the United States except the South.

In these four types of new churches were found Protestants of fifty or more faiths. The chief denominations represented were but four; the Northern Baptist, the Congregationalist, the Methodist Episcopal, and the Presbyterian in the U. S. A. These communions had furnished 88 per cent of the 928 denominational churches that had actually entered into the unions existing in 1924.

It is significant that the movement is essentially a small

²⁴ From *The Survey*, Vol. 57, No. 6, Dec. 15, 1926, p. 369. Article by R. W. McCulloch, entitled "The New Church of the Rural Community," in which is summarized the findings of the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

village and open country phenomenon. Less than 4 per cent of the new churches were found in places of from 2,500 to 5,000 population. Five-sixths of the number were in communities of 1,000 or less population.

This development is both new and nation wide. Only 44 of the churches whose history could be traced dated as far back as 1912. Generally the reorganization had been brought about by the efforts of lay leaders. The motive for union was in most cases the desire to do away with overchurching. It did not seem to be anti-denominational. That it has in a measure accomplished denominational elimination appears from the fact that the new church was the only church in about 45 per cent of the half of the total number of Union churches studied. It was the only Protestant church in about 55 per cent of the communities involved in the sample.

These churches are reported to have the favor and financial support of non-church people in their respective communities. They have a better paid, better educated and a more settled ministry than churches of the ordinary kind. These churches are able to carry on unusually successful welfare work in their communities. However, the new type in general seems to be rather unstable, with many tendencies to frequent reorganization. Nevertheless, where once the union idea has arisen it seems to be a permanent influence in the community.

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XVI

RURAL PLAY AND RECREATION

THE NATURE OF PLAY

WHATEVER else it may be, play is the expenditure of surplus energy, physical, psychic and sociologic. Some have contended that it is instinctive, since all animals play. But there may be no instincts, or if there are and play be not one of them, then it is an easily formed habit. To play is animal and human, since all normal beings are impelled to exert themselves; and when this is done naturally, spontaneously and under circumstances that give pleasure and emotional satisfaction, we call it play. Otherwise, if exertion is forced, monotonous, irksome, disagreeable, unstimulating and devoid of pleasure, it is work.

Obviously play and work are closely associated on the scale of activities. Where one leaves off and the other begins, depends upon the individual and a multitude of conditioning circumstances. What may be play for one will be work for another, and *vice versa*; or what may be play at one time may become work at another time; or the reverse. The principle of initial satisfaction and diminishing returns is constantly operating to throw activities from one end of the scale to the other. A bit of ditch digging may be fun, but normally it soon becomes one of the most disagreeable and burdensome of tasks. Pitching quoits may normally be play, but if one is compelled to do it indefinitely it evidently turns to work.

There are, of course, certain classes of activities that we customarily call work and other classes that we call play. The two are generally distinguished by the presence or absence of vocational and remunerative factors. Pat-

ently a National League ball game is play or recreation for the spectators, but work for the players, since it is the latter's vocation and means of livelihood. So with all catered sports and amusements, it depends upon whose shoes you stand in. Thus what is one man's trade is another man's play. But clearly enough numerous activities are deemed to be diversions by the masses and for the masses of men.

There are two great classes of diversions, which we may designate as natural and artificial. The natural are really vocations that for society as a whole have become antiquated. Hunting, fishing, camping in the open, once means of living, are now means of play for a higher civilization. Likewise, in some measure, cultivating the soil and growing plants, outgrown means of existence for the majority of people in western society, are often reverted to for pure pleasure by those who have the opportunity. The artificial activities are those that have been designed for pleasure alone. These include games of all kinds, the dance, the drama, and various other activities.

A broader classification results if we consider more specific human wants and their satisfaction. Among them are: (1) The desire for new experiences; (2) The desire for sociability; (3) The desire for activity; and (4) the desire for conflict and mastery.¹

Under the first group will fall in large part hunting and fishing, camping, dramatics, the moving pictures. The second group will include the dance, the "sociable," the picnic, and numerous other provisions for association for its own sake. In the third group will be found field sports and athletics. To the fourth belong all sorts of games of contest.

CONDITIONS DETERMINING THE CHARACTER OF PLAY

The conditions determining the character of play are so many that it would be unprofitable to try to catalogue

¹ Davis, Barnes, and others, *Introduction to Sociology*, D. C. Heath and Co., 1927, p. 768.

them. However, there are certain outstanding ones that have particular significance in relation to rural society. These we shall try to indicate.

1. *Surplus energy* has been mentioned as the general condition under which play universally appears. Naturally, much depends upon just what the kind of surplus is. If there is a superabundance of physical strength and animal spirit left over from the struggle for a livelihood, people will normally want to utilize it in play that is strenuous. Athletic diversions will appeal, not necessarily to the exclusion of other types of recreation, but preferably to them. If there is only a little margin of physical energy left, there will either be no play at all, something of a psychic nature, or perhaps some sort of excessive indulgence of the appetites. Thus it is a well-known fact that overworked and fatigued persons are peculiarly addicted to vice and alcoholism. Perhaps the mentally exhausted may have similar inclinations, but usually they will seek play in some physical exercises.

Farming involves excessive manual toil, at least at certain seasons. It makes heavy drafts on physical strength and relatively little on mental energy. As a rule, during the busy season at least there will not be much surplus available for strenuous play. The never-ending call to work at the never-finished labor of the farm does not foster active play. The normal expression would be some sort of mental activity. It must be recognized, however, that, whatever the outlet should be, many individuals and groups of individuals do not rise above the physical plane. When its possibilities are exhausted they have no taste for anything else. They will lapse into pure idleness. How far this applies to farmers as a class is a mooted question. If it be true that the occupation has selected an unusually large number of the stolid and ox-like, then we should expect to find but little zest for play on the psychic plane.

As will appear from play data farther on, there is a marked tendency for the mature farm population to prefer an inactive type of recreation. Indoor games, visiting, and picnics seem to appeal more than strenuous outdoor

games or active indoor sports. Dr. Warren H. Wilson has said: "Tongue exercise is what is more needed in the country than biceps exercise."

2. Surplus energy ordinarily implies *leisure*, else there will not be opportunity for play. This, therefore, is the second general condition determining the nature of recreation. Much depends upon how the spare time is distributed, whether it occurs at regular or irregular intervals and in brief or long periods, as to what sort of play one can pursue. Urban work is commonly done in shorter hours and at stated times, giving more definite periods for leisure. Not so with much of the work of the farm. Its shifts are long, its tasks are irregularly ordered, leisure is more limited and uncertain. In the growing season there is little spare time of any sort. Under these different conditions the city man can make provision for regular recreation, but the country man finds it difficult to plan the use of his broken leisure hours. There is, however, a very great diversity of conditions in agriculture and no statement as to the amount and disposal of leisure can be made that will fit everywhere.

3. *Occupations*, therefore, constitute a third condition determining play, not only because they govern leisure, but because they select people of different types and help to develop in them different temperaments. Take, for instance, an industrial wage earner in comparison with the owner-manager of the plant. The one is care-free in so far as the occupation is concerned when he is off the job; the other can hardly leave his responsibilities behind when he locks up shop. The one may find his work dreadfully monotonous and uninteresting; the other, for all his burdens, may find his challenging and stimulating. Presumably men will emerge from the two situations with different dispositions and attitudes. If we contrast the farmer's occupation with these, we find a man who is both manager and laborer. But he is never carefree, because he must live in his occupation; and never greatly stimulated, for Nature, the ultimate manager, always restricts his operations. Inevitably the farmer's occupation is

much more a part of his life than are those occupations from which men can escape at the end of the day a part of the lives of those who pursue them. Wherefore, the farmer has a disposition that is more or less different. His play choices will, therefore, ordinarily be different.

4. Various occupations limit play in one way and another because their pursuit determines what is available. So the fourth condition is *available means*. The city offers numerous artificial modes of recreation to those who can afford them. The opportunities are more abundant on the mental and emotional than on the physical side, due to environmental restrictions. The types of play are, however, wide in range and rich in content. The country is poor in artificial means by virtue of the sparsity of population, limitations of wealth and lack of talent, but rich in natural means. There is every chance for outdoor play in the country. Possibly we can say that the country and the city are each deficient in what the other has the most of. If the farmer's normal play needs to be on the psychic plane, it is clear that his environment does not supply adequate opportunity.

These restrictions in range of opportunity makes for diverse play interests as between city and country folks. For instance, the conventional Boy Scout program does not appeal to the country youth. It has been correctly stated that "the farm boy is saturated with out-of-doors, already saturated with the fields, with the woods, the streams, the open sky, the great spaces, the open road, and nature as a whole; while the city boy is a dry sponge ready to soak it all up, and, moreover, the Scout program is invented for and fitted for the dry sponge alone."²

Further, it should be borne in mind that agriculture is seasonal in its nature. The summer months are its most active period. Everything is under high pressure. In the winter work is relatively slack. Thus the play that agriculture fosters is limited by the demands of seasonal

² C. J. Galpin, *Rural Boys and the Boy Scouts*. Address at the annual meeting of Scout Executives, 1924, pamphlet of United States Department of Agriculture.

labor. The months that afford the greatest possibilities for play are consumed by work and those that afford the least play opportunity out of doors bring the most leisure for it. The reverse prevails in many urban occupations.

5. What play opportunities are available depends not only upon the natural environment, but quite as much upon social tradition. Wherefore a fifth condition is *custom*, shaped by moral and religious belief as well as by occupational habits and racial experiences. Numerous racial, national, class and institutional groups, each having its play customs, give rise to much variety in both urban and rural America. In the rural area there is, however, more variety than in the urban. This is to be explained by the tendency of city conditions to determine uniformity in certain ranges of custom more than the country. What is approved in one rural section will be in favor in another. Taboos are powerful agents, but there is no consistency in their application.

THE FUNCTION OF PLAY

The service of play to human society can scarcely be overestimated. So important is its function that it would be hard to apportion the contributions made to civilization between work and play with any degree of fairness. We can best emphasize its function by viewing it under three heads—physical, psychological, and sociological:

1. The value of play for the physical man is well known. It is indispensable to a full development of the body. As already stated, it is the normal way of expending surplus energy; hence the whole physical being will ordinarily come into action in play. Not so in work, which always canalizes activities and thus confines exercise to particular parts of the body. Sooner or later, in consequence, the body cries out against this unfair discrimination. When this happens play becomes the means of restoration, giving balance and health. It has been called "the positive side of the health program."³

³ *Proceedings, Second National Country Life Conference*, p. 118.

Play, because it stimulates the emotions, arouses the whole physical being with the result that there is higher energizing, quickened functions, and the establishment of better and fuller coördinations. Most work tends to depress the emotions and thus fails to accomplish this needed stimulation.

There is little appreciation of any of this by farm folks. Play is widely held to be unnecessary where there is plenty of work. Hamlin Garland in speaking of his father describes a common attitude. He says: "His own boyhood had been task-filled and he saw nothing unnatural in the regular employment of his children. Having had little play-time himself, he considered that we were having a very comfortable boyhood."⁴

By common consent children are made to labor to keep them from being shiftless. As a West Virginia farmer put it: "My boy plays with a grubbin' hoe, grubbin' sprouts and briars. In wet weather he cuts wood. That's the kind of play that's good for 'im."⁵ Frowned upon for children, play is all the more discountenanced for grown people.

2. Psychologically play has great educative value. John Dewey says it is required to "introduce variety, flexibility and sensitiveness into disposition."⁶ It quickens thinking, makes alert, and gives resourcefulness as nothing else. Among those who do not habitually play dulness of mind, feeble imagination, touchy dispositions, warped judgments and strong aversions to new ideas are to be observed. It is generally recognized that the most playful are the most educable. Play, releasing the emotions, thus removes discouragements, mental restraints and inner irritations. There is a positive gain in freedom. Unless provision is made for this emotional experience, mental disorders are invited. Play may be said to be a safeguard against nerve strain and psychoses. Herbert Spencer called play a safety-valve. Moreover, to the tired mind it brings refreshment,

⁴ Hamlin Garland, *A Son of the Middle Border*, p. 100.

⁵ E. N. Clopper, *Rural Child Welfare*, p. 81.

⁶ Quoted by Jerome Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 765.

as sleep to the body. Play that brings exercise to the body of the mentally tired gives relief from nervous tension.

Moreover, apart from any positive gains there is a psychological necessity for emotional release. Some sort of indulgence is indispensable, and will be secured in one way or another. There is no better way than thru wholesome play. In lieu of it there will arise perverted and demoralizing practices. "Games," says Gillin, "produce the emotional equivalent of ancient gladiatorial combats, mediæval pageants and tournaments; of modern political barbecues, religious revivals, primitive social orgies, alcoholic 'sprees,' and religious persecutions."⁷

Country people, like all others, must have play to develop normal and wholesome minds. They need it in lieu of demoralizing emotional outlets to which they turn.

3. Sociologically the contribution of play is of the highest importance. Most play is essentially social anyhow. There is little appeal in solitary activity. Under no other circumstances do people associate so easily and with so much satisfaction as in play. As a *promoter of association per se* play, therefore, has primary value. *In the second place*, it submerges class, race and religious differences, allays or destroys hatreds and animosities, and promotes positive social sympathies. Instances might be cited where rural neighborhoods, split asunder by class jealousies and antagonistic efforts, have been manœuvered by impartial leaders into playing together until feuds were laid aside and forgotten. *In the third place*, cooperation is fostered. From childhood up the individual must learn to adjust his actions to those of others. Until he can think and feel and act in conjunction with his fellows there can be no successful carrying on together. There is nothing like play to promote this. It is said, for instance, that the Duke of Wellington when visiting Eaton looked upon the playground and remarked, "Here was won the battle of Waterloo." In other words, he meant to say Englishmen had learned how to pull together in play on those grounds and had carried that attitude with them into the nation's

⁷ J. L. Gillin, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 19, p. 830.

affairs. Another instance has to do with a New England town, which had tried again and again but without success to form a cooperative marketing association. The farmers were unable to unite and the project had to be dropped. They did organize a singing school and met regularly to sing and have a good time. Thru that association they learned the art of associating and soon found it possible to form the cooperative enterprise for business purposes. A *fourth gain* is social discipline. All games have their rules to which the player must learn to conform. There must be loyalty to leaders, fairness to fellows, readiness to accept defeat gracefully and success modestly. To master such lessons is one of the essentials of good citizenship. It goes to the bottom of the social code. Good sportsmanship is as necessary in the social system as good workmanship. No training is equal to play for this discipline. Lacking external coercion, habits are formed spontaneously and effectively. Denied play opportunities, the individual is likely to become a dangerous member of society, menacing its higher standards and corrupting its nobler life. A *fifth result* of play on the social side is the development of community solidarity. Thru games togetherness grows up in neighborhoods. A "we" feeling emerges. This is especially true where there are teams playing with other communities. As one has said: "But once interest children in play, get them to organize teams, design and make a school banner, compose and learn a school cheer, adopt a distinctive athletic custom or even a celluloid button which is to be worn when they go to the next great play festival and compete with other schools, and there will be no lack of community spirit so far as the children are concerned, and the adult population will soon be catching something of it too."⁸

SOCIAL CHANGE AND RURAL PLAY

As one stage of development has succeeded another in rural America, the conditions determining play have under-

⁸ Myron T. Scudder, "The Rural School as a Social Center," *The Playground*, Vol. V, No. 6, p. 202.

gone alteration. Wherefore the type of play has also changed. If we trace this evolution it will enable us to understand better the present recreational habits and needs of country people.

1. *Play under pioneer conditions.* A self-sufficient agriculture, hoe-farming, excessive toil, extreme isolation and undeveloped institutions characterized the rural community of pioneer days. There was not much surplus energy among a people struggling hard for a living. The work of clearing land and subduing the wilderness to the plow meant unremitting toil. Leisure was a luxury indeed for the pioneer man and his household. The chief recreation grew directly out of the necessary labors. It was home made. There was but little play for play's sake.

Many work undertakings called for mutual aid. Building cabins and barns, log-rolling in clearing the land, harvesting crops, making roads, and numerous other kinds of work brought neighbors together in "bees." The whole family frequently turned out on such occasions. When the barn or cabin was up, the corn husked, the quilting finished, the laborers joined in a celebration. This might be only a basket dinner, but often it was a dance or an impromptu merrymaking. It became the custom to end a "bee" in this fashion. People looked forward to the celebration as part of the program. It was the pay due one's neighbors for their kindly services. The "raising" was almost sure to end in a "hoe down." Even where religious sentiment disapproved of the dance, it was difficult to prevent such "frollicks" altogether. They were rude, boisterous affairs, but they satisfied the emotional needs as few things did.

Another means of pleasure was drink. Almost everybody drank and many did it to excess. Hard cider and rum flowed freely at all celebrations. What was offered to drink was one of the attractions at every "bee." It did not matter whether the "bee" was a corn husking or a church raising. Naturally a good deal of horse play and rowdiness went with the drinking.

Where men came together under pioneer conditions there was always rivalry in the exhibition of skill and individual prowess. They raced with scythes or cradles in cutting hay and grain, with axes in chopping and with teams in pulling. There were wrestling, lifting and jumping contests. These were common ways of playing in every community.

Pioneer religion, with its camp meetings and revivals, also afforded a kind of recreation. These were often frenzied affairs in which people were carried away with fear and superstitious belief. Nevertheless these occasions furnished diversion and emotional outlet.

Hunting and fishing were common everywhere among the frontiersmen. This sometimes gave rise to hunting parties such as wolf and fox hunts, prairie-chicken "shoots," a bee-tree cutting, a pigeon-roost raid, or a fish-spearing party.

Altho similar primitive conditions led to similar means of recreation, there was local variation. New England suppressed pleasure as much as possible. It was singularly austere and joyless compared with other sections. The South encouraged it even to voluptuousness. The Middle West, where East and South met, was a region of divided attitudes. The Far West, as it opened up, became even more so.

The pioneers were as a rule characterized by emotional instability induced by the necessity of following many occupations incidental to the exigencies of a self-sufficient economy. This tended to induce extremes in all activities. Their play, their work, their religion were no half-hearted affairs. Limited tho it was in variety and amount, the pioneers indulged excessively, when at all, in such play as we have described.

2. The *Land-Farming Period*, with fully settled communities, well-established institutions, land mostly under cultivation, thriving villages, world markets opened up by railways, machinery being introduced on the farms, and a stable population, gave new conditions for play. There was somewhat more leisure, less extreme isolation,

better means of travel, more comfortable living and withal more cultural interests among farmers.

Altho the recreations of the pioneers still persisted, they were supplemented by many new ones. There was not so much need of mutual aid, hence "bees" and the celebrations accompanying them were much less frequent. Sheep-washings, sheep-shearings and threshings, with an occasional barn-raising, were the chief group activities. The church and the school tended to introduce more refined occasions for recreation. There came the "singing school," the "spelling school," "school exhibitions," now and then a "literary" or "debating society," the "donation party" for the minister, the "box social" and the picnic.

Villages promoted many new occasions for rural enjoyment—Fourth of July celebrations, "Old Settlers' Days," County Fairs, political party rallies and jollifications in campaign years, Memorial Day programs and the circus. They also fostered lodges and pool halls, to which the men were attracted. Farmers were drawn to town by these events and opportunities, but the weekly journey thither to trade and get the mail became a more significant custom of this period. These trips became a means of recreation of some importance for the country people. At the village, neighbors and friends met and visited while they traded or marketed their produce. Saturdays or Mondays, according to local custom, thus became a sort of holiday. In parts of the South notable practice was associated with the monthly "Court Day." "Going to town" of Saturdays is still a regular holiday event for the country Negroes of the Gulf states. The practice must be classed as a distinctive form of recreation during this period. For many it was about the only diversion.

Visiting among friends and kinsfolk, especially of Sundays, also came to be much in vogue at this time. Sunday visiting was taboo in New England and often frowned upon in religious communities of the Middle West.

One of the most distinctive pleasures that came to flourish at this time thruout the Middle West was the "play party." This was devoted to certain games which were

much in favor among young people. The games were what is known as "ring games," with a song accompanying a kind of waltz or two step. The choosing of partners with a kissing formula was the rule. These games were evidently survivals of old English folk-songs and dances. Somehow they had been carried over from the Old World thru the pioneer times to blossom forth in the new era. They sprang up to meet a need where musicians, dancing-floors and other opportunities for play were limited. Any gathering could without forethought start such games if someone knew the song and the formula or could improvise them. A few examples out of a great range of titles may be cited: "Four Brave Commanders," "Happy is the Miller," "Weevilly Wheat," "I've Been to the East, I've Been to the West," "I've Been to the Jay-Birds' Altar," "Needle's Eye," "Skip to My Lou," "Chase the Squirrel," "Down in Alabama," "Oats, Peas, Beans and Barley," "We'll All Go Down to Rowser's," "Old Dan Tucker," "Go In and Out the Window," "Three Dukes a Riding," "Jim Along Jo," "I'll Be the Reaper," "Farmer in the Dell," "Green Grow the Rushes, O!," "Captain Jinks," "Pop Goes the Weasel," "London Bridge," "Pig in the Parlor," "The Girl I Left Behind Me," are the names of some of the more common. There was the widest difference between localities and sections in the versions of the songs, for the verses were transmitted wholly by word of mouth. The game itself, however, was quite the same everywhere.

The common name given to the play party was the "kissing bee." This implied that it was more or less in disfavor with the adult group. And yet in many places the older people joined in the games and had as much fun out of them as youth. Sometimes the osculatory formula was banned, and where religious influences were overstrong, often the party itself.

The play party with its "ring games" seem to have vanished as sophistication grew in the social life of the community. By the end of the period its day was pretty well past except in unusually isolated sections. Even yet

in such localities echoes of it may still be heard. Otherwise, apart from educational efforts seeking to perpetuate folklore among children, it is but a memory of the older generation.⁹

The latter part of the period saw the rise of the Grange and similar organizations. The Grange emphasized the social and recreational side of life. Where it flourished play was promoted thru its ritual, and by entertainments, picnics, dinners and fairs held under its auspices. Since it catered to the entire family these were opportunities of no mean value.

3. The *Exploiter Period*, ushering in highly commercialized agriculture, land speculation, farm tenancy, the rural free delivery, the telephone, the rural exodus, and church and school decline, created another set of conditions influencing the mode of play.

Certain play activities of the former period began to recede into the background. The agricultural fair had generally gone down, school and church entertainments were less numerous, the play party had died out, and holiday celebrations were less fostered by the towns. There were indications that play was less vital than hitherto. However, there were some new developments of a positive sort. The towns were unquestionably strengthening their appeal. New ties were being made by retiring farm families, by the rural delivery and the telephone, by high schools patronized in increasing degree by country boys and girls. There were more town dwelling clergymen ministering to country churches. The more wide-awake villages began to provide band concerts once a week during the summer. Lodges multiplied, Chautauquas came into vogue, the traveling theatrical troupe appeared, baseball was often organized, concert courses were provided for the winter, dancing clubs and many other attractions were offered by the villages. Thus a larger circle of farm people than before came to find entertainment at these centers.

⁹ For an interesting discussion of the play party, see articles in *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vols. 28, 33, Nos. 107, 128, by E. F. Piper and Emelyn E. Gardner.

In some sections more than in others this townward centering of recreation was noticeable. The Far West, for instance, showed this more than perhaps any other. "Even in the days of the horse and buggy," says Yoder, "the farm families of Washington used the small town as a trading and association center far more than did the people in the older Eastern and Middle Western states. . . . Much of the early farm population was made up of unmarried farm operators and transient farm laborers, who found their social satisfactions in the towns and villages. . . . Country people early developed the habit of finding most of their recreation in the towns."¹⁰

In many open country communities Sunday baseball appeared where not kept out by the church. Farmers' picnics became organized events in numerous localities. The family reunion sprang up in the Middle West. This period saw the rise and decline of the bicycle. In a limited way, while it was popular, country boys found it a source of pleasure.

4. A *Fourth Period* came with the advent of the automobile. It began for the open country not much before the second decade of the century. Thus, if the Exploiter Period can be said to have ended in 1920, there is an overlapping of about a decade. A correct name for the period is wanting. Perhaps it should be called the Age of Husbandry, or Scientific Farming, as it is sometimes designated. If so, it has barely dawned as yet. However, certain new developments are separating us from the decades which have immediately preceded the present one. The bearing of this on rural recreation is our concern.

The automobile, needless to say, has been the greatest revolutionizing force yet experienced by rural society. With it must, of course, be associated the use of motor power and more mechanical devices on the farm. The rapid extension of good roads, the expansion of rural mail

¹⁰ F. R. Yoder, "Some Better Things in Farm Life in Washington," State College of Washington, *Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 195*, p. 12.

routes, telephone service, and finally, the introduction of the radio are other factors of change.

Equally significant are the achievements in education and rural organization. Scientific methods are now being effectively applied to agriculture. The Farm Bureau, the County and Home Demonstration Agents, the Boys' and Girls' Club work have arisen and spread to every part of the country. Cooperative marketing on a wide scale is a new adventure. Farmers' clubs have sprung up rather generally. The consolidation of rural schools and the multiplication of country high schools have been rapid.

At the same time the townward drift of country population has grown apace. Social drainage was never so apparent. Idle and abandoned farms have lately appeared in new areas. Tenantry has steadily increased. Unusual economic depression has followed the seemingly prosperous years of land speculation and war-time inflation.

The recreational changes incident to these developments involve, first of all, the automobile. Motor tours have become the chief diversion of the farm family. The rural community is on wheels much of its spare time. Doubtless it is being stimulated by this means to steal more time from work. Indeed, the complaint is wide-spread that the younger farmers and country youth are seriously neglecting business on this account. Be that as it may, this agency has been a recreational boon to the farmer, not only in the pleasure of touring, but in the wider world of opportunities it has opened up. Scores of things are brought within reach that were never before attainable. The family is no longer confined to what the local community offers, but can easily avail itself of whatever lies within a radius of fifty miles. Altho before the advent of the automobile the town was becoming increasingly a source of recreation for the farmer, it has now become wholly accessible and of more significance. Whatever the town can offer is within easy reach of the farmer if he wants it. And his taste for what is offered is apparently

growing. The chief addition to the town's pleasure is the motion picture.

Certain new organizations have fostered recreation. This is especially true of the consolidated schools and high schools. Clubs have become responsible for other play features. Pageantry and home talent dramatics are on the increase. The community fair is taking the place of the old-time county fair.

Generally speaking, the farmer has probably acquired more leisure by the introduction of motor power and motor driven machinery. It is, of course, a question whether or not he is utilizing this leisure in the most profitable way. There are signs that he is not. The use of the newly added facilities must be balanced against the loss or neglect of older ones; and the increased leisure checked by its manner of employment before the recreational situation can be fully appraised.

In the evolutionary process we have been sketching, one broad change both in the source and nature of recreation is to be noted. In the pioneer days the rural community made its own play, as it did everything else. It was the age of homespun and homemade things thruout. All were producers and all were participators in play as well as in work. Catered amusements were unknown. In the present period the rural community is in no wise self-sufficient. With the passing of economic self-sufficiency has gone much of the recreational resourcefulness. The community seeks its amusements from the outside. They are provided by others. The individuals, not making them for themselves, tend to be spectators more than participators. There is much truth in the statement: "Rural recreation is now largely inspired from without the community, not from within; from the city, not from the country. In place of the free, spontaneous recreations of the countryside there are such commercialized amusements as professional athletics and the amusement park."¹¹

¹¹ W. C. Nason, "Rural Planning," *United States Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 1388*, p. 1.

RURAL PLAY INVENTORIED

The foregoing outline has served to call attention to social changes and their bearing on recreation. We have not attempted to give a complete inventory of any period. But it will be worth while to inquire just what opportunities are now available and how they are used. Unfortunately there has been no comprehensive recreational survey to furnish the facts. Only a very few reports of sample situations here and there are at hand. But from these and limited general observations some more or less correct notion of conditions may be obtained.

From a survey of Iowa townships made near the beginning of the present period the following list of recreations, together with the per cent of families participating in them, is reported in one instance.

TABLE 54.—RECREATION IN AN IOWA TOWNSHIP.¹²

FORM OF RECREATION	NUMBER AND PER CENT OF FAMILIES	
	Number	Per Cent
Band Concerts	50	32
Baseball	4	2
Billiards	7	5
Card-Playing	30	19
Dancing	27	17
Evening Visits	47	30
Fancy Work	84	55
Fishing	38	25
Hunting	65	43
Lectures	62	41
Moving Pictures	64	43
Musie	60	39
Picnics	88	57
Reading	101	66
Sociables	101	66
Sunday Visiting	70	46

¹² Paul S. Peirce, "Social Surveys of Three Rural Townships in Iowa," *University of Iowa Monographs*, Series 12, Vol. V, Pt. II, p. 82.

In one township studied as to home amusements, 30 per cent of the families were gameless altho 85 per cent of them contained children.¹³ Outside the home baseball was the chief athletic sport but, since it was played on Sunday afternoons, the majority frowned upon it. Only 2 per cent of the families in one township, 4 per cent in another, and 40 per cent in a third attended. Theater going was exceptional. Moving pictures were attended frequently by a fourth of the families in two townships and by a half in a third.

Social gatherings were for the most part made up of home parties, church socials, and picnics. In one township less than a third of the families attended picnics, while a majority did so in the other two. Two-thirds of the families went to church socials in one township and only occasionally a family in the others. Dances were taboo in many localities but favored in others. In no township were one-fourth of the families represented at such events. Home socials were favored, but some neighborhoods held none, while others had them about every fortnight. Neighborhood visiting was the most common form of recreation. It was estimated that four-fifths of the homes received visits once a week. Others received them more frequently. The greater part of the visiting was on Sundays.¹⁴

There is every reason to believe that conditions as reported in this survey of a dozen years ago have changed in only a few particulars. There is doubtless more patronage of the "movies" and town functions and a vastly greater amount of automobile touring.

Rankin's study in 1923 of 1,141 Nebraska farm families in ten areas of that state embraced recreation as well as other aspects of social life.¹⁵ He found about one-sixth of the households played outdoor games such as baseball, tennis, horseshoes, boxing, wrestling, croquet and children's games. Nearly half attended athletic games as spec-

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁵ J. O. Rankin, "Nebraska Farm Tenancy," *University of Nebraska, Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, No. 196, pp. 32-43.

tators. Indoor games such as checkers, chess, card games, and board games were more in vogue. They were played in two-thirds of the homes. The other third were gameless.

Amusements sought away from home included picnics, fairs, games, dances, moving pictures, parties, celebrations and Chautauquas. Six out of seven families attended fairs; four out of five, picnics; three out of five, parties; less than three-fifths attended celebrations; only one-fourth, dances; about a sixth, games; and nearly one-half, the "movies." Rankin expressed the opinion that some of the recreational needs were being well met, but many were not being met at all.

The Institute of Social and Religious Research gathered data on recreation in fifty-three communities of the South and West. The replies of about 2,000 high school boys and girls of village and open country on their chief recreations were tabulated. The following tables show the results.¹⁶

From the data several things are apparent. One is the fact of a richer play life of village boys and girls. Another is a difference in the quality of the play. The village youth chooses more athletics and team play of all sorts. He also dances more.

Lively's studies of Social Agencies in Ohio included a number which provided play. The following table taken from his work enumerates them and gives the per cent of the trade-area rural communities in the state provided with each facility.

Such tabulations as these do not, of course, tell the whole story. More detailed information would list several other facilities and give some idea of how much they are used by the farm families. Nevertheless the data before us give some idea of conditions.

A survey of the recreation of 1,014 farm families in various sections of North Carolina was made by Taylor and

¹⁶ R. G. Foster, "Problems of Rural Youth," *Rural America*, May, 1926, p. 3.

TABLE 55.—RECREATIONS OF BOYS.

RECREATION	NUMBER NAMED BY BOYS LIVING IN COUNTRY	NUMBER NAMED BY BOYS LIVING IN VILLAGE
Swimming	267	325
Hunting	226	219
Baseball	267	361
Reading	190	227
Basketball	167	210
Fishing	164	193
Football	152	216
Tennis	66	122
Athletics	56	87
Dancing	45	75
Horseback Riding	60	57
Camping	37	52
Hiking	29	81
Movies	25	34
Skating	24	33
Track	22	24
Music	19	37
Motoring	16	25
Bicycle Riding	11	8
Traveling	9	4
Rowing	9	9
Boxing	8	16
Golf	8	9
Drawing	6	4
Singing	5	3
Parties	5	16
Wrestling	5	3
Volley Ball	6	11
Billiards	4	14
Cards	4	10
Picnics	3	4
Gym Work	3	5
Band	2	2
Croquet	2	4
Scouting	3	7

TABLE 56.—RECREATIONS OF GIRLS.

RECREATION	NUMBER NAMED BY GIRLS LIVING IN COUNTRY	NUMBER NAMED BY GIRLS LIVING IN VILLAGE
Reading	520	651
Swimming	264	398
Basketball	194	232
Riding	192	157
Dancing	199	314
Tennis	119	244
Hiking	113	247
Automobile Riding	90	94
Baseball	85	101
Walking	74	89
Piano	61	62
Music	65	84
Movies	51	91
Volley Ball	45	54
Skating	43	74
Athletics	43	27
Sewing	35	57
Camping	34	28
Outdoor Sports	27	15
Fishing	27	22
Auto Driving	18	28
Boating	17	7
Picnicking	16	27
Theatre	14	14
Games	13	14
Singing	12	13
Cooking	12	13
Sports	12	13
Writing	11	7
Croquet	11	6
Housework	10	10
Practice Music	9	4
Small Garden	9	1
Parties	8	21
Running	8	5
Bathing	7	4
Travel	6	21
Drawing	6	9
Fancy Work	6	12

TABLE 57.—PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RURAL COMMUNITIES IN OHIO HAVING CERTAIN SOCIAL AGENCIES AND THE TOTAL NUMBER OF EACH IN THE STATE.¹⁷

AGENCY	PER CENT	TOTAL NUMBER
Number Trade Area Rural Communities—1272	100	
Grange	69	878
Lodges	55	2,233
Pool Halls	42	955
Annual Chautauqua or Lyceum	33	627
Open Societies	26	...
Moving Picture Theater	23	312
Band	22	282
Orchestra	19	250
Public Dance Hall	19	383
Local Newspaper	16	238
Girl Scouts or Camp Fire Girls' Troop	13	138
Boy Scout Troop	12	163
Annual Homecoming	10	124
Parent-Teacher Association	9	145
Annual Picnic or Festival	9	120
Local Library	7	102
Farmers' Club or Community Club...	7	94
Annual Corn, Fruit, or Dairy Show...	6	22
Chorus or Singing Society	6	83
Community Fair	5	75

Zimmerman to discover how much the available facilities were put to use.¹⁸

In this survey picnics, fairs, sociables, movies, holiday celebrations, Chautauquas, lectures, theatres, dances and other similar forms of amusement and recreation were considered. The per cent of families of which one or more members had participated in one or more events during the preceding year was computed. It was found that 11.2 per cent had attended but one kind of event, 15.7 per cent, two; 22.3 per cent, three; 15.7 per cent, four; and 17.1 per

¹⁷ E. C. Lively, "Some Rural Social Agencies in Ohio," *Ohio State University Extension Bulletin*, Vol. 18, No. 4, p. 46.

¹⁸ C. C. Taylor and C. C. Zimmerman, *Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers*, pp. 76-78.

TABLE 58.—COMMUNITIES GROUPED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF AGENCIES REPRESENTED.^{18a}

	Num- ber	Per- cent
Number trade area rural communities	1272	100
Number reporting none of the twenty agencies ...	163	12.8
Number reporting one of the twenty agencies	218	17.1
Number reporting two of the twenty agencies	178	14
Number reporting three of the twenty agencies...	146	11.4
Number reporting four of the twenty agencies....	128	10.6
Number reporting five of the twenty agencies.....	95	7.5
Number reporting six of the twenty agencies	82	6.4
Number reporting seven of the twenty agencies...	71	5.5
Number reporting eight of the twenty agencies ...	65	5.1
Number reporting nine of the twenty agencies....	48	3.7
Number reporting ten of the twenty agencies.....	37	2.9
Number reporting eleven of the twenty agencies..	15	1.1
Number reporting twelve of the twenty agencies..	6	.04
Number reporting thirteen of the twenty agencies.	7	.05
Number reporting fourteen of the twenty agencies	2	.01

cent, more than four. There remained 18 per cent of the total number surveyed that had attended no event at all.

Branson in reporting recreational conditions among farm tenants in Chatham County of the same state says the social occasions consist mainly of inter-family affairs and events in the local neighborhood. He enumerates preaching days and school-closing days, mutual visits, occasional exchange of labor, dogs, and guns; hunting parties, picnics, holiday occasions or parties, mainly at Christmas, neighborhood fairs, and such events as barbecues, opossum suppers and so on. The most common entry in the schedules is "visiting, talking, telling jokes, hunting, fishing, eating water-melons." He summarizes facts with regard to the fifty-one families by saying: "Sixteen exchanged no labor during the year, eighteen attended no picnics, six took no part in holiday events, twenty-nine attended no sociables, and forty-two stayed away from the infrequent neighborhood

^{18a} Lively, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

fairs. No family attended a circus, and only one looked in at a film picture in the run of the year. Nowhere did we find a trace of dancing as a neighborhood event."

"Children's play around the home is primitive and in twenty-one homes it was altogether absent."¹⁹

Clopper's study of *Rural Child Welfare in West Virginia* disclosed conditions similar to those just described. He found that picnics, clubs, parties, dances, athletic events, lodge meetings and other public meetings of a more or less recreational nature were attended by only a minority of the parents. Not one such event was attended even once during the year by more than 40 per cent of the parents of the children. Trips to town or elsewhere are counted recreational, but less than 25 per cent take them. Visiting is very common among friends and relatives in every locality. The schools were generally lacking in playgrounds. None had organized play. Half the school houses had held no entertainments during the year, a fourth had had one, and the other fourth two or three. Even these were not primarily social but financial.²⁰

A further bit of evidence relates to the recreational facilities provided by consolidated rural schools. Since these are relatively new institutions they should reveal new tendencies in recreation. A study of such institutions in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama by Hayes gives some information on this phase of their activities. He found athletic fields with more or less equipment for football, baseball, tennis and basketball in 43.1 per cent of such schools in Louisiana, 45. per cent in Mississippi and 56.5 per cent in Alabama. In a number of cases no playgrounds whatever were provided. The following table indicates the recreational uses made of these schools throughout the year.

The author of the survey concludes that the "consolidated rural schools are rapidly becoming leading forces in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama for stimulating com-

¹⁹ E. C. Branson, "Social Occasions and Contacts in a Rural County," *The Journal of Social Forces*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 162-163.

²⁰ E. N. Clopper, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 41, 131.

TABLE 59.—PER CENT OF SCHOOLS WHERE VARIOUS EVENTS WERE HELD DURING THE YEAR.²¹

Events	Per Cent of Schools in La.	Per Cent of Schools in Miss.	Per Cent of Schools in Ala.
Fairs	10.3	22.5	23.5
Community Dances	17.2	2.5	10.9
Athletic Games	39.7	40.	41.3
Picnics, Box Suppers, Barbecues and Banquets	22.4	35.	45.6
School Plays and Entertainments	24.1	12.5	32.6
Boy Scouts	3.4	...	...
Pageants	1.7	...	...
Literary Society	32.7	37.5	34.7
Moving Pictures	5.1	...	...
Lyceum Courses	13.7	7.5	...
Singing, Public Lectures.....	...	12.5	2.2
Boys' and Girls' Clubs.....	27.6	37.5	50.

munity fairs, boys' and girls' clubs, community pageants, picnics and feasts, athletic contests, and similar events." ²²

Abel's study of 260 consolidated schools in all parts of the United States disclosed auditoriums in 185 of the buildings, and gymnasiums in approximately 40 per cent of the total number. About one-third had athletics, but only 19 had moving pictures.²³

The data before us, fragmentary tho they are, probably reflect fairly typical play conditions in rural districts thruout the United States.

THE SHORTCOMINGS AND NEEDS IN RURAL RECREATION

We may now summarize the play situation in the country. 1. The most obvious fact, long recognized and emphasized by every study of country life, is the relative play

²¹ A. W. Hayes, "Community Value of the Consolidated Rural School," *Tulane University Research Bulletin No. 2*, pp. 33, 37, 38.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

²³ J. F. Abel, "A Study of 260 School Consolidations," *Department of Interior, Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 32*, 1924.

poverty of the average farm family and community. Often play is of an entirely negative character. Even where there is leisure—and often there is abundance of it at certain seasons of the year—it is not utilized in positive play, but in idleness.

Explanations of this have already been suggested. They are found in the five or six conditions which we mentioned as the determiners of play. The lack of a play philosophy or a disbelief in play is perhaps the chief cause. It is an old and persistent attitude of farmers. Mrs. Trollope, an English woman who lived in the Middle West at the beginning of the pioneer period, noted this, and commented as follows: "I never saw a population so totally divested of gayety; there is no trace of this feeling from one end of the Union to the other. . . . How often did our homely adage recur to me 'all work and no play would make Jack a dull boy'; Jonathan is a very dull boy.'" ²⁴

This attitude has been communicated from generation to generation at the fireside and at the altar, in the school-room and in the fields. So we have too many men believing and acting after the manner of one quoted by Clopper as saying, "Mister, I ain't got no time for such things, and if I did have time, I wouldn't go to 'em 'cause I don't believe in 'em.'" ²⁵

There is unquestionably a need for more play as a foil to vicious means of emotional expression that tend to flourish where life is most monotonous, dull and joyless. It is in such communities that lynchings, Ku Klux Klan depredations, wild religious revivalism, and alcoholic spree occur. Genuine play would give a wholesome means of outlet and emotional satisfaction to people who in lieu of it resort to the degenerate practices mentioned.

Happily there are many signs in many if not in all sections of the country that the negative attitude is passing. Numerous agencies are carrying the gospel of play to the rural people. And, as we have already observed, the motor

²⁴ *Domestic Manners of Americans*, pp. 171, 244.

²⁵ Clopper, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

vehicle is helping make the country more sympathetic to recreation.

2. A lack of team play is the second deficiency in rural recreation. We have called attention to the social nature and value of play. Normally, I suppose, both children and adults prefer team games, but under existing conditions there are few opportunities for such activities. There are difficulties from lack of numbers, lack of developed playgrounds and lack of competent leadership. The result is the prevalence of individualized games where there are any. Team play of a kind was found in the "bees" of earlier days, but with their passing, conditions have been worsened in this respect.

The advancement of rural life thru organized self-help turns on the farmer's capacity for coöperative effort. His deficiency in this respect is notorious. "The non-social individualism that makes the adult farmer so often unable to coöperate, the petty self-will of the quarrelling village community, the brooding over minor wrongs and insults, the social suspicion and jealousy, the frequent inferiority complex of country men—all have their main origins in childhood that developed without the adequate discipline of spontaneous group life."²⁶ Rural society has not given this training. The easiest way to secure it is thru organized team games. Otherwise coöperative associations labor against tremendous odds, because the spirit of team work and the capacity for carrying it on are both absent.

Hopeful developments are appearing, however, in connection with consolidated schools. Organized play is slowly growing. And yet until it is made a part of the regular curriculum in every school it will not get far. The reasons why play should be in the school program are cogent ones. The leading advocates of play have long urged them.²⁷ The more salient arguments may be mentioned. In the first place, it is contended that the school age is the time for physical development as well as mental, and that one is quite as important as the other. Since the school secures

²⁶ H. P. Douglass, *How Shall Country Youth Be Served*, p. 181.

²⁷ H. S. Curtis, *Education Through Play*, Chapter X.

the attendance of all children for the one purpose, it is logical that it should give them physical education also and at the same time. Moreover, systematic play is needed to relieve the strain of the class room. It should be provided to give balanced development. A third argument insists that the activities which children under pioneer conditions enjoyed are for the most part no longer possible. The daily life has furnished no substitute for that stimulation. Unless the school provides it in a regular play program, many will grow up without any equivalent experience. The years of education thru activities will be void of the needed training.²⁸ A fourth point is made with reference to the decreasing size of the family and the problem of securing sufficiently large play groups outside the school. The consolidated school group is likely to be the only large enough one that can be assembled for play. Hence the school is the time and the place for play education. It is urged again that the school can ill afford to dispense with or lose the chief means of securing the loyalty of children. Competitive games create this as does nothing else, and if play is to be carried on apart from the school, divided loyalty is bound to weaken the school interest. Finally, it is pointed out that the school can provide play education at less expense than the community can secure it otherwise. As part of the curriculum it can be directed and supervised more easily and effectively. Pupils can be used as monitors to assist the play directors whereas otherwise such services would have to be paid for. Then too, management of the playgrounds is easier under school authority, for the children have a greater sense of responsibility in school than out.²⁹

To provide adequate play education the school day would have to be extended for an hour or so or the class room work would have to be somewhat curtailed. But to lengthen the day would seem to be the wise thing. Again, a trained play director or teacher would have to be provided for the school staff. The principal for extra pay, if properly educated for it, might well take on this function. Above all,

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

local school boards will have to be persuaded of the value of play in education before so great an innovation can be introduced.

Dr. L. H. Bailey once wisely said, "It is as impossible to develop good recreational features in the open country without an establishment for the purpose, as to develop a good school without a schoolhouse and a teacher, or a good religious movement without a church building and a pastor."³⁰ This is true enough, but in so far as the education of childhood is concerned, there is no need of a separated institution for the purpose of play. On the contrary, the force of the argument is for the introduction of play training into the school program.

3. A third shortcoming in the recreative activities of country people may be paradoxically described as inactivity. There is too much just sitting, visiting, feasting, looking, riding or listening. There is lack of positive activity and participation in real play. This, to be sure, is one of the growing curses of our entire civilization, but that does not excuse it. Nor does it lessen its consequences for country people. The toilsomeness and isolation of agriculture is doubtless partially responsible, but the lack of true play habits and the knowledge of how to play or what to play is chiefly responsible.

Unfortunately the drift seems to be more and more in the direction of catered, commercialized and passive recreation rather than toward the desirable opposite type. There is increased mobility, but that must not be mistaken for increased activity in the recreation chosen. Amusement is more sought after than is true play.

IMPROVING RURAL RECREATION

It is one thing to show the inadequacy of rural recreation, but quite another to offer a program of reform. Prevailing conditions are largely the result of social drift—the drift of traditional attitudes and of material changes.

³⁰ L. H. Bailey, "The Playground in Rural Communities," *The Playground*, Vol. V, No. 6, p. 184.

Improvement implies some positive force to effect change and some practical program to be realized. We therefore confront the questions, what forces are available and what measures of improvement are feasible?

The forces at work are several and their influence is marked in many quarters. The Grange and other farmers' organizations, including some of the coöperative marketing associations, are fostering play. The Farm Bureau and the County Agent, Boys' and Girls' Club work and the Extension Service of the Agricultural Colleges are responsible for considerable education in behalf of recreation, together with much actual play provision. In this connection should also be mentioned certain of the farm journals. In addition to these agencies that are directly concerned with agriculture are several national organizations that touch rural life. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., the Boy and Girl Scout Movement, and the Junior Red Cross have established rural departments. The United States Public Health Service, Federal Children's Bureau, and the National Child Labor Committee also reach into rural districts. All these in some measure are furthering interest in play. The Playground and Recreation Association more than any other agency is directly interested in the play problems of the country as well as the city.

Some rural institutions and local community movements are also found actively promoting play. We have referred to the consolidated schools and their influence in this direction. Sometimes their work is negative but in general it is positive. Educational institutions everywhere are awakening to the importance of play and the impulse is affecting country schools of every class. Less can be said of the church. With rare exceptions it hinders the promotion of better play or any at all, apart from events held for money-raising purposes.

It is clear that surplus energy and leisure are on the increase in consequence of the progressive mechanization and motorization of the farming process. Thus in part the means of realizing a better recreational life are becom-

ing available simultaneously with the awakening of educational forces.

Tangible means of improving recreation, upon which these various forces may well focus, are rural parks, playgrounds and community buildings. The ideal was set forth by Dr. L. H. Bailey some two decades ago in an address at the annual meeting of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. He said: "Every community should have a permanent place set aside for recreational enterprises. This should be primarily a grove; and I suggest that if there is no grove in a community that is adaptable to such purposes, an area be planted definitely with this end in view. This grove should be provided with seats, picnic tables, and a speaking-stand. Somewhere in connection with it there should be a building, preferably one that would serve as a community hall. There should also be a regular playground, to be as consciously set aside for play and for games as a town-hall is set aside for public business or a fair ground is set aside for fairs. . . .

"The time is coming when we must have in each large rural community an expert in recreation as we now have an expert in teaching, an expert in ministering, and as we shall soon have local experts in various phases of farming. These experts will organize what will be essentially experiment stations in social practice and social justice. They will introduce not only games and play, but also redirect the music, the drama, and many other public expressions in the open country."³¹

Playgrounds and community buildings are within reach of most rural communities. That they are practical is being demonstrated here and there. A survey of the United States Department of Agriculture found 256 community buildings. A later report states that by 1922 this number had more than doubled. Of those studied 83 were in the open country, and 201 in places of 2,500 inhabitants or fewer. Practically all had been built since 1910 and nearly

³¹ L. H. Bailey, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185.

one-third since 1915.³² Such buildings are used for a variety of purposes besides recreation. But the latter is an important feature. The range of play activities runs as follows: entertainments, motion pictures, musicales, community sings, dances, local plays, table games, debates, spelling bees, annual celebrations, basket ball, volley ball, billiards, indoor baseball, swimming and other gymnastic activities. There is generally a playground connected with these buildings, where baseball, tennis, and track and field meets take place.

The Red River Farmers' Club Hall of Kittson County, Minnesota, may be cited as an instance of a modest effort. In this open country neighborhood was erected in 1917 a simple structure by voluntary subscriptions, donated labor, and funds raised at sociables. The cost was only \$2,500. This hall has become a real recreation center. Dramatics, picnics, games and other play activities are carried on there.³³

Community parks and playgrounds, where the building is of secondary importance, are also being developed in a few places. A government bulletin describes one that will illustrate what can easily be done by an average community. Near Niagra, North Dakota, an open country neighborhood has provided itself with a park and playground known as "Bachelor Grove Community Park." It consists of eleven acres with pavilion, kitchen and refreshment parlor, baseball ground, wells, lighting system and many other improvements. The total cost was \$16,000 in money and labor. The money was raised by each family buying a share in the association. Here ball games, dances, picnics and other events are weekly occurrences in summer. A summer Chautauqua is also held.³⁴

The play movement is reaching the small town more than the open country thru interested agencies. The Harmon Foundation is spending money for the purchase of

³² *Bulletin United States Department of Agriculture*, No. 1274, p. 2.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

³⁴ *Bulletin United States Department of Agriculture*, No. 1388, "Rural Planning," pp. 2-5.

playgrounds. It offers to furnish ten per cent of the cost of site up to certain limits. It requires the grounds to be permanently dedicated to recreational use under control of the town council or board of education. These grounds are to be known as "Harmon Fields."

The recreation leader suggested by Dr. Bailey has not yet appeared in any rural community, in so far as the writer can discover. However, the function is occasionally being performed in a measure by a representative of some of the organizations mentioned. It will doubtless be a very long while before the ideal of special, expert leadership will be approached. The limited resources of country people, not to mention other hindrances, preclude it. The difficulties of getting a good school are great and how much more so something that is still looked upon as a pure luxury.

In Denmark and Germany there is an official called a "Spiel Inspector," whose business it is to organize play in the country districts. It might be possible to introduce something of this sort into the rural counties of America. Like the county superintendent of schools the county play director might circulate among the schools to teach and organize play. Here is a fruitful field of experimentation for some philanthropist. If a subsidized director could once demonstrate the value and practicability of the scheme it might open the way to public interest in and support of such officials. Curtis mentions the fact that in Hamilton County, Tennessee, a leader of this sort was employed some fifteen years ago.³⁵ With what success we are not informed. Apparently, however, the idea remains virtually unexploited.

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XVII

RURAL SANITATION AND HEALTH

THE CHANCES OF DEATH IN RURAL SOCIETY

“THE great problem of life—its labors and its affections—center for most of us in the chances of death,” said Karl Pearson. For rural people, however, the great problems ought to be somewhat less centered in the chances of death than they are for urban dwellers, since with the farmer the chances are fewer. Both the crude and corrected death rates for the country are more favorable than for the city thruout the death registration area. This holds good for all age groups of the population. Data for the beginning and end of the first quarter of the present century conclusively demonstrate these facts. The annual rates averaged for 1900-1904 give the cities 17.74 and the country 14.25 deaths per 1,000 population. For 1920-1924 the figures are 13.00 and 11.23 respectively.¹ When calculated on the basis of the same age distribution for both city and country the latter will show a still more favorable rate. Thus, for 1910 the city rate stood at 20.2 and the rural at 13.0, giving an advantage of 7.2 for the rural.² Hence it might be said that the country was more than a third healthier than the city. The average length of life in the country for the registration area in 1910 was 56 years, while in the cities it was but little more than 49 years. If, therefore, as some think, the death rate should be taken as the measure of the level of civilization, it would seem, at least on the face of things, that rural society had attained a higher level of civilization than urban society.

However, when considered in the light of other facts

¹ L. L. Lumsden, “The Physical Status of Farm Youth,” *Rural America*, March, 1927, p. 10.

² J. M. Gillette, *Rural Sociology*, p. 136.

such a conclusion is quite unwarranted. The chances of escaping death are better in the country wholly thru *natural advantages*, not by virtue of *superior social achievement* or *civilization*. The natural advantages consist in unlimited fresh air and sunshine, life out of doors, freedom from distracting noises, no congestion of population, a simple, non-competitive existence, more physical exercise, fresher and plainer food, less hazardous occupations and withal a more stable and secure mode of living. To be sure, these natural advantages are somewhat offset by certain unfavorable natural conditions as, for instance, much exposure to inclement weather, over strenuous labor, the menace of numerous noxious weed, insect and animal pests, poor water-supply and drainage in frequent cases, and the presence of domestic animals that tend to produce unsanitary surroundings.

But with the natural advantages generally outweighing the natural disadvantages, the rural community profits in better health and a longer span of life. For this it obviously deserves no credit, since it is not due to any social effort. In fact, much condemnation could be heaped upon the rural community because it has made so little of its natural advantages thru failure to add numerous social improvements. The city, in contrast, suffering from every disadvantage by virtue of its wholly artificial life, has nevertheless applied the most extensive artificial means to the overcoming of its handicaps. So successful has it been at this that it is beginning to put the country to shame. Thus, its civilization, in so far as it turns on health and sanitation, is demonstrated much superior to anything the country affords. For civilization must really be measured in terms of disadvantages overcome, rather than in natural advantages enjoyed.

Evidences of urban achievement are abundant. For instance, in several states the urban death rate has already fallen below the rural and the tendency in some states seems to be for it to remain below. In 1910 urban New York showed a rate below the rural sections of the state. Massachusetts followed suit in 1914, Washington in 1915, and

by 1916 there were five states in the list. They were the three just mentioned, together with California and New Jersey. By 1922 there were nine states. Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York held their position and to them were added Connecticut, Delaware, New Hampshire, Ohio, Indiana and Michigan. Thus the cities, despite all their handicaps, go marching ahead.

During the last quarter-century thruout the whole death registration area the death rate has been falling, but that decline is significantly much more rapid for the urban than for the rural areas. According to the averages already cited for the beginning and the end of the period, the cities showed a decline of 4.74 in the rate while the rural districts showed a decline of but 3.02.³

The favorable showing of cities may be in some measure due to the recent heavy migration from rural to urban areas. A preponderance of country-born youth flock into the urban centers and give them an advantageous age distribution. At the same time the tendency is to raise the age average of the country and thus work against a favorable mortality rate. However, no great stress should be put upon this factor, for the main elements in urban progress are improvement of sanitation and health service.

NEGLECTED RURAL SANITATION

Altho the truth is dawning upon us that disease and death lurk primarily in our fellows and not in the physical environment, we cannot ignore the fact that it is quite as important to keep our physical surroundings wholesome, pure and unpolluted as it is to keep our neighbors free from disease. This is especially true of the country districts, for the country man can perhaps easily avoid his sick neighbor, but he may not with so much assurance avoid the flies, fleas and mosquitoes that have visited his sick neighbor nor the soil and the water that have been polluted by him. So while the countryman may escape the Scylla of exposure to sick people, he does it only to run

³ Lumsden, *op. cit.*

more often into the Charybdis of a disease-infected environment, because of the common neglect of the latter in rural districts.

The most serious neglect pertains to the elimination of disease-causing and -carrying insects. There are several of these from which rural people suffer. We pass by the flea and the bedbug to note those whose ravages are more serious. Among these is one variety of mosquito, the *Culex quinque fasciatus*, which causes dengue or "break-bone fever." This mosquito is tropicopolitan in range and is responsible for extensive epidemics in the warmer parts of the United States. One such epidemic, for instance, raged thruout the Gulf states in the autumn of 1922. Altho dengue fever is rarely fatal, it causes intense suffering, contributes to the inefficiency of its victims, and perhaps to more or less permanent physical impairment. It can be eliminated only as this very common variety of mosquito is destroyed.

Another variety of mosquito, the *Anopheles*, is the chief carrier of malaria. There are upwards of 80,000,000 people in the malarious regions of the United States. From the rural districts of the South, where the incidence of the disease is highest, it shades off to relatively little in the North. In recent years Mississippi, for instance, has reported about 80 cases of malaria per 1,000 of population. Probably there are at least 1,000,000 cases annually in the country; ⁴ some put it at 9,000,000 cases. A glance at the accompanying map will give an idea of the extent of the malaria area. It will also be seen from the map that many deaths occur. Data from the sections where the disease is most prevalent show mean death rates over a period of years ranging as high as 9 to 12 per 10,000 population. Mississippi showed a yearly average of 9 per 10,000 population, one county in southeast Missouri 12, and seven counties in the years 1919 to 1921 had a yearly average of 5 per 10,000 population.⁵

⁴ Thomas Brues, *Insects and Human Welfare*, p. 9.

⁵ K. L. Maxey, Reprint No. 815, from the *Public Health Reports*, pp. 233-250, Feb. 9, 1923. United States Public Health Service.

Like dengue fever, malaria can be eliminated by destroying the mosquito breeding places. Moreover, it can be controlled, if not eliminated, by the proper screening of houses. It is difficult, however, in the worst infected districts to inaugurate these measures. A large part of the farmers are poor migratory tenants, who do not own homes nor abide long in one locality. They are often unwilling and unable to screen their houses and the landlords will not do it for them. Moreover, being transients, these tenants will not participate in local projects to destroy mosquito breeding places.⁶

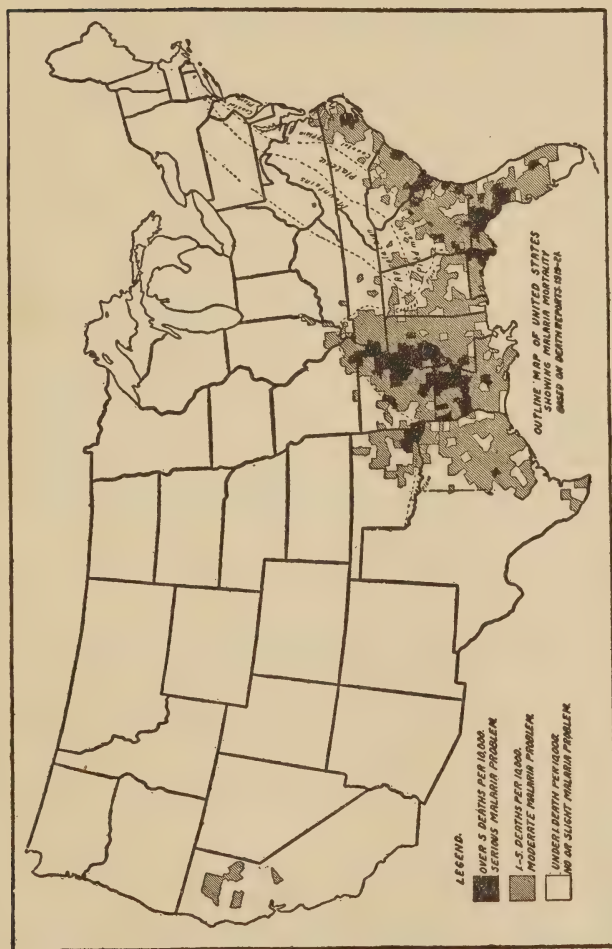
Mention may be made in passing of the *Dermacentor* or spotted fever tick, another insect responsible for disease and death in the rural environment. At present this is of wholly minor importance, but those acquainted with the situation fear that it may grow to be a real menace. The range of this tick is at present restricted to the Far Western and Northwestern states, particularly those of the Rocky Mountain region. It is harbored by various wild mammals and domestic animals, especially cattle. It reaches its human host largely from the latter and produces a disease which results in a mortality rate of 70 to 80 per cent.⁷

Everywhere rural districts are infested by flies. They flourish because of poor sanitary arrangements about farmsteads, especially where barnyard manure, on which they breed, is not properly cared for. Flies are great disease carriers, especially if human excreta are accessible to them. And often it is, since adequate provisions for its disposal are frequently wanting. Hence typhoid fever, infantile diarrhea and dysentery are much more prevalent in country districts. The seasonal incidence of these diseases corresponds to a considerable extent with fly prevalence, and more significant still is their greater summer prevalence in regions where filth disposal is neglected. Their rate of prevalence is always a good index to the sanitation of a community.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Brues, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

FIGURE 48.—DISTRIBUTION OF MALARIA IN THE UNITED STATES.⁸



⁸ From Kenneth L. Maxey's "Distribution of Malaria in the United States as Indicated by Mortality Reports," Reprint No. 839, *Public Health Reports*, May 25, 1923.

Some definite idea of how wide-spread and serious insanitary conditions are may be gained by reference to the findings of a survey of rural sanitation made a decade ago by the United States Public Health Service. A study of the conditions in fifteen typical rural counties brought out the following facts as summarized by L. L. Lumsden, surgeon of the Service: "Of 51,544 farm homes surveyed, only 1.22 per cent were equipped for the sanitary disposal of human excreta and at some which were properly equipped, the equipment was not used by all members of the household in a satisfactory manner; at 68 per cent, the water supply used for drinking and culinary purposes was obviously exposed to potentially dangerous contamination from privy contents or from promiscuous deposits of human excreta and at the majority of them the water supply was exposed also to unwholesome pollution from stable yards and pigsties. At only 32.88 per cent of the farm homes were the dwellings during the summer season effectively screened to prevent flies—having free access to nearby deposits of human or other filth—from entering the dining-rooms and kitchens and contaminating the foods for human consumption exposed therein."⁹

Table 60 presents the findings in detail for each of the counties canvassed by this survey.

Altho typhoid, dysentery and diarrhea are the chief menace from insanitary conditions in so far as the fly is concerned, it does not end there; for the fly is known to transmit at least eighteen different kinds of disease germs. In addition to those mentioned, it carries the germs of scarlet fever, tuberculosis, cholera, tetanus, eye contagions, anthrax, glanders, infantile paralysis, meningitis, erysipelas, and several others.

Insanitary conditions are also responsible for the hook-worm disease. Like malaria it is almost wholly rural in origin. Some 20,000,000 people live in the infected areas of the South. Surveys in counties of Georgia, the Carolinas and Mississippi have revealed from 15.5 to 94.8 per cent of

⁹ L. L. Lumsden, "Rural Sanitation," *Public Health Bulletin* No. 94, p. 40.

TABLE 60.—FINDINGS ON ORIGINAL SURVEY.¹⁰

County	Percentage of country homes without toilets of any kind	Percentage of country homes with insanitary privies	Percentage of country homes with grossly insanitary disposal of human excreta	Percentage of country homes with sanitary privies or with sanitary sewer systems	Percentage of country homes with water supply regarded as unsafe
Berkeley, W. Va.....	13.00	86.76	99.76	0.24	67.20
Lawrence, Ind.	23.00	76.75	99.75	.25	56.00
Union, Miss.	73.82	25.98	99.80	.20	76.15
Dorchester, Md.	31.98	66.94	98.92	1.08	36.50
Anne Arundel, Md.....	10.85	78.98	¹ 94.35	5.65	48.41
Wilson, Kans.	10.69	88.15	98.84	1.16	33.05
Orange, N. C.	67.94	² 31.98	99.92	.08	95.65
Walker, Ala.	³ 47.05	44.83	91.88	8.12	72.36
Dallas, Iowa	1.83	95.46	97.29	2.71	40.00
Greenville, S. C.	42.73	56.88	99.61	.39	93.42
Floyd, Ga.	38.00	60.19	⁴ 98.19	1.80	79.00
Tuscaloosa, Ala.	28.71	71.41	99.12	.79	56.00
Obion, Tenn.	33.42	66.36	99.78	.22	71.79
Clay, Mo.	16.34	82.99	99.33	.67	69.93
Cumberland, Ill.	23.59	76.24	99.83	.17	55.00

¹ This percentage includes 200 homes with water-closets discharging into insanitary cesspools.² Includes 16 water-closets, effluents from which were disposed of in insanitary manner.³ Computed from all rural homes. Of the farm homes less than 20 per cent were provided with toilets.⁴ Exclusive of industrial settlements.¹⁰ Lumsden, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 45.

County	Percentage of country homes without screening of doors or windows in summer	Percentage of town homes with water-closets connected with sanitary sewer	Percentage of town homes without water-closets or privies	Percentage of town homes with insanitary privies	Percentage of town homes with sanitary privies	Percentage of all homes in county having sanitary disposal of human excreta
Berkeley, W. Va.	26.70	⁵ 10.52	....	73.68	....	0.11
Lawrence, Ind.	26.62	23.00	....	77.00	....	11.76
Union, Miss.	76.00	27.92	....	72.08	....	3.92
Dorchester, Md.	32.14	20.03	0.09	78.62	1.26	5.37
Anne Arundel, Md.	28.00	83.34	....	16.66	....	22.20
Wilson, Kans.	2.48	44.88	.82	54.15	.14	22.07
Orange, N. C.	80.00	16.25	9.69	73.67	.39	3.96
Walker, Ala.	75.00	11.12	6.46	68.36	14.06	13.26
Dallas, Iowa.	2.14	18.34	3.60	77.78	.28	11.49
Greenville, S. C.	57.76	⁶ 6.33	⁶ .26	⁶ 86.82	⁶ 6.59	⁷ 27.92
Floyd, Ga.	79.96	77.71	.19	22.10	....	43.91
Tuscaloosa, Ala.	62.80	⁸ 66.20	⁸ 1.67	⁸ 32.13	....	⁹ 5.12
Obion, Tenn.	36.40	12.14	5.45	82.41	....	4.22
Clay, Mo.	14.01	33.77	1.42	64.26	.55	17.18
Cumberland, Ill.	10.18	....	3.91	95.99	.10	.15

⁵ The water-closets discharged into private sanitary sewers which emptied into a storm sewer. The storm sewer near the center of the city emptied into an open stream. Therefore this percentage of homes could not be regarded as having sanitary disposal of human excreta. Seventeen and nine-tenths per cent of the homes in the city had water-closets which discharged into insanitary cesspools.

⁶ Exclusive of Greenville City.

⁸ Inclusive of all homes in Tuscaloosa City.

⁷ Inclusive of Greenville City.

⁹ Computed on findings only at the 2,618 homes canvassed and surveyed.

infection in the population 6 to 18 years of age.¹¹ There are probably at least 2,000,000 cases of it annually. It lowers the vitality of its victims till they fall easy prey to other diseases, such as tuberculosis. Soil pollution from human excreta is the important factor in the speed of hookworm infection. It is preventable if proper sanitation is maintained.

NEGLECTED RURAL SANITATION AN URBAN MENACE

Insanitary rural conditions affect not only country dwellers but urban people as well. Commerce and intercommunication between town and country grow year by year and it becomes more and more true that when the country suffers, the city suffers also. To an increasing degree our urban communities are keeping themselves clean. By the most effective sanitary measures they are seeking to protect themselves from health menaces within. But without, in far distant farmsteads, there lurk dangers against which the city gates are often unable to prevail. For flies and mosquitoes, milk, water, vegetables, fruits, and persons from insanitary areas are likely to pass the city portals daily. Any of these may be vehicles of infection. It is not, therefore, very far-fetched to say that probably the rate of urban morbidity and death would be even lower than it is, if rural sanitation were not so bad.

Not infrequently outbreaks of typhoid fever in urban districts are traced directly to contaminated milk or water supplied from the country. It is not so easy to trace epidemics of this sort to contaminated fruits and vegetables, nevertheless these are known to be common sources. In particular, vegetables that have been grown in soil polluted by human waste are disseminators of such diseases. The Survey of Rural Sanitation in fifteen counties brought to light facts bearing upon this phase of the question. It was

¹¹ J. A. Ferrell, Director for the United States International Health Board, "The Trend of Preventive Medicine in the United States," p. 24. Reprint from the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Sept. 20, 1923, Vol. 81.

found that milk, fruit, vegetables and other foods were being sold to urban communities from farmsteads in the counties where from 11 to 69 per cent of the homes had no toilets whatever. From 5 to 12 per cent of the farm homes were engaged in such sale of food. Thus there was every chance that filth diseases would be carried to the urban consumer.¹²

Nor does the menace end with commerce in foodstuffs. People themselves pass to and from insanitary country districts to town and cities. They carry disease with them. The countryman scatters infection in the town, and the townsman on vacation in the country returning home brings it also.

CAUSES OF NEGLECTED RURAL SANITATION

1. The individualistic mode of farm life is the first causative factor in the problem of rural sanitation. Each farmstead is to all intents and purposes an isolated unit. It provides its own water supply and disposes of its own sewage. It practices cleanliness or wallows in filth as it sees fit. It creates and maintains conditions, in consequence, that may affect not only itself but the neighborhood as well. And this it does without thought about neighbors or without neighbors concerning themselves about anything except their own affairs. Such is the situation with each farmer, "his own health officer, his own sanitary engineer and operator of his own refuse disposal service."¹³ The primary difficulty, obviously, is lack of community interests, the want of doing things as a neighborhood, no habits of coöperation for the general welfare. Moreover, as rural America goes, there is rarely any governmental agency that presumes to suggest or dictate to the farmer how he shall protect himself and his neighbors by sanitary living. Hence, rural districts are insanitary because each family lives unto itself alone and too commonly lives in an unwholesome manner.

¹² See *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 128, 144, 156, 209, 229, 265.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

2. A second cause is ignorance of the nature of disease and its dissemination and of the methods of protection against it. As one has put it, "the farmer's knowledge of health is largely negative. If he or a member of his family falls ill he will call a doctor and do everything in his power to effect a cure. It has not occurred to him that the shallow, unprotected well, or the open spring or river from which he gets his drinking water may be the cause of his illness. As a rule he sees no danger in the open privy—in many instances having no privy of any kind, or in the lack of screens on doors and windows. A fly is simply a nuisance at meal time, or it may disturb his rest if perchance he takes a nap at the noon hour while the horses feed. Kinds, amounts and varieties of food are little thought of as having any bearing on health. The importance of milk in the diet of children is not understood and its absence has no particular significance to the rural parent."^{13a} Often there is not only lack of information, but positive misinformation and superstition on health questions. The poor and prosperous alike are involved. In the Public Health Survey already referred to, one of the fifteen counties was canvassed as to the cause of typhoid fever. The answer given by three-fourths of the heads of the households where cases existed was that they didn't know. Only one knew it was germs. In a similar inquiry of over 2,500 heads of households where there had been no recent cases, 38 per cent didn't know the cause; about 23 per cent said "water;" about 12½ per cent said "dirt;" 10 per cent "germs;" 4 per cent, "flies;" twelve persons, "excreta;" a similar number, "bad privy or cesspool." Other groups gave as the cause "chills," "green fruit," "mosquitoes," "milk," "stomach troubles," "marshes," "fate," "hot sun," "exposure to bad weather," "heredity," etc. In addition some forty to fifty other causes were assigned by nearly as many different individuals. These ranged from "nursing typhoid," thru "watermelons," "worry," "weeds," "bad smells," "oysters," "frogs," "crabs,"

^{13a} Edward N. Clopper, *Rural Child Welfare*, p. 25. Copyright by The Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1922. Used by permission.

“rats,” to “going to church,” “tearing down old houses” and “mental suggestion.”¹⁴

The kind of answers cited with reference to typhoid fever reveal, I suppose, the rural state of mind concerning the cause of most diseases. So long as such ignorance prevails, better sanitation cannot be expected.

3. A third factor, emphasized by the Public Health Service, is *diffusiveness*.¹⁵ Cities and towns have populations massed on small areas. The physical difficulties in providing a common water supply, sewage systems, street cleaning, and garbage disposal are, therefore, relatively simple. In contrast, widely scattered farmsteads with so few people on extensive areas present tremendous difficulties in providing such facilities.

This diffusiveness is not only physical, it is also mental and governmental. Mass action, as suggested under the first factor mentioned, is not easy in a scattered population. Rural traditions do not provide for it. No such stimuli prompt it as with large numbers of people living in a congested district. Moreover, government in the open country has not customarily concerned itself with problems of health and sanitation. There is no machinery, such as municipalities have, for mobilizing neighborhoods in common undertakings.

4. Expense is another barrier to adequate sanitation in the country. This is true whether viewed as an individual or as a community undertaking. In those sections where the need is greatest there are large numbers of poor tenants and croppers who own no homes and who move frequently from one place to another. They are unable to provide decent surroundings for themselves and the landlords do not see any necessity for doing it, nor any gain to be derived from the outlay required.

Where the farm operator is also the owner, too often the cost of making his surroundings reasonably sanitary may be greater than his economic status will justify, even though the cost is not high. If, however, a clean barnyard, a pure

¹⁴ *Rural Sanitation*, p. 41.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

water supply, a safe disposal of human waste and house sewage, and adequate screening are to be provided by many farms, a relatively large outlay will often be involved. Even when these can be afforded, problems of drainage which the individual farmer cannot handle, will often remain.

From a community standpoint, even if sewer and water systems were generally feasible for country neighborhoods, the amount of taxable property and income in the average district is too small to bear the cost. Such provisions for health protection as the city enjoys can be had, if at all, only at incomparably greater cost by the country, and the latter is less able to bear it.

Withal rural sanitation is recognized as one of the most difficult as well as most important problems confronting the rural community and the nation.¹⁶

MEANS OF IMPROVING SANITATION AND HEALTH

Those who have been at work on this problem are generally agreed that the immediate attack must be thru education. The country people must be made acquainted with the sources of disease, how it is transmitted and how it may be curbed. They must be made aware of the dangers of unclean living and insanitary surroundings; they must be taught the importance of prevention rather than cure and to that end be persuaded to tax themselves, that the necessary protection may be secured. Any effort that will accomplish results on a wide scale must meet and break down superstition, resistance to innovation, and often positive opposition, especially by local physicians who profit by curing the sick. Both juvenile and adult education are involved, the one chiefly thru the schools and the other in the demonstration to the farmer of just what may be accomplished.

The demonstration method has done much in improving agricultural production, controlling plant and animal pests

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

and diseases, and is beginning to show results when applied to health and sanitation. This method has been adopted by the United States Public Health Service in coöperation with state and local health organizations. In the Southern states much assistance has come from the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation in undertaking hookworm and malaria control. A sanitary and health survey of the whole county is made, the facts presented on maps, and a campaign of education launched. The following is a typical instance of a program carried out in a Mississippi county:

1. An accurate health Survey of every home in the county. In making this canvass a trained worker visited each home and took the name and age of each member of the family. A record was made of all important diseases which had occurred in the family within the preceding five years. A careful note was also made of the sanitary conditions of the home. The purpose of the work was fully explained to the family and they were told of the seriousness of the soil-pollution disease. Instructive bulletins on infant care, typhoid fever, hookworm disease, pellagra, tuberculosis, and rural sanitation were left in the home.

2. Examination and treatment of all persons for hookworm disease.

3. Medical inspection of all school children.

4. Giving the typhoid vaccine to all.

5. Instructing in infant welfare work.

6. Making a health map of the county.

7. Putting on a health educational campaign.

8. Dairy inspection.

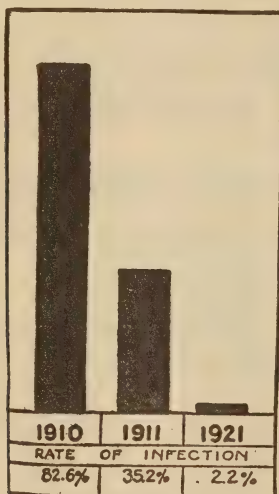
9. Hotel, meat market, barber shop, soda fountain and grocery store inspection.

The effects of work of this sort have been notable. In the following graphs a few illustrations may be seen.

The rural efforts of the United States Public Health Service focus on the promotion of a full-time County Health Service. Such organizations have proved to be the best means of accomplishing the primary aim of the work. A full-time county health organization should consist of

a medical officer, a clerk, technician or bacteriologist, one or more public health nurses, and, if necessary, a sanitary inspector, all giving full time. Generally the staff is not so complete as this, including only a medical officer, a

FIGURE 49.—RESULTS OF HOOKWORM CONTROL IN A VIRGINIA COUNTY.¹⁷



THE HOOKWORM STORY OF ONE COUNTY.

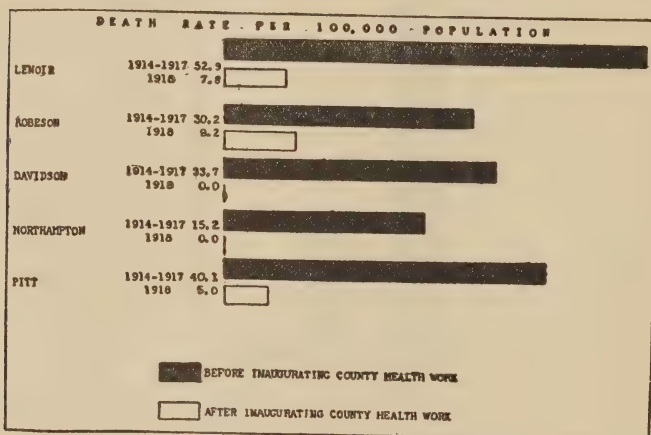
When the first demonstration in hookworm control in the United States was begun in a county of Virginia, in 1910, 82 per cent of the school children were infected. As a result of intensive treatment the infection was reduced in 15 months to 35 per cent. Local agencies set in motion in 1910 have kept up the work until now hookworm infection in that county is negligible.

nurse, and an office clerk. The program involves making personal contacts with the homes and promoting health education. At the outset every effort is made to emphasize the outstanding problems of each county. By this means it is sought to awaken interest and secure sup-

¹⁷ *The Survey*, Aug. 15, 1922, p. 625.

port that will make the work permanent. Thus in many Southern counties the filth-borne diseases—hook-worm, typhoid fever, diarrhea, dysentery—are given first attention. In others malaria control is stressed. Elsewhere it may be tuberculosis, infant welfare, venereal disease and maternity.¹⁸

FIGURE 50.—REDUCTION OF DEATH RATE FROM TYPHOID FEVER UNDER CONTROL METHODS IN FIVE NORTH CAROLINA COUNTIES.¹⁹



County death rates from typhoid fever: average number of deaths from typhoid per hundred thousand population in five North Carolina counties for the years 1914 to 1917, before the inauguration of county health work, compared with that for 1918, the year succeeding its inauguration.

RURAL HEALTH ORGANIZATIONS

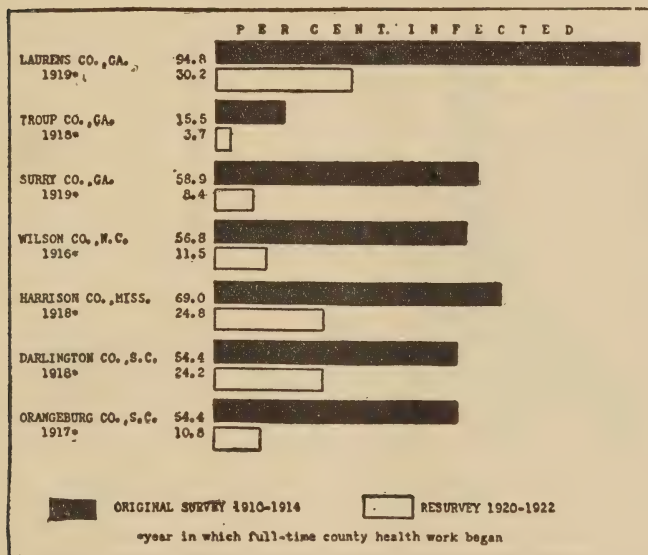
A rural area of considerable extent is necessary to sustain an effective health organization. The township is rarely large enough. There is not as a rule enough taxable property to afford the necessary funds. The county has, therefore, been taken as the best unit. Normally there

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁹ Ferrell, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

will be 20,000 to 30,000 people in a county and property valuation running from \$4,000,000 to \$8,000,000 or \$10,000,000. A significant development of organization on the county basis is already under way and future expansion

FIGURE 51.—REDUCTION IN HOOKWORM IN SOUTHERN COUNTIES UNDER CONTROL MEASURES.²⁰



Reduction in hookworm infection; rates found in original infection survey (1910-1914), compared with rates found in resurveys (1920-1922).

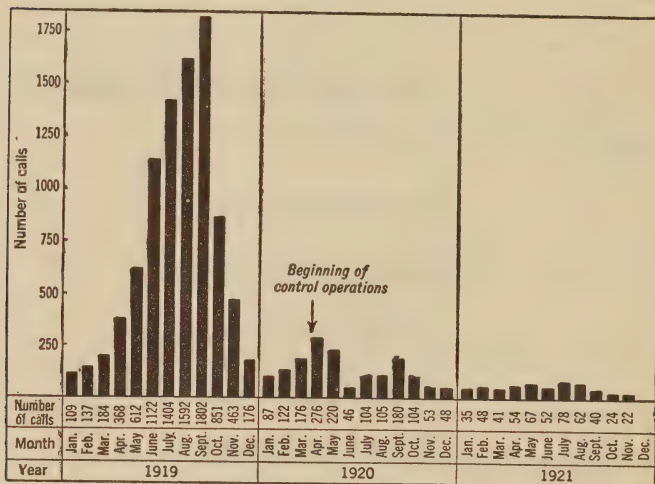
will in all probability follow in this direction. As already suggested, this is the unit area upon which the United States Public Health Service focuses in coöperation with state and local authorities.

The Public Health Service allots to a county a sum, which must be duplicated from state and local or private

²⁰ Ferrell, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

sources. A qualified director of public health work acceptable to the local and state health boards is then appointed and the organization already described is set up.

FIGURE 52.—REDUCTION IN PHYSICIANS' CALLS FOR MALARIA IN TWO TEXAS TOWNS DUE TO CONTROL OPERATIONS.²¹



REDUCTION IN PHYSICIANS' CALLS FOR MALARIA.

In the two towns of Groveton and South Groveton, Texas, with a combined population of 2,500, control operations, beginning on April 1, 1920, checked the development of malaria cases during the remaining months of 1920 in a striking way and in 1921 kept the number of cases at a mere fraction of the number in 1919, which was typical of the conditions in pre-control years. Experience in these and many other towns shows that such communities can free themselves of malaria for less than the disease costs in doctors' bills.

Full-time county health service was first initiated in Guilford County, North Carolina, in 1911. Since then a gradual expansion of this service has taken place till by

²¹ *The Survey*, Aug. 15, 1922, p. 626.

1926, 307 counties were thus provided for. The following table indicates this growth.

TABLE 61.—GROWTH OF FULL-TIME COUNTY HEALTH SERVICE.

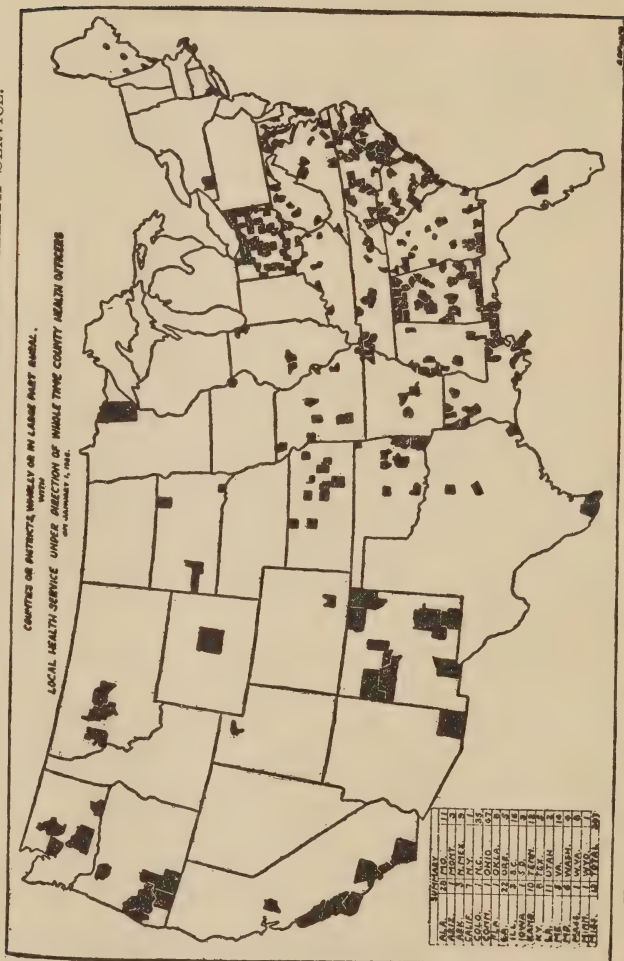
YEAR	NO. OF COUNTIES	NO. OF STATES
1911	1	1
1914	3	3
1918	35	11
1920	43	16
1923	214	26
1925	280	32
1926	307	35

This, however, is only a beginning, for there are some 2,850 counties wholly or chiefly rural in the United States. So far only 16 per cent of the rural population is being reached. The other 84 per cent is not provided with any adequate health service.

Only a few states have achieved extensive organization. Of these Ohio leads, with 57 per cent of its rural population under full-time health service. Alabama, New Mexico and North Carolina follow, with over 40 per cent of their rural population under such supervision. But the greater task of effecting a complete organization of rural America awaits further effort.

This task will be long delayed for the lack of funds. *The Public Health Reports* of 1926 estimate that \$20,000,000 a year would be necessary to establish and maintain reasonably adequate whole-time rural health service. If Federal funds are to be depended upon to initiate this work, its development is not promising. So far an annual appropriation of \$50,000 to \$75,000 for the purpose has been the limit. This means that only about 1 per cent of the budget of the Public Health Service goes to rural sanitation.

If, again, the local county government is to be depended upon to provide the funds, the outlook is no brighter, for

FIGURE 53.—RURAL COUNTIES OR DISTRICTS WITH FULL-TIME HEALTH SERVICE.²²²² From *United States Public Health Reports*, Vol. 41, No. 19, May 7, 1926, p. 879.

there is generally great indifference in that quarter. The Reports of this Public Health Service for 1926 state that without moral support and financial aid from other sources the local governments are not disposed to appropriate adequate funds for the support of efficient whole-time service.²³ In this connection attention is called to the fact that 91 per cent of the local units received aid from one or more outside agencies. In addition to the United States Public Health Service, these were the State Board of Health, the International Health Board, and the Children's Bureau.

All agencies combined spent some \$2,916,000 on rural sanitation in 1926. That is not an insignificant sum except as it is considered in relation to the needs and the estimated cost of an adequate service for the whole country. The prospects for finding the remainder of the \$20,000,000 that will be needed each year are not good. In fact, at the present rate of expansion it is estimated that it will take 85 years to extend the service to all rural America.²⁴

Apparently all must await the long slow process of educating the farming population to the gains that may be derived from good health. In terms of dollars these gains would be large. It is estimated that preventable illness costs rural America not less than \$1,000,000,000 annually. If, therefore, with an outlay of \$20,000,000 annually one billion could be saved, as it seems reasonable to think, there would accrue a net saving of \$980,000,000 to the rural public.²⁵ Can the people of 2,500 counties be made to realize this? Can they be made to see that it is quite as profitable to safeguard health as it is to protect live stock and crops from disease and pests? Without doubt they can and eventually will.

²³ *Public Health Reports*, Vol. 41, No. 19, p. 880. United States Public Health Service.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 880.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

THE RURAL HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL AID

There is a lack of physicians in the country districts. It is reported that not over 12 per cent of the rural population are adequately supplied. In the more isolated sections there are often no physicians at all. Small villages likewise suffer this need.

Dr. William Allen Pusey, a former president of the American Medical Association, recently made a study of rural physicians thruout the entire country. The facts revealed a rapidly decreasing supply. He summarizes his findings as follows: "Of 940 towns of 1,000 or less in 47 states—20 average towns in each state—which had physicians in 1914, only 630 of them had physicians in 1925; 310 of these towns are now without physicians. Thus almost one-third of the small towns of the country have lost their physicians in the last eleven years."²⁶ He found also that the country doctors of today are a group of old men and that but 1.4 per cent of the medical graduates of the last ten years have gone into rural districts. His study revealed the fact that "irregulars" of various sorts are going into the country. His conclusion is that if the present trend continues, rural medical service will be completely broken down by 1935. For whereas there are now on the average 15.5 doctors per county, by 1935 there will be but 2.8 per county. "Two and eight-tenths doctors a county cannot furnish adequate medical service."²⁷

The cause of this breakdown of rural medical service is assigned by Dr. Pusey, first, to the high cost of medical education, which country boys cannot afford; second, to the cultural disadvantages of rural life, which has nothing to offer the type of doctor that is now being educated, described as "the country club type"; and third, to the reduction in the number of medical schools *pari passu* with the increasing cost of education.

In addition to the causes pointed out by Dr. Pusey there

²⁶ *The American Mercury*, Vol. XI, No. 42, June, 1927, p. 138.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

are probably others. One is the lure of specialization in the rising generation of doctors. They wish to limit themselves to certain lines of practice because it is more agreeable and remunerative. But the country does not call for specialists; it needs general practitioners. Hence an inadequate supply of doctors in rural districts. Another is the relatively unremunerative practice of the country—unremunerative because the country people cannot pay such charges as the city population does. Still another is the hardship that the country doctor must endure in the pursuit of his calling—long rides, exposure to all kinds of weather, poor facilities for handling his cases, lack of aid from other expert physicians, and the absence of sources of professional stimulation such as cities afford. There are, to be sure, certain developments that are tending to make the country a more inviting field than hitherto. Good roads, motor travel and telephones are making conditions easier. But they do not offset the social and economic drawbacks.

It is not impossible that rural districts will have to organize coöperative health associations and thus secure physicians. One interesting case where this has been done is reported from Altura, Minnesota. This village of 250 people in the center of a district having 200 farm families has formed a Health Association. It has procured a physician for the community at a guaranteed salary of \$3,000. This money comes from membership dues. Each member family pays \$24 annually and receives all needed service. This includes twice-a-year examinations, all laboratory analysis, X-ray examinations and sick calls. In addition there is sanitary inspection of house water supply, drainage and sewage disposal, together with educational work of a preventive nature. So far the plan is an experiment. If successful, it may point the way for an important movement.²⁸

Nearly twenty years ago a movement was launched in Iowa to establish rural hospitals. At that time there was

²⁸ Ernst Drebert, "Solving the Problem of the Country Doctor," *Rural America*, February, 1926.

in the small towns and open country districts of that state but one hospital bed for every 3,000 persons. And what was true of Iowa was probably typical of rural America in general. The legislature of that state passed a law which enabled counties to levy taxes for building and maintaining hospitals. The first one was built in 1909 in Washington County. Since that date the movement has made fair headway. Sixteen states have passed laws similar to that of Iowa, and many hospitals have been built. Other states have legislated in one way or another to facilitate the establishment of such institutions. Private philanthropy has also become interested and is helping erect them. Thus the rural community hospital has become fairly common. It is said that adequate service requires one hospital bed for each 150 persons. At best the United States as a whole has but one bed for each 250 persons. The rural districts are better off than twenty years ago, but far behind anything adequate.

The movement in rural districts has been greatly retarded by the excessive cost of building and equipment that resulted from the Great War. The farmers' opposition to adding any more to his already too heavy tax burden stands in the way of progress. Again, the problem of management, complicated by jealousy among local physicians, hinders. In addition, motor transportation and improved highways have put increasing numbers of country people within easier reach of city hospitals. This tends to weaken interest in the growth of local institutions. Underneath all, there remains the tradition of home nursing for the sick and a good deal of suspicion of hospital service.

The country doubtless pays a high price for the lack of hospitals, especially in deaths from childbirth and infant mortality. Since 1920 the death rate of infants under one year has become higher in the country than in the city. From 20 to 40 per cent of confinements in the United States are estimated to be without medical attention, to say nothing of the absence of such facilities as only hospitals afford. A large proportion of these cases are apparently rural. For example, in Mississippi, an al-

most 100 per cent rural state, members of the State Health Board say that 40 per cent of the births are attended only by midwives, with a high mortality rate resulting. Evidence indicates that the practice of the midwife is spreading rapidly in all rural districts. It used to be an alien institution confined to the city slums.

Perhaps the rural county is generally too small a unit for a hospital and larger districts will prove to be necessary if such agencies are to be provided.

New effort is now being devoted to the problem by the Commonwealth Fund of New York, which is putting money into the development of hospitals in rural communities. Then its division of rural hospitals proposes to provide two-thirds of the cost of the construction and equipment of two hospitals each year over a period of years. The communities must themselves provide the remainder of the funds and support and maintain the hospital satisfactorily thereafter. For 1926 it set aside \$350,000 for this work, and has established institutions at Farmville, Virginia; Glasgow, Kentucky; and Farmington, Maine. Announcements were made in the autumn of 1927 of the selection of Beloit, Kansas, and Wauseon, Ohio, for the fourth and fifth hospitals. This agency will also advise the communities selected on the location and organization of the hospital with the special purpose of making the institution a constructive influence. It will also offer limited advisory service to communities which it does not aid financially and will study the problem of rural medical practice.²⁹

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XVIII

THE MAJOR SOCIAL PROCESS AND THE FARMER

IN one way or another, various phases of the social process have been considered. There is, however, one phase with which we have not dealt. This is the major one, i.e., the one which has most to do with determining our social destiny. It needs especially to be taken into account in relation to country life.

THE MAJOR PROCESS EXPLAINED

What is the social process in general and what is its major phase in particular? By the general social process is meant the mode of behavior of social energy. Its major phase is concerned with class monopoly, dictation, domination, and the conflict these entail. Let us explain. There is a constant redistribution of energy going on everywhere. This is no less true within the social aggregate than in the universe at large. In the social aggregate it means that differential status and inequality between the parts arise. Hence, there are classes—vital, cultural, economic, etc. The class acquiring most surplus will become dynamic and proceed to dominate the rest. It makes itself the ruling class seeking to control for its own gain and gratification other classes and the larger society of which they are a part. Such domination may be crass exploitation or it may be benevolent paternalism, but, whatever the form, it remains domination just the same. No situation of this sort ever gives peace and stability unless the surplus is so completely monopolized by the exploiters that the exploited

are left supine and helpless. But such cases are rare in history. Generally the subordinate classes are "on the make"; they are accumulating some surplus and so coming into a measure of power. When they actually become powerful enough, they call a halt on the encroachments of the ruling class; they begin to check and challenge authority and finally seek to overthrow and supplant the exploiters altogether. Wherefore, a constant struggle for social power goes on between classes. This incessant contest over the surplus and over the use that classes make of it is what we mean by the major social process. As described by Gumpłowicz, "The social struggle consists in establishing appropriate institutions for increasing the power of one social group at the expense of the others."¹

URBANOCRACY

Urban classes dominate the industrial nations everywhere. These classes include the commercial, financial, trading, professional, and industrial elements. They do not always constitute a majority of the nation's population, but that does not hinder their being the ruling element, for social power does not depend alone upon numbers.

The city has held the scepter in the western world ever since the Middle Ages. It began to be ascendant as soon as capitalism and commerce arose. Thus, the free cities appeared, banded together in great leagues, like the Hanseatic League for the promotion of trade and the protection of its members' interests. That development marked the beginning of an urban influence that has continued to wax more and more powerful unto this day. With the close of the Middle Ages cities began to assert supremacy over the surrounding country in economic and political matters. This was true in Germany; likewise in Italy, where a veritable tyranny of cities arose. "In Italy," says Bücher, "the wealth of the cities expropriated in all directions the possessions of the peasant

¹ *Sociologie*, p. 145.

and down to the present has continued to exploit him as a wretched metayer."² The Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century gave to city life a tremendous new impetus to growth and a will to power which remains unabated. So the city has become the master force wherever industrialism prevails.

In America the rise of urban power was relatively quick, when once the nation got under way. Industry and commerce were bound to develop here as in the Old World and urban domination was certain to follow. It was inevitable that that phase of the social process which had brought about the urbanization of industrial Europe should be reenacted here. Wise men even from the foundations of the Republic foresaw that this would happen. Thus, Thomas Jefferson declared, we do not want cities in America, for they will mean the loss of democracy. Then will America become Europeanized. And so it has. America is industrialized, urbanized, and Europeanized to a degree that Jefferson could scarcely have imagined.

A glance at the map of the United States reveals an interesting situation in this respect. There is a great industrial zone reaching from the Atlantic seaboard to the prairies of the west. It is from 150 to 200 miles wide and 1,200 long, and is practically coterminous with urban development. Its outlines are formed by Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis and Detroit. Within its confines lies the greater part of the city strength and therein also reposes the power that dominates the nation. This zone is thoroly "Europeanized" and the rest of America is becoming so under the city's mandate. Millions of proletarians have been brought hither at the bidding of the city and other millions have become its dependents. The youth have been enticed from the farm; the husbandman is fast becoming a renter even as the peasantry of much of Europe. And the democracy that once our fathers sought has succumbed to urbanocracy.

² Carl Bücher, *Industrial Evolution*, pp. 133-134.

CITY VERSUS COUNTRY

Under urban domination the farmer has suffered every sort of exploitation. I do not contend that the city has always consciously, concertedly and maliciously plotted his subordination and undoing. To be sure, there has been some of this, but it is more true to say that the exploitation has resulted from urban aggression in what is considered a perfectly legitimate pursuit of self-interests. Nevertheless, it has meant that surplus and power have constantly been taken away from the soil tillers and added to the city traders. So it has come about that the city has increased progressively while the country has decreased steadily in relative strength and influence.

A survey of the more patent aspects of the situation will readily show how this is. We shall give attention first of all and chiefly to the economic factor, for it is this phase that bulks largest in the eyes of the age in which we live.

In the matter of wealth the city has gradually acquired the lion's share. In 1850 the urban wealth of the United States was estimated to be 44 per cent of the whole. By 1900 it had become 76 per cent of the whole. During the last quarter of a century or so the farming population has gained some wealth, chiefly through the rise in land values. This increase has been from about 28 to 40 billions of dollars. Recent estimates assign one-third of the nation's wealth to the country people and the other two-thirds to the city dwellers. But thruout this period the city has possessed far more than its proportionate share. Even now the farmers alone do not have over one-fifth of the nation's wealth, tho they number about 30 per cent of the population. Their per capita holdings equal only about \$1,978 as against a per capita average of approximately \$3,060 for the remainder of the population.

A far greater portion of the annual national dividend goes to the city than even its lion's share of capital justi-

fies. Only about 17 to 18 per cent of our net income goes to the agriculturists.³ The average per capita income of the farmer does not appear to equal more than half as much as that of the average city dweller.

The procedure by which the urban has exploited the rural class can be indicated in some detail. From the earliest days of the Republic the urban East manipulated affairs to its advantage. It blocked the sale of public lands in the great West to homesteaders for a half-century and more. The motive was to prevent the migration of labor from the industrial communities along the eastern seaboard. The result was urban growth and a retarded rural development. Another of the first significant steps to be taken was that of raising protective tariff walls about the nation. This was the work of the New England manufacturers in behalf of the "American system," so called, when first devised nearly one hundred years ago. Henry Clay in pleading for this tariff said it would build cities and we would build roads to them and the farmer would have a dollar for his wheat. The tariff did all Clay claimed for it. It helped build cities as if by magic and in the sixties the western farmers got a dollar for their wheat. But on the whole, the effect was to make the farmers pay tribute to the cities. The South opposed the tariff on this ground. They said it was an unjust tax laid by the manufacturers and importers upon the agricultural states. South Carolina answered by attempting to nullify the law, and the entire cotton kingdom arrayed itself against the industrial North and the Union. From that day to this, with occasional favors thrown to the farmers, the protective system has been an instrument of city gain at the expense of the agricultural classes. Unfortunately the latter have not been generally aware of this skillful imposition. Nevertheless, by means of this taxing system the American farmers were made to pay the three billion dollar Civil War debt and the interest

³ Mitchell, W. C., and others, *Income in the United States*, 1921, p. 330.

thereon and still continue to pay such tribute as the protected urban interests desire.

The National Industrial Conference Board has calculated that in 1913 the farmer paid 10.6 per cent of his income in taxes as over against 4.1 per cent of income paid by the non-farming part of the nation. In 1922 the farmers paid 16.6 per cent and the other classes 11.9 per cent of their respective incomes. Thus, only in the last decade has the city paid any just proportion of the nation's tax bill. A system of direct income tax is responsible for the better showing, but it is believed that one-fourth of the wealth of the nation is now tax exempt and most of this wealth is held by urban people.

The city has developed many monopolies and thus fixes prices for the rural consumer. It is estimated that five-sixths of the manufacturing industries which formerly supplied the farm family have gravitated cityward. Most of these are corporate industries under monopoly control. One such is that of farm machinery. Patents are controlled and the city exacts its royalty. At least 46 per cent of all manufactured products are consumed by the farmers, tho they constitute scarcely 30 per cent of the total population.

Another kind of urban monopoly is usually referred to as "the money trust." The banks are urban institutions and the capital of the nation has been in their keeping. Even the farmer's savings have been regularly entrusted to them to do with as they pleased. This money has been used to conduct manufacturing and trade. And all credit facilities have been created and managed for the benefit of these interests. Ready credit has been of tremendous advantage for profit making to all urban enterprises. It has been denied the farmer until within the past few years. To be sure, it is not so easy to arrange credit on farm as on manufactured products. But the city has had no disposition to help the farmer overcome the natural disadvantages of the business of agriculture. On the contrary, it has opposed and usually thwarted any move to remedy the situation. Not until 1915 were there any

banking institutions to give even long-term credit on farm property. The Federal Farm Loan Act of that year was the first step. And not until 1922 was there any provision whereby the farmers could command any of the nation's capital on short-term loans. Nor even yet are there any adequate agencies to render him service. The grip of the city on the nation's money bags still remains firm and grows tighter and more greedy with the passing of each decade.

Again, the city controls the railway systems of the country. It has managed them for its own profit, not for the public benefit. Upon them the farmer's welfare is greatly dependent. Again and again he has tried to wrest their control from the exploiters' hands and make them public servants, but so far without success. Literally all the charges the traffic will bear have been levied upon the agricultural shippers of the nation. As producer and consumer alike the farmer has found himself ground between the upper and nether mill stones of freight tolls more than any other class.

Not only the railways but other important tools of production, such as elevators, warehouses, and cold storage plants are generally city owned. These instrumentalities, however legitimate, are "tollgates across the road of production." They extract a large share of the value of the product the farmer sends to market.

Altogether the various capitalistic agencies which the city has erected take from 60 to 70 per cent of the price of farm products. Hence, few farms pay. The Joint Agricultural Commission of Inquiry of Congress for 1921 reported that only 10 per cent of the farms of the United States paid, and they barely 3 per cent on the investment. Of the eight billion dollars of economic surplus which David Friday calculates the United States accumulated in the year 1921, six billions or more were the profits the corporations turned over to the wealthy class. The remainder represents the total gains of the non-incorporated industries of the country. These gains went to

farmers, small traders and laborers.⁴ From this the relative position and power of corporations is evident.

Urban domination is quite as evident in the sphere of government and politics as in the economic. Indeed, the two spheres merge into one in so far as the city is concerned, for to its economic interests all must be obedient. "Every corporation and big business of every description is today in politics. You cannot point me to a single industry in this country, save that of the farmer, which has not accredited representatives in Congress and in the large conventions that meet to determine party nominees every two or every four years."⁵

In verification of this is the Union's report for 1919 analyzing the membership of Congress to discover how various occupations were represented. The following table indicates the occupational composition of Congress for 1919, and what it would have been, had proportional representation by occupation prevailed.

The Congress of this table is not exceptional, for all of them are much the same and equally answerable to urban control. Under the American system of government this need not be, for a sufficient number of Congressional districts are in rural territory to give the farmers their due share of representatives were other conditions not lacking. But being unorganized, lacking class consciousness, and not having control of the machinery of political parties, the farmer has let the city interests manage the affairs of the nation. In many of the state legislatures much the same situation prevails. The non-farming interests grasp the power and dominate the commonwealths. In certain states there is complaint that the rural interests control the state legislatures and block reform. This is true, for instance, in Connecticut and Rhode Island, where an antiquated system of territorial representation prevails. But, generally speaking, the cities of the land run the nation's politics in all vital matters.

⁴ See the *New Republic*, December 14, 1921, pp. 64-67.

⁵ C. S. Barrett, *The Mission, History and Times of the Farmers' Union*, Marshall and Bruce, Nashville, Tenn., 1909, p. 45.

There has been, on the whole, considerable governmental action on behalf of agriculture. The Morrill Act of 1862, founding the agricultural colleges; the Hatch Act of 1887, establishing Agricultural Experiment Stations; the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, providing for coöperative extension

TABLE 62.—OCCUPATIONAL REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS.⁶

OCCUPATION OF MEMBERS	CONSTITUTION OF 1919 CONGRESS	CONSTITUTION PRO- PORTIONATE TO OCCUPATIONAL GROUPING
Agriculture	18	165
Mechanical		140
Transportation	5	33
Professional	454	
Law	323	
Business	44	
Journalists	28	
Educators	17	
Manufacturers	17	
Bankers	15	20
Medical	5	
Labor organizers	2	
Hatters	2	
Iron Moulders	1	
Trade		50
Domestic Service		50
Clerical		25
Mining		15
Politicians	54	

service; the Good Roads Acts of 1916, 1919, 1921 and 1922, and the Vocational Education Act of 1917 are notable pieces of legislation. But underlying these acts and most governmental effort on rural questions has been the idea of increasing production and safeguarding the food supply rather than improving the lot of the farmer. Needless to say, the cities have been the ones concerned and chiefly benefited rather than the producers of farm stuff.

⁶ *Ibid.*

The cities have furnished much of the incentive to such legislation. But whenever legislation has been proposed for the farmer's exclusive good, urban forces have always been opposed. Moreover, this opposition has generally had its way and governmental action has been largely restricted to what the cities approved.

At rare intervals the voice of the farmer has been heard in his own behalf both in Congress and the halls of his state legislature. If he has not been directly represented, he has nevertheless from time to time exerted some pressure upon the politicians. Of late he has begun to do it with surprising effectiveness thru the federation of farmers' organizations having representatives at the seat of government. The National Board of Farm Organizations, the Farm Bureau Federation, and the National Grange, coöperating for legislative and propaganda purposes, have begun to achieve results thru Congress. Out of this union of forces came the Farm Bloc of 1920-1923, formed to promote the interests of the farmers as a distinct class as over against urban class interests. Thus there has been some legislation not directly concerned with feeding the cities.

Other serious disabilities have been inflicted by the city upon the country. Rural economic organizations have been effectively kept down. With but few exceptions, neither under state nor Federal law have adequate coöperative agencies been allowed. Legal handicap has thus added to the natural difficulties with which rural organization has had to struggle. Coöperative credit associations might have arisen, but not until recently in more than half a dozen states were they legally possible. The Clayton Amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in 1914 for the first time in our history granted permission to farmers to enter into combinations. Long before that every sort of urban business, regardless of anti-trust laws, had combined. The Sherman Act of 1890, designed to curb such organization, did not deter them in the least from forming whatever monopolies they saw fit or found advantageous. So by 1900 there were 149 first-class trusts, capitalized at

\$3,784,000,000, and by 1908 these had multiplied to 10,020, with a total capital of \$31,672,000,000. And the end of the first quarter of the Twentieth Century finds a new crop of urban monopolies coming to the fore.

Urban interests are closely organized in every way and are able to pull together against any movement that tends to curb their power. In this they were supported by a press kept by their advertising. The whole influence of the great urban newspapers is thrown against every farmer's cause. Again and again the press has maligned, misrepresented and done everything that newspapers can do to destroy such causes. Its campaign against the Nonpartisan League revealed the extremes to which it and the interests back of it will go.

In the last decade or so there has been a new and comprehensive get-together movement among the business interests of the cities. It has taken the form of clubs and associations, among which the Rotarians, Kiwanis, and Chambers of Commerce are conspicuous. Thus, city is linked with city and town with town in nation-wide combinations of urbanites. Not infrequently these associations manifest an interest in agriculture. They try to promote better farming but the motive is likely to be the selfish one of getting more business for the banker and the trader. "He profits most who serves best" is a specious slogan of this new urbanism. The farmer's welfare is not their real concern. Much road building has received backing from this source, but it has been to encourage trade and motoring, not to develop the rural districts. In the last analysis the farmer has probably paid the larger part of the bill and got the small end of the benefits.

There is thus what L. H. Bailey called "benevolent urbanism" as well as antagonistic domination. An effort to cultivate the farmer's goodwill is being extensively fostered. The beekeeper's method has been substituted for the bear's. In place of destroying and taking all, urban interests have discerned that it is more profitable to encourage those they would exploit. It is well for the city, but it may not signify much for the farmer. He may

well be suspicious, for no relaxation of domination is really indicated merely because a kindly and paternal attitude is assumed. When urban groups advise, promote, organize and patronize, the motive of self-interest cannot be remote. It is too much to expect that there is anything but a more far-sighted policy of exploitation at stake.

Urban ascendancy has worked against the country in yet another way, which is perhaps the most important of all. I refer to its tendency to drain and deplete the rural stock by luring away much of the best blood from the countryside. This, of course, is essentially mechanical, not from design. Nevertheless, it means city growth at the expense of the country. For more than a generation there has been a marked townward drift of population. We have no way of telling, but it is not improbable that the number of people remaining on the farms has been practically static for this entire period. And there is much to indicate that the element remaining on the farms has slowly decreased in quality. The city has demanded the goodliest of the country youth for its industries. It is believed that as a rule the cream has been taken and the skimmed milk left. The city has pulled out of the country also many of the most prosperous farmers, who have sought retirement. Thus, the vitality of rural society has been kept down, if not actually lowered, under urban domination.

Equally important is the urbanization of thought and public opinion. Our towns and cities have control of the great agencies that mold the nation's thinking. There is no rural press independent of urban influence. The farmer must take his ideas on the issues of public concern from the printed page manufactured in the city. The consequences are that on most lines he thinks the thoughts of the city after it and all unconsciously falls under its spell. Without being aware of it, he has thus upheld the policies by which he has been exploited. There is the rapidly developing radio, city owned and operated. The ideas it broadcasts are urban ideas and there are no pros-

pects that rural interests will ever be permitted to speak to the nation on the air. In some ways these aspects of urban supremacy are the most serious of all.

NATURAL HARMONY

A notion is abroad that the idea of class conflict is an erroneous interpretation of sociological facts. Instead of conflict, it is contended that a natural harmony of interests prevails, that class interdependence outweighs class difference. Common interests even between city and country are declared to be greater than divisive interests. There is, of course, truth in this contention. Neither countrymen nor citymen are self-sufficient; each depends upon the other. Indeed, all classes of a nation are more or less mutually dependent. The labor of society has become greatly divided and each division must serve the other in order that it may in turn be served. Thus, a natural dependence, if not a natural harmony, of classes underlies social life. Consciousness of that fact ought to hold sway.

Unfortunately, it does not hold sway, for few see their own in others' good, or if seeing it, are willing to seek it in the spirit of mutual service. The contrary method of blind self-seeking is supreme in the world. It has established the principle, to get who may and keep who can, regardless of the consequences. Wherefore, the struggle for class power, the rule of the strongest, the resort of such groups to predatory and ruinous measures toward subordinate groups, and the reign of conflict instead of peace constitutes the chief process of society. Harmony is an ideal to be striven for more than a present actuality; it is something all classes ought to desire and seek but which few or none really do seek.

A frank recognition of this fact of the social process in every program of action is therefore wise. It need not be idealized, but must be reckoned with. There is no other option open to society as it is constituted. The realities of the situation cannot be ignored. "In a social

system based on competition and class conflict only force exacts justice.”⁷ In view of this fact, it is imperative for the agricultural class that urban domination be resisted by every means possible. Class consciousness should be incited, self-seeking organization should be created, and every vestige of economic, political, cultural, and organizational power that can be laid hold of should be grasped and used for class ends. Only as a surplus is thus built up will the farming class of America be able to thwart city domination and command a fair portion of the nation’s estates and privileges.

Happily, the farmers are beginning to see it in this light. They are fast catching step with the ongoing process. Witness the extensive growth of farmers’ organizations, of successful coöperatives to market farm products, which are virtual farmers’ monopolies, of a persistent drive of agricultural interests on Congress, of the Farm Bloc and the rising tide of a new agrarianism thruout the land.

To be sure, there have been agrarian movements before. The Granger movement and the Populist episode made themselves felt in the eighteen eighties and nineties. But these virtually came to naught in so far as curbing urban power went. The present movement may, of course, do likewise, for the farming class is even smaller and the cities far greater than a half-century ago. Hence, if there was failure then, all the more is it to be looked for again. Nevertheless, the farmers have gained more power from the present attack than ever before. Moreover, it is quite possible for them to hold these gains and to add to them until the master group will be brought to compromise. Let no one think, however, that the city will come to this without a desperate struggle. Nor let anyone think that more than compromise can be wrested from her. Dominate she does and dominate she will just as long as possible.

All that can be hoped for is to establish the principle of balance. That this can be done is the farmer’s hope,

⁷ Nathaniel Peffer, *Century Magazine*, November, 1924, p. 64.

even as it ought to be the hope of every subordinate class. A balancing of power will give an equilibrium—a harmony in the only way that there can be harmony in the existing social order. Otherwise, it will take a radically different order to establish it. The alternatives to the principle of balance are either class domination or eventually revolution of some sort.

To bring in this principle of balance, to get the harmony that ought to prevail between city and country, the farmer probably has it within his reach, if not within his grasp, to force the conclusion, if other means will not avail.

The farmer has been maneuvered into a vulnerable position on account of the development of commercial farming. It has increased his dependence upon urban conditions, made him the tool of speculative agencies, and put him at the mercy of world markets. Sometimes it has worked to his gain but more often to his loss. The lure of profits has caused him to barter his independence for a gambler's chance. The remedy for this lies partly in his own hands and that remedy is also a boomerang that will smite the city. It is to return in large measure to a self-sufficient economy. To this he can resort if commercial agriculture ceases to yield profit. And where it is chiefly for urban gain, as it now appears to be, it does not profit the farmer and probably cannot survive. A cessation or rigid curtailment of commercial agriculture and a return to a more self-sufficient economy would be tantamount to a strike, but it would be effective. It would mean producing on the farm as much as possible of what the family consumes. It would mean increased diversification and decreased specialization. Hence, less surplus to sell and less buying of manufactured goods. It would no doubt mean a great simplification of life, a lowering of the standard of living, perhaps a reversion to a somewhat more primitive type of agriculture. But it would also mean such a crisis for the city that the city would probably relinquish to the country an equitable share of social power and privilege and so enable the farmer to recover again his social losses.

If not this, the process will go on till urban domination so completely subordinates the country to its interests that only degraded vassalage will remain. Then the farmer will be merely the hired servant of the urban lords, and agriculture a city-directed adjunct of a thorogoin industrial civilization.

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XIX

RURAL CHANGE

COUNTRYMEN everywhere in the world are adverse to change. They are exceedingly slow to depart from the ways of their fathers. The American farmer is true to type; he is notoriously conservative. As one has said, he "can go along as he always has and as his father did before him and still keep going."¹ Howbeit; he is much less stagnant than the average Old World peasant, but nevertheless, far more so than the city dwelling American. He has been resistant to innovating ways, reluctant to adopt scientific methods and opposed to "new fangled things" in general. He has not been kindly disposed toward political and social experiments, for he votes down most reform measures having to do with improvement in education, sanitation, health, government, taxation and labor conditions. In politics he is generally a standpatter; in religion an unchanging "fundamentalist"; in business matters an overcautious enterprise; and as a laborer, for above all laborer he is, a "scab" against his class interests.

The average urbanite, in contrast, is inclined to be radical. He may not always covet alteration but he is not habitually opposed to it. He is more ready for experiments, for readjustments, for reforms. He is certainly not quite so much a worshipper of the god of things as they are, but rather of the spirit of progress. He seeks the new in business, proposes political and social improvement, and prizes whatever is "modern" and "up-to-date."

The specific causes of this difference between the cityman

¹ Evelyn Dewey, *New Schools for Old*, p. 7.

and the countryman are not far to seek. First of all, the environments of the two are different. One dwells in a man-made world that is never finished; the other in the world of nature, whose ways are established. The average countryman is a property-owner with his possessions at stake, whereas the average city man is a wage earner with nothing to lose but everything to gain. If a capitalist, the urbanite can more readily readjust himself if alteration comes than can the landowner and crop-grower. Above all, the people of the city are younger in years and so more pliable, are of many social and cultural elements, are followers of a greater variety of ways of getting a living. Hence, stimulation plays upon them, while stagnation surrounds the countryman.

METHODS OF CHANGE

Altho the traditions of rural life do not favor change, the country is by no means changeless. On the contrary, American rural society is fairly progressive compared with rural society in other parts of the world. The American farmer is less bound by habit, less wedded to the old, less opposed to social reform than is the farming class of any other country with the exception of Denmark. The methods of effecting change in rural society are so vital that they must be carefully analyzed.

1. *The persuasive method.* This is the one most in vogue in all effort toward reform in country and city alike. It proceeds upon the assumption that the communication of ideas will lead to their performance. Back of this assumption lies a more fundamental one, which holds that people are rationally motivated. Hence the wide-spread resort to preaching and to the appeal of words and ideals. But this method is greatly overrated and overworked. Judged by results it is of doubtful value in most cases. For men in general are not primarily rational. Their essential conservatism argues as much, for the rational are normally radical. Professor James Harvey Robinson holds that not more than one-fourth

part of the human mind is predisposed to change. The civilized man's consciousness rests back on the animal consciousness, the child consciousness and the savage consciousness. Robinson says the animal mind, with its instincts, its curiosity and impulse to fumble and grope; the child mind, with its prejudices and misapprehensions and struggles against the censorship of elders; the savage mind, which was man's till the last 5,000 years, with its anthromorphic and conservative ways, are all three still playing a part in the civilized mind, which is critical, speculative, skeptical, and originative. The three former minds that we possess, or that most men do, generally dominate the fourth or civilized mind. For this reason, most all the world is very conservative. It conforms, it changeth not, it does not venture, but returns under the pull of instincts to its old and customary ways where it is sure.

The countryman, living in a *milieu* that does not stimulate the civilized part of the mind overmuch, answers less, if anything, to the rational appeal than does the average city person. In any event, the former responds no more than others to the appeal of reason. The reformer's message mostly falls upon deaf ears. Only the few are able to harken and to take heed.

This basic condition is often modified, however, by factors favorable to the rational appeal. If there be many youth, the persuasive method will meet with much more success than otherwise; for youth responds to ideas as age does not. If, again, the people be largely pioneers, there will be a similar response, for the pioneer is also a man of change, else he would not have pioneered. He is receptive to ideals and acts upon them as few others do. Thus, the frontier of America has ever been the home of our most vigorous political and social idealism. The West and the Northwest are its chief abiding places today. There the farmer has been persuaded by reform programs, by the tenets of democracy, by the cooperative movement, and by the gospel of progress. Upon these pioneering and youthful peoples the persuasion that has left other

rural sections largely cold, unmoved, and barren has fallen as seed to spring up in abundant fruitage. The Granger movement, Greenbackism, Populism, Free Silver, the Nonpartisan League, and the La Follette movement are the major causes in which response has been manifested. Still again, the persuasive method is more effective when applied to the primary mores than to the secondary. Rational variation may be secured in the things that have to do with getting a living when people cannot be moved with reference to those of less vital import. Says Keller: "It is not hard to demonstrate to an ignorant person in this country that he should learn to read and write; he can see that by living in this society. Similarly for his interest is it that he shall use the English language. Tests lie all about him and are immediate and decisive. But try to persuade him by abstract argument to give up the vendetta, to renounce anarchistic leanings, or to change his religion and you fail. There are no immediate and decisive tests at hand. You cannot demonstrate that interest will be subserved by change; you cannot even secure visualization of evil consequences. . . . The more nearly custom (the folkways) represents direct reaction on environment in the actual struggle for material aids to existence, the more rational a test does it undergo, and conversely, the more derived the societal forms, the more clearly do they fall under the tests of tradition rather than reason.²

"You can persuade a savage of the inadequacy of his stone hatchet long before he can be made to see that his family system is capable of being superseded by one yielding better satisfaction to his interests."³ The American farmer has been somewhat influenced by the sort of ideas that would show how two ears of corn might be made to grow where one grew before but in all other things he has remained essentially unmoved.

Not only does the persuasive method often miss the

² A. G. Keller, *Societal Evolution*, p. 132. Copyright by The Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1915. Used by permission.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

mark, but, what is worse, it may accomplish harm. It may agitate only the emotions and educate not at all. Says Sumner of agitation: "Every impulse given to the masses is, in its nature, spasmodic and transitory. No systematic enterprise to enlighten the masses can be carried out. Campaigns of education contain a fallacy. Education takes time. It cannot be treated as subsidiary for a lifetime and then be made the chief business for six months with the desired results. A campaign of education is undemocratic. It implies that some one is teacher and somebody else pupil. It can only result in the elucidation of popular interests and the firmer establishment of popular prejudice. On the other hand, an agitation which appeals skillfully to pet notions and to latent fanaticism may stampede the masses. The Middle Ages furnished a number of cases. The Mahdis, who have arisen in Mohammedan Africa, and other Moslem prophets have produced wonderful phenomena of this kind. The silver agitation was begun in 1878 by a systematic effort of three or four newspapers in the Middle West addressed to currency notions which the Greenback proposition had popularized. What is the limit to the possibilities of fanaticism and frenzy which might be produced in any society by agitation skillfully addressed to the fallacies and passions of the masses? The answer lies in the mores, which determine the degree of reserved common sense, and the habit of observing measures and methods, to which the masses have been accustomed. It follows that popular agitation is a desperate and doubtful method. The masses, as the great popular jury which, at last, by adoption or rejection, decides the fate of all proposed changes in the mores, need stability and moderation. Popular agitation introduces into the masses initiative and creative functions which destroy its judgment and call for quite other qualities." ⁴

2. *The demonstration method.* Where preaching and efforts of persuasion have failed to get results another method has been resorted to with singular success. The

⁴ From Sumner's *Folkways*, pp. 51-52. Copyright by Ginn and Co.

method is that of visual demonstration. It is estimated that about one in seven adults can reason from principle to practice or can be influenced by lectures, reports and bulletins. But four out of five adults will learn new practices only by seeing them performed. Thus with about 86 per cent of the people amenable to change chiefly by this method, it becomes of first-rate importance.⁵ It has been extensively applied particularly in the alteration of the subsistence mores. Results obtained by it have been nothing short of revolutionary.

This method is distinctly an American invention, in its application to rural life. It grew out of the efforts of the agricultural experiment stations to get farmers to adopt the results of scientific experimentation. Bulletins and institute lectures were without much effect till some one observed that experiments conducted on farms were imitated by the farmers of the neighborhood. Hence, by means of these coöperative projects, in which the stations and actual farmers took part, the value of the demonstrative method became apparent.

This method was given large vogue thru the efforts of Doctor Seaman A. Knapp, an agent of the Department of Agriculture in the South. He began to employ it in Texas and Louisiana in an effort to curb the ravages of the boll-weevil. From that small beginning a nationwide movement and organization built upon the idea have grown up. What is known as coöperative agricultural extension work, provided for finally in the Smith-Lever Act of Congress and carried on jointly by Federal and state governments, is the outgrowth of the method. The County Agricultural Agent, the Home Demonstration Agent and the Boys' and Girls' Club work are its main products and lines of endeavor. The County Agent is engaged in about 2300 of the 3000 counties of the United States, conducting and supervising farm demonstrations covering practically every phase of the business of farm-

⁵ C. B. Smith, "Principles and Achievements in Adult Education Under the Smith-Lever Act," *Proceedings Fifth National Country Life Conference*, 1922, p. 71.

ing. The Home Demonstration agents are at work in about one-third of the counties, largely in the Southern and Eastern states. They are engaged in showing farm women and girls better ways of home making. The Boys' and Girls' Club work is giving vocational training thru the same general method to the rural youth. It centers attention on some important phase of agriculture in each community, such as the growing of corn, cotton, wheat, beans, pigs, poultry, sheep and beef cattle. For girls, garden, sewing and canning clubs are common, altho many other enterprises are also conducted. In 1925 there were some 41,000 clubs, with 565,000 boys and girls enrolled. This is about 1 in 20 of the 11,000,000 rural boys and girls 10 to 18 years of age, or 1 in 10 of the 6,000,000 living in the open country.

This method has been found quite as effective when used to effect change in spheres other than that of agriculture or home making. In matters of health and sanitation it has proved exceedingly valuable.

3. *The morphological method.* By this is meant the effort to produce change in social habits by altering the social structure, i.e., by means of organization. Rural reformers have generally assumed that they could do it in this way. Hence, excellent schemes have been drawn up and comprehensive social machinery devised for carrying them into effect. Not infrequently such machinery is actually set up in a community in the hope that it will run. Sometimes it does run, but in the vast majority of cases it does not run. It generally proves to be so much motionless enginery, impotent to accomplish any work. Thus, when an attempt is made in this way to mobilize a rural community to some new ends and for some new endeavor, all that comes of the undertaking is the lifeless machinery itself.

Unless the spirit of community is present, i.e., a self-conscious unity of people who feel a need for joint action, no program of organization is likely to succeed. Only in exceptional cases will the movement for organization itself give rise to this spirit of community. Where it

does so, the method of course justifies itself. Where it does not and where there was no real community to begin with, it proves futile.

4. *Deterministic change.* The most profound and far-reaching change in society takes place of itself—mechanically. It springs from several sources. One source is the vicissitudes of nature, such as floods, droughts, storms, plagues, pests, and the extremes of climatic cycles. The periodic recurrence of drought in the swing of the climatic cycle over sections of the West has been responsible for the migration of rural people in and out of that region. It has also influenced political and economic movements. Again, the ravages of the boll-weevil in the South have caused numerous readjustments in the afflicted areas and resulted in extensive population shiftings.

Another source is more directly social, such as crises, war, revolutionizing invention, and significant discovery. These set going chains of consequences which effect permanent alteration. The invention of the cotton gin, reaping machinery, and especially the automobile are instances in point. In many sections the automobile is changing rural institutions and the habits of farmers in almost every way.

A third source of alteration is found in the incidental consequences of purposive action. Much that happens is unlooked for, unplanned and fortuitous. It transpires as the by-product of conscious endeavor. Often it turns out to be the main product instead of the one that was sought. The Farm Bureau movement, for example, was designed by the government for educational purposes. Once started, however, in parts of the country, it has become a powerful economic agency engaged in business coöperation. It has also developed political tendencies and rallied the farmers of the nation to bring pressure upon Congress to get desirable legislation. It was largely responsible for the Farm Bloc in the sixty-seventh and sixty-eighth Federal Congresses.

Unintended changes come about in still another way.

When the subsistence mores undergo transformation, as Keller has shown, the secondary mores tend to alter in conformity with them, i.e., the secondary will "consist" with the primary. This is illustrated with respect to the church. When the self-sufficient agricultural economy prevailed and farm stuff was produced for home consumption instead of for market, money was scarce and little used by the American farmer. The church was built and the minister sustained by contributions of work and produce. Religion was supported on donations. But with the development of commercial farming and the sale of produce for money, the business of agriculture shifted to a new basis. In keeping, the attitude toward the church has undergone a general change. The church support has become monetary and the obligation to render personal service in its behalf has given place to the practice of hiring things done for it.

5. *The contact method.* It is generally recognized that one of the most effective means of social change is found in contact of cultures—where peoples of different culture come in touch with one another, cross-fertilization takes place. Perhaps nothing has been more conducive to progress.

In a certain sense this factor is operative with reference to rural society. City culture and rural culture have for most of our history been spheres apart. The farmer has lived in a stagnant world remote from the dynamic centers of urban life. He was relatively unstimulated and uninfluenced by them. Not that urban and rural culture have not always had a good deal in common in this country, but that what they did not have in common failed to run up against its opposite in fruitful contact. But of late unparalleled agencies of communication and frequent contact have brought city and country together as never before. The result is, that wherever this has happened, country life has been greatly stimulated. Rapid urbanization has taken place.

One important consequence of contact between city and country is seen in the rise of cooperation. Individualism

has been undermined by the knowledge of urban coöperation. It has begun to give way because it is unprofitable. Professor J. M. Williams has said: "The cooperative attitude which promises to transform rural life developed in other vocations before farming. Rural leaders saw business men organizing to raise prices and increase their profits; saw workmen organizing to raise their wages. They used these arguments with the rank and file of still individualistic farmers."⁶

The city class has been looked up to as superior, and its ways have been imitated. In matters of dress, recreation, moral code and standard of living this is much in evidence.

6. *The compulsory method.* This is the method of law and government. It is also the method of social pressure where there is no legal sanction, or governmental backing. Some change is wrought this way. A positive and aggressive faction may coerce the rest into altering their ways. The Empress Dowager of China issued an edict ending the opium trade. Our own nation outlawed the liquor traffic and the use of alcoholics for a beverage. During the Great War social pressure compelled people to support war charities, join organizations, buy bonds, and restrict food consumption. To rural America along with the rest, coercive measures were applied. Among other things, production was made compulsory, prices were fixed, the disposal of foodstuffs prescribed and the time of labor regulated by law.

So long as authority stood guard its bidding was done but when it relaxed its vigilance or went off duty people slipped back into their old ways. The farmer turned his back upon social service organizations such as the Red Cross, his openhandedness ceased, and he went on a strike against the daylight saving laws. Very little, if any, permanent change was effected by the war-time compulsion.

Some enduring change may be brought about by this method, but force must be long applied to get results.

⁶ J. M. Williams, *Our Rural Heritage*, Alfred A. Knopf, 1925, p. 236.

More is accomplished when its objects are negative instead of positive. It is essentially a restrictive rather than a constructive agency. Otherwise governments might accomplish all things. But as it is, they can do but few things with any degree of success.

7. *The genetic method.* This method begins with the simplest elements of human nature and social behavior, i.e., instincts, habits and customs, and out of them proceeds to develop new and more complex habits and associational modes.

Where all other methods fail, this one can be relied upon to get results if any persuasive method can. In proceeding to manipulate instincts and habits, the principle of preferential motives may be brought to bear. This principle indicates that men naturally act on a scale of behavior which runs from the basis of least cost and most satisfaction in effort, to ever increasing cost and more enduring, if not greater satisfactions.

I have elsewhere formulated these facts into what I have called the *Law of Rural Socialization*. This law is expressed as follows: "Cooperation in rural neighborhoods has its genesis in and development thru those forms of association which, beginning on the basis of least cost, gradually rise thru planes of increasing cost to the stage of greatest cost in effort demanded, and which give at the same time ever increasing and more enduring benefits and satisfaction to the group."⁷

This law of conduct is of particular significance in relation to rural change. By following it the individualistic, non-cooperating country folk may be socialized and organized. The latent gregarious instinct can be aroused and the play impulse utilized to get simple united action; under the stimulus of such action the work incentive can be brought into operation and made to yield effective cooperation. And out of the socialized capital thus accumulated, the more difficult economic and cultural enterprises that have to do with community welfare may at length be ventured upon and realized.

⁷ N. L. Sims, *The Rural Community*, pp. 640-641.

Many instances could be cited where communities have been transformed substantially thru this method. The achievement of Mrs. Harvey in the Porter school district of Missouri is a case in point. Evelyn Dewey's report gives us the facts somewhat as follows:⁸ Mrs. Harvey did not come to Porter with any specific and obvious program for effecting reforms in either ways of living or agricultural methods. Nor did she set about at once to impose ready-made organizations upon the community. Such tactics could only have aroused resentment and defeated her ends. Instead, she simply gave the families—hitherto isolated and self-centered on their farms—opportunities of becoming acquainted; became herself their personal friend and trusted advisor, and as such suggested the possibilities in their environment and broadened their social outlook. Thus little by little she trained them into social activity, not by obviously making over the community, but by merely “loosening forces that resulted in organization and movements.”

8. *The educational method.* In several of the methods already mentioned the educational factor is present; but what we have in mind here is education thru the schools. Formal education ought to be the most effective means of social change. Thru the schools as moulders of childhood, new and better ways ought to be achieved by each succeeding generation. If they are not to any great degree achieved in this way, the fault lies in what the schools teach. Confessedly they are concerned chiefly with teaching the culture of the past rather than with finding out any new things. The past tends to be idealized and the present to be perpetuated by the schools.

The rural schools are least of any the mediators of change. Such influence as they have exerted in this direction has been preponderantly adverse to rural society. It has tended to turn the footsteps of youth cityward. It has thus acted as a disturbing agency indeed, but not primarily for the advantage of the school community. Rightly directed, however, the rural school may be the

⁸ Evelyn Dewey, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

most effective and dependable agency of change. It is at the bottom of the problem of a more adequate civilization for the country, for with the childhood and youth of today rests the trend of civilization tomorrow.

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Part IV

THE MATERIAL ELEMENT

XX

FARMERS' WEALTH AND INCOME

MATERIAL ENERGY

SOCIOLOGY is the study of society or human grouping. But what is a society or a human group? It is obviously first of all a multiple number of persons who in either temporary or more or less permanent association carry on together. But human society is always more than just a multiple number of persons acting in concert, else it would not be distinguished from mere animal aggregation. Men bring along something besides themselves when they associate. Other animals do not bring anything else. These extra-personal factors are just as much elements or constituent parts of society as are persons. Without them there is no human grouping.

What are these extra-personal elements? One is *social tradition*, or culture. It represents the accumulated experiences, knowledge, techniques, arts, sciences, and ways of doing things in general. Most of it is the gift of innumerable dead generations to the living one. A society without culture does not exist. To eliminate it would reduce men to animals and destroy association itself. A second extra-personal element is but a special kind of culture, tho it is so significant that it must be singled out and given a class by itself. We call it *social structure* or organization. It, too, represents in large measure inherited achievement. It is part of the equipment of all groups, for the want of which they would fail and fall apart. The third element without which we do not find much if any society is *wealth*. Material things, created by human labor or humanly directed labor, affording protec-

tion, comfort and satisfaction, and means to power is what wealth signifies. All human societies have more or less wealth, representing largely the stored-up energies of dead ancestors. We have elsewhere referred to these three extra-personal factors together with the personal as the energies of society.¹ All four being involved in society, sociology must reckon with each. That is done in the several parts of this text. This part will be devoted to wealth as an element of rural society, and this chapter will treat of the durable wealth and income of the farmer, the problem he faces in producing these forms of energy, and the position in which he is placed as a class by virtue of the nature and limitations of his material resources.

PRODUCING WEALTH

The process of producing wealth and income leads to the study of economics. It is not our task to treat of that subject, but if wealth and income are elements of society, as we hold them to be, we must see how farmers as a distinct group get and use wealth and are influenced by it.

Wealth production from the land when contrasted with practically all other means of production has certain peculiarities. Some of these are matters of common observation; others, less obvious; but all have such important bearing upon our problem that they need to be considered.

1. Agriculture, to begin with, is wealth-creating in a primary sense; that is, it originates wealth from a first source. Land is this source and it is almost if not quite the original source of all wealth, as the physiocrats once contended. Other means of wealth are mostly secondary; that is, doing something with what originally came from the land. The production of wealth among countrymen really begins by applying labor to the land. To breed and graze animals upon it is one of the first methods, but on the whole not a very important one. Clearing and

¹ See *Society and Its Surplus*.

bringing land under cultivation, together with all that goes into its improvement, is the great source of durable wealth. Along with this, of course, we must include the growing of plants and animals as the main process. The commonplace point of the whole thing is that agricultural wealth results from the manipulation of natural forces, whereas most other wealth results from art pure and simple. Certain consequences that flow from this fact give rise to a second peculiarity of wealth-getting by farming, namely:

2. It is more highly aleatory than is any other creative process. This is by virtue of its being more under the domination of natural forces than of human. As some one has said, "Nature is the ultimate management in the agricultural industry." Heat and cold, clouds and sunshine, rain and storm, drought and flood, plant and animal diseases are the final arbiters. Human labor and science have not yet attained sufficient mastery over these things to give the farmer more than a gambler's chance. Take, for instance, the conflict waged against destructive insects—a phase in which the farmer is able to exercise more control than in any other; the battle often goes heavily against him, and at best he wins at a high cost. The economic entomologists tell us that despite all efforts at control, not less than 10 per cent of the total product is destroyed annually by insects.^{1a} When the farmer has done his best, Nature still has the whip hand and the results rest with luck. The accumulation of wealth by agriculture is therefore fluctuating and uncertain, and consequently hedged about with great limitations. The secondary means of production, such as manufacturing, transporting and merchandising, are not subject to nature's caprices. They are more stable and sure, and hence less limited in their possibilities.

3. A third peculiarity of farming is its extraordinary number of productive units and managers. In 1920 there were 6,448,343 farms. This is a number in excess of all other wealth-producing enterprises, industrial, mining,

^{1a} Thomas Brues, *Insects and Human Welfare*, pp. 39-40.

commercial and financial combined. On these farms were more than 6,000,000 operators and managers. The managerial portion of the 10,600,000 people gainfully employed in agriculture constitutes over 60 per cent of the whole. Take manufacturing in contrast. In 1920 there were less than 300,000 establishments and 10,800,000 gainfully employed. Of these less than 700,000 belong to the managerial staff—constituting about 7 per cent of the total number.²

The reason for so many enterprises in farming is found in the nature of the undertaking. It offers opportunity for the man of small capital to set up for himself. This is impossible in most other enterprises. Using manufacturing to show the contrast again, we find that the average investment in farms in 1919 was \$12,084; whereas that of manufacturing establishments amounted to \$153,000.³

Much significance attaches to this situation in agriculture. It means that more people are their own bosses than in other fields. Better than one out of two have this privilege. In manufacturing less than one out of ten have it. Moreover, the farm group enjoys a greater equality of wealth than does any other class. Great fortunes are unknown, but large numbers possess small properties. So much for the advantages of farming; there are also inherent disadvantages when wealth production is at stake. The very great number of enterprises under which farming is conducted tend to limit production, especially where the units are uneconomical, as is often the case. It of course depends as well upon the kind of farming, the soil, the climate and the amount of improved land, as to what sized farm is most efficient.

There are three classes of farms; viz., large size, medium and small. The first class requires one who does nothing but manage labor and direct the enterprise. The extensive use of machinery and hired help, together with the

² David Friday, "The Course of Agricultural Income During the Last Twenty-five Years," *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 13. Supplement March, 1923, p. 157.

³ *U. S. Census of Manufactures*, 1919, Abstract, p. 12.

difficulties of efficient utilization, seem to make the bonanza farm uneconomical. There are not many of them in the United States. Some 3.3 per cent of the farms average 500 acres; and about 8,000 farming corporations were reported in 1920. These presumably represent the major portion of the large scale enterprises. The small scale farm in general agriculture suffers because machinery and capital cannot be efficiently employed. The number of such farms is large, particularly in the South. The medium-sized farm, where the operator is both manager and worker, seems to be the most efficient for general farming. The best incomes are derived from those ranging between 174 and 200 acres. The model size of all farms in 1920 was 148.2 acres, of which 78 acres were improved. This approaches in a general way the most economical unit for wealth production. Of the six and a half million farms in 1920, 4.5 per cent were under 10 acres; 7.9 per cent between 10 and 19 acres; 23.3 per cent between 20 and 49 acres; and 22.9 per cent between 50 and 99 acres. This means that 58.6 per cent of the total number are below the size that proves most profitable. However, the conclusion cannot be drawn that these are all unprofitable units, for in numerous instances they are quite sufficient for the purposes to which they are put. But it is not improbable, even when due allowance is made for all the qualifying factors, that the greater part of them are uneconomical. Probably one-third of the farms are or tend to be uneconomical units, and one-third of the farmers struggling for a bare existence. Hence it would seem fair to say that wealth production is further handicapped by the inefficient units.

4. A fourth peculiarity of agriculture bearing upon wealth accumulation has been its lack of organization. Six and a half million units and nearly as many managers in competition among themselves have not brought gain to any. Even tho Nature has the last word about the yield, the fact remains, that even within the sphere of possible regulation unorganized farming has not exercised any control over the output. Practically all other

industries by combination regulate their output. The lack of regulation has been one factor making agriculture unprofitable. Because of it there is commonly overproduction. The market is thus glutted and prices fall below the actual cost of production. The surplus, which ought to yield gain, thus turns the situation into one bringing loss and bankruptcy to many. This may be illustrated with reference to wheat. Stimulated by war demands, the supply became greater than the market could consume. This depressed prices below the cost of growing the grain. Investigations made by the Tariff Commission disclose the following facts:

In 1921, when 814,905,000 bushels were produced at a cost of \$1.40 per bushel, the farmer got \$1.01. His loss was 39 cents per bushel. The next year the crop was 867,598,000 bushels and sold at 89 cents per bushel. The farmer lost 42 cents to the bushel. In 1923 the yield was 797,381,000 bushels and the farmer got 92.04 cents per bushel, sustaining a loss of 48 cents per bushel. In 1924, when there were 864,565,000 bushels, the farmer got \$1.28 and lost 12 cents per bushel.⁴

Until of late the farmers have not been organized to control their markets. They have been mulcted of their profits by urban agencies. Too many of the tools of agricultural production on the distributive side are owned by non-farmers. What should have been the farmer's has thus flowed into the pockets of a non-farming class. How much difference there would be in the wealth and income of farmers today, had organized marketing prevailed during the past three or four generations, no one can say. However, since 80 per cent of the income from agriculture depends upon the value of what is sold, it is evident that the selling process is highly important. Probably it is the greatest single factor in determining rural wealth. Now that such organization is rising, we may be able to estimate the difference. With upwards of a fourth of the total product disposed of being sold thru cooperatives, and with nearly one-third of the farms involved in them,

⁴ W. B. Bizzell, *The Green Rising*, pp. 240-241.

organization gives some promise of recovering larger gains for farmers.

5. Upon the management of any enterprise success or failure largely depends. Farming is no exception, but it has unique difficulties with respect to this function. These doubtless amount to limitations on wealth production scarcely encountered by other industries. It is no exaggeration to say that the agricultural process is the most complex of enterprises. The right combination of land, labor, and capital; the knowledge of plants and animals; the technique of their production; the problem of conserving soil fertility; the art of carrying on the undertaking day by day; and the business of buying and selling, all taken together require a higher order of intelligence and managerial ability for success than do most other enterprises. It is asking a good deal indeed of any man to carry so complex a process to highly successful issue. No wonder, therefore, that so few of the six million managers of farms really do it.

Apart from its complexity, there are certain other peculiar aspects of management in agriculture. Nearly 40 per cent of the farms are rented and are largely managed by some one other than the owner. It is a notorious fact that this arrangement has never resulted in good husbandry. Soil mining and inefficiency are the consequences. Wealth does not accumulate. There is decay instead. No other business is so extensively operated by tenant managers.

Another handicap in farming arises from the fact that home and business are combined. Ordinarily the home is put first and business second. In other industries, where no such association exists, management is less restricted. Whatever is commercially desirable is put into force. From an economic viewpoint, the farmer might also operate more advantageously were it not that his home must have foremost consideration.

Again, the manager of this industry is dependent upon others for means of improvement. The farm unit is too small and its resources too limited to allow for research

and experimentation. Other businesses carry on such work for themselves and reap the rewards. But new knowledge and methods involving the whole complicated agricultural process must be worked out by special agencies. In so far as this was done at all, until recently it was done by cooperative or private effort. Naturally, farming progress was slow and farming remains relatively unchanged. Within the last century governments have undertaken the task of improving the industry. Much has been accomplished and the farmer greatly benefited, but at best progress has to await the initiative of others rather than that of the farmer himself.

In view of the peculiar conditions under which wealth is produced on farms, one would expect its rate of accumulation to be slower than in other industries, and its total amount in proportion to the number of people involved to be smaller. This is, in fact, the case, as the following table, compiled from a study by the National Industrial Conference Board, shows.⁵

TABLE 63.—AVERAGE ANNUAL PER CENT OF INCREASE OF TOTAL AND AGRICULTURAL WEALTH FROM 1880 TO 1925.

	1880- 1890	1890- 1900	1900- 1904	1904- 1910	1910- 1912	1912- 1920	1920- 1922	1922- 1925
Total Wealth ...	6.9	4.1	2.3	..	6.6	..	2.4	...
Agricultural Wealth	5.0	3.2	..	6.2	0.67	— 0.3	— 6.0	0.84

It is apparent that agricultural wealth has increased less rapidly at all periods than has the total national wealth. And from 1912 to 1920 the former actually decreased.

6. A sixth difficulty from which agriculture cannot escape rises out of the nature of its product. What the farm produces goes chiefly to the satisfaction of primary

⁵ *The Agricultural Problem in the United States*, New York, 1926, pp. 54-55.

needs, especially the food needs. Since man's primary wants and needs are not subject to indefinite expansion, the producer of the goods that satisfy them is always confronted with strictly limited markets. For a given population can and will consume only about so much. If, therefore, a surplus is produced, it goes begging. Not so generally with other producers. They encounter no such strict limits to human wants; there can be almost indefinite expansion of products. Advertizing creates wants, supplies the demand and waxes rich on the gains. But agriculture cannot create a demand beyond satisfied needs. It is therefore always confronted with the possibility of easily glutted markets. Hence it cannot expand indefinitely and reap profits at will.

These facts suggest the possibility that agriculture is rendered unprofitable thru overdevelopment. If it supplies more produce than the country can consume and the world at large demands, it is an overcrowded occupation. Altho the total per capita production of agricultural commodities is reported to be no greater today than it was fifty years ago,⁶ there is evidence that the per capita consumption of such commodities is decreasing. For example, it is estimated that to have fed the horses that have been eliminated in the State of Ohio since 1910 would require today 10 per cent of the crop area of the state.⁷ Such elimination expands the demand for products of industry and curtails the demand for those of agriculture. The balance between it and other industries has been upset, and being overcrowded, it suffers. Such is said actually to be the case with American agriculture today. There are too many people at it; they are producing too much and getting too little for their efforts. This may be true, but for most of our history farmers have had relatively low incomes. The logic of the argument would then lead us to conclude that the occupation

⁶ H. R. Tolley, U. S. Dept. Agriculture. Address before Association of Land Grant Colleges, Washington, Nov., 1926. Mimeographed circular.

⁷ J. L. Falconer, "Our Agricultural Income," *Rural America*, Oct., 1927, p. 12.

has always been overcrowded. This, however, is doubtful. At least there are, as we have shown, other factors that are just as important.

THE WEALTH INVENTORIED

How much have farmers as a class accumulated? Only estimates on the basis of limited data from various sources are possible. Members of the staff of the United States Department of Agriculture have made certain calculations that probably approximate the figures. The following table by Dr. L. C. Gray shows the basic facts for 1920.

These facts must be supplemented by others to get a true picture. One item is other property owned by farmers. This includes stocks, bonds, town real estate, and cash on deposit. This is calculated at \$9,033,737,258.⁸ Another item is farmers' debts, such as real estate mortgages and short-term obligations, amounting to \$11,029,098,020. Putting all the data together we get Table 64.

In addition are the accumulations of farm laborers resident in the country. The grand total for the farming class rises to \$62,522,729,703, or \$1,978 per capita, on the 1920 basis.⁹

Since 1920 all estimates show a marked decrease of agricultural wealth. The figures for 1925 place it at \$58,568,000,000, indicating a shrinkage of 6 per cent.¹⁰

A better appreciation of this wealth may be secured by comparing the per capita amount with that of the non-agriculturist population. W. R. Ingalls put the total national wealth at \$290,909,285,628 in 1920. This gives nearly \$2,739 per capita. Eliminating the farm wealth and farm population, the remaining wealth of the non-agricultural classes is \$3,060 per capita. Dr. W. I. King has a little higher figure, giving to the population outside

⁸ L. C. Gray, "Accumulation of Wealth by Farmers," *American Economic Review*, Vol. XIII, March, 1923, p. 163.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹⁰ National Industrial Conference Board, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

TABLE 64.—FARM CAPITAL AND ITS OWNERSHIP, JANUARY 1, 1920.¹¹

ITEMS	FARM CAPITAL	OWNED BY FARMERS		OWNED BY OTHERS	
		Amount	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent
Land	\$54,829,563,059	\$36,952,437,813	67.4	\$17,877,125,246	32.6
Buildings	11,486,439,543	8,675,175,515	75.5	2,811,264,028	24.5
Total real estate	66,316,002,602	45,627,613,328	68.8	20,688,389,274	31.2
Total live stock and implements ..	11,608,097,736	11,405,457,617	98.3	202,640,119	1.7
Value of crops on hand	5,812,000,000	5,408,000,000	93.1	404,000,000	6.9
Value of growing crops	277,019,520	277,019,520			
Miscellaneous supplies	300,000,000	300,000,000			
Cash to run business	800,000,000	800,000,000			
Total farm capital	\$85,113,119,858	\$63,818,090,465	74.98	\$21,295,029,393	25.02

¹¹ Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

of agriculture \$3,175 per capita. On the basis of these data the per capita wealth for the farming class is estimated to be about 50 per cent less than for the non-farming class.¹²

TABLE 65.—NET WORTH OF FARMERS.¹³

ASSETS	TOTAL	PER FARM FAMILY ¹
Farm capital owned by farmers	\$63,818,090,465 ²	\$ 9,897
Other assets	9,033,737,258	1,401
Total assets	\$72,851,827,723	\$11,298
LIABILITIES		
Secured by farm real estate mortgage	5,967,384,775	925
Short-term indebtedness to banks	3,455,813,034	536
Other indebtedness	1,605,900,211	249
Total liabilities	\$11,029,098,020	\$ 1,710
Net Worth	\$61,822,729,703	\$ 9,587

¹ Assuming number of farm families identical with the number of farms.

² \$800,000,000 of cash to run the farm deducted in order to avoid counting it twice.

The way in which this wealth is distributed is a still more vital matter. Averages per farmer and per capita for the various classes according to tenure will convey some idea of conditions. The following table is compiled from the sources already cited.

If these figures be approximately correct, it is at once apparent that about 53 per cent of the farming class owns 85 per cent of the wealth of agricultural society, while the remaining 47 per cent possesses the other 15 per cent. Unequal as this is, it is a vastly better distribution than

¹² Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

that which obtains with respect to the national wealth in general. For in the latter case estimates assign close to two-thirds of the total to the richest 2 per cent of the people. This leaves the great majority provided "with the scraps of wealth cast aside from the table of Dives."¹⁴ The fact that more than half of the farming class own modest estates is significant. Moreover, half of the poorest 50 per cent of the farm people have small accumulations, which is much more than can be said of the poorer non-agricultural classes.

TABLE 66.—DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AMONG FARMERS.¹⁵

TENURE	PER CENT OF FARM POPULA- TION ²	PER CENT OF ALL FARMERS	NET WEALTH PER FARMER	NET WEALTH PER CAPITA	PER CENT OF TOTAL
Full Owners	44.0	53.3	\$13,476	\$3,230	74.10
Part Owners ¹ ..	08.5	8.6	12,829	3,075	11.45
Tenants	26.0	29.1	4,315	1,034	13.00
Croppers	08.5	09.0	354	85	00.34
Laborers	13.0	00.0	350		01.11

¹ Those hiring land as well as cultivating their own.

² Roughly estimated.

Dire poverty is, of course, no more absent from the country than from the city. It is, however, largely confined to the landless tenants, croppers and laborers. Whether the general trend is toward more or toward less rural poverty, no one knows. Certain facts, such as the increase of the number of tenants and croppers and the multiplication of bankruptcies among landowners, may indicate a growing impoverishment. In the case of the growth of tenantry the movement has long been a steady one, but the rate of bankruptcies is more fluctuating. However, there was generally a gradual rise in the rate

¹⁴ W. I. King, *The Wealth and Income of the People of the United States*, pp. 96-98.

¹⁵ Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-171.

of bankruptcies from 1910 to 1920, then a tremendous increase. The figures jumped from 21.1 per 100,000 farmers in 1920 to 50.3 in 1921, 92.6 in 1923, and reached 123.3 in 1925.¹⁶ The rate of bankruptcies in the commercial world is normally much higher than among farmers, but since 1922 the farm rate has run ahead of the other. This reflects the calamitous conditions that have befallen agriculture since the Great War. There is deflation of speculative land values and readjustment, involving economic tragedy for many, but this does not necessarily indicate progressive impoverishment. However, the farming class may be at the cross-roads and increasing numbers be doomed henceforth to follow the road of distress and misery.

INCOME IN AGRICULTURE

Current income is a better index than is accumulated wealth of the material welfare of the farmers. By current income is meant not merely total income, which includes gains and losses in the value of property owned, but excess of cash receipts over business expenses plus the value of income received in the form of commodities. In the farmers' case it includes wages, profits from business, rental value of homes occupied by owners, value of commodities which families produce for their own consumption, interest on capital investment in farms or other property, and rents.

Here again only crude estimates are available. These are based on general averages derived from limited data. A large margin of error is necessarily involved. However, the error is not so great as to vitiate their use as general approximations to actual facts. The National Industrial Conference Board has published estimates of farmers' income from 1909 to 1925. Tables 67 and 68 are based on its estimates. See *op. cit.*, p. 56.

The estimates of Table 68 are more significant than those of Table 67, having reference to the "crop year"

¹⁶ National Industrial Conference Board, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

TABLE 67.—FARMERS' INCOME FROM INVESTMENT AND LABOR, 1909-1920.

CALENDAR YEAR	GROSS IN- COME, IN- CLUDING FOOD, LIGHT AND RENT (millions)	INTEREST ON TOTAL INVEST- MENT ALLOWED (millions)	RETURN FOR LABOR OF ALL OPERATORS (millions)	AVERAGE LABOR RE- TURN PER FAMILY	AVERAGE RETURN IN INTEREST INVEST- MENT ALLOWED	TOTAL IN- COME PER FAMILY	WAGES OF HIRED LABOR WITHOUT BOARD	ANNUAL EARNINGS OF WORKERS IN OTHER OCCUPA- TIONS
1909	\$ 5,647	\$2,003	\$2,383	\$ 376	\$316	\$ 692	\$329	\$ 598
1910	6,757	2,070	3,347	526	325	851	330	636
1911	6,418	2,111	2,887	453	331	784	345	631
1912	6,338	2,146	2,741	429	334	763	355	647
1913	6,985	2,261	3,174	496	353	849	364	726
1914	7,157	2,331	3,242	506	363	869	359	691
1915	7,473	2,410	3,431	535	375	910	362	691
1916	8,461	2,634	3,978	619	410	1,029	394	767
1917	11,190	2,855	5,991	931	443	1,374	485	879
1918	14,463	3,206	8,425	1,309	498	1,807	586	1,123
1919	16,947	3,951	9,599	1,490	613	2,103	675	1,285
1920	12,186	5,116	3,278	508	793	1,301	779	1,503

TABLE 68.—FARMERS' INCOME FROM INVESTMENT AND LABOR, 1919-1925.

CROP YEAR	1 GROSS IN- COME IN- CLUDING FOOD, FUEL AND RENT (millions)	2 TOTAL RE- TURN FOR INVEST- MENT ¹ (millions)	3 RETURN FOR ALL OPER- ATORS' LABOR (millions)	4 RETURN PER FARMER FOR LABOR	5 AVERAGE RETURN ON INVEST- MENT PER FARM ²	6 TOTAL IN- COME PER FARM FAMILY	7 WAGES OF HIRED LABOR, WITHOUT BOARD	8 ANNUAL EARNINGS OF WORK- ERS IN OTHER OC- CUPATIONS
1919-20 ...	\$16,621	\$6,061	\$6,997	\$1,086	\$930	\$2,018	\$675	\$1,394
1920-21 ...	13,750	1,614	3,735	581	251	832	779	1,437
1921-22 ...	10,313	2,008	2,646	421	313	734	520	1,356
1922-23 ...	11,449	3,221	3,792	593	403	996	501	1,374
1923-24 ...	12,453	3,157	4,310	675	496	1,171	563	1,411
1924-25 ...	13,324	3,900	5,120	804	612	1,416	569	1,415

¹ This is return on all property including operators and non-operators.

² These figures are arrived at by dividing column 2 by the number of farms, but they are not wholly com-
parable with those in column 4, with which they are added to get column 6. The latter column, therefore, is
only a rough estimate.

instead of the calendar year, and making deductions for interest and rent paid non-farmers—which was not done in Table 67.

These tables show two or three very significant things about the general income of farmers. In the first place, a low average of total income per family is evident. In the second place, when a 5 or 6.5 per cent return on the capital is allowed, the remainder allocated to labor income is small indeed. And even then food, rent, and fuel furnished by the farm are counted in. From 1909-1917 the earnings were way below those for other workers, averaging \$200 less. From 1917 to 1919 came what is believed by many to have been the best years the farmers have ever enjoyed. Then the labor returns rose somewhat above the average for other workers. This, however, was not to last, for since 1920 they have slumped to relatively lower levels than ever before. The average is less than 44 per cent of the annual earnings of other workers. In terms of the 1914 dollar, the real labor income is lower than in pre-war days, while that of other workers is more than a fifth higher.¹⁷ In the third place, if we turn the procedure about, and allow farm operators a labor income at hired labor rates, the interest returns on capital invested are lower than in other industries. In the five years preceding the war it averaged 5.8 per cent, and for 1920 to 1925 the average was but 4.6 per cent for all farm property. If, however, the returns paid by farmers for outside capital are eliminated from the total returns on farm capital and operators alone are considered, their investments yield from nothing to less than 4 per cent. In 1920-1921 they were negative. Since then the average has been 1.7 per cent, including food, rent, and fuel, as is done in all the estimates of return on capital.¹⁸

Altho 60 per cent of the farmers are capitalists as well as laborers, their average incomes from all sources have

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 58-59. As to this point there is much doubt. Labor economists generally do not agree that the real wages of "other workers" was higher than in 1914.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

rarely been much above that of hired laborers in other industries. Before the war incomes were perhaps equal to those of the best-paid class of skilled labor, but since 1920 they have averaged fully \$200 less than the annual earnings of wage earners outside of agriculture.

A comparison of the per capita income of the farm population with that of other classes shows, if anything, worse results. In 1918, one of the best years, the estimated average for the farmer was \$359, as compared with \$677 for other classes.¹⁹ It is estimated from data for 1925 that the farm population got about \$300 current income per capita, which was probably about half the average for all classes. The National Bureau of Economic Research has estimated that for the year 1926 the per capita income of the American people was \$770. There are no figures to show just what the farm population received, but it is not likely that the average was much more than half this amount.

Another way of viewing the farmer's status is to compare his relative per capita share of the national income with that received by those in other occupations. The National Industrial Conference Board has done this. The following table is based on its figures.²⁰

These figures are arrived at by calculating how much each person gainfully employed in agriculture received in proportion to each hundred dollars received per person gainfully employed in all other occupations. It should be noted that agriculture, by virtue of the unusual number of children in farm families, never shows as large a portion of its population gainfully occupied as do other industries. In 1920, for example, but 34.6 per cent of the farm population was reported as gainfully occupied, in contrast to 41.4 per cent in the non-farming groups. This fact tends to make the share falling to farmers appear larger than it really is. It should be noted further that these figures do not represent income but only the relative position of income receivers.

¹⁹ Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

It is obvious from a glance at the table that the agricultural group has been the tail-end sharer in the national dividend thruout the whole period. Its relative position has been somewhat fluctuating, but on the whole there was improvement up to about 1900. Following that the agriculturalists' share has generally declined,²¹ By virtue of soil exhaustion, rise in labor and capital cost, together with other more complex factors, 1900 seems to mark a turning point for generally poorer returns.²²

TABLE 69.—RELATIVE PER CAPITA SHARE OF THE NATIONAL INCOME FALLING TO EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP. (THE SHARE OF EACH PERSON ENGAGED IN OTHER OCCUPATIONS EQUALS 100.)

YEAR	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1909	1910	1911	1920
Agriculture relative to all others	31	38	40	31	36	46	56	66	41	39
Manufacturing relative to all others	135	125	125	127	157	137	96	94	107	85
Mining relative to all others	104	113	165	209	166	173	96	93	121	142
Transportation relative to all others	998	920	375	411	217	176	132	128	142	135
Miscellaneous relative to all others	158	112	148	153	128	120	141	132	174	191

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

The relation of farmers' income to that of other classes having been seen, the question next in order is that of distribution of income within the agricultural class itself. So far we have dealt with only very general averages. These have their value, but at best they present only a generalized situation. A closer approximation

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 30.

to income actually received by various classes of farmers has been reached by the survey of local groups. The following table, published by Dr. L. C. Gray, shows the range of income for the years 1919-1920.

The estimates of this table are based on the actual distribution of incomes in a sample of only about 1,300 farmers. However, the figures are believed to be typical of the whole country.²³ If, therefore, these data fairly represent the income range, it is evident that about 70 per cent of the farm families were found in groups receiving \$1,700 or less in the year 1919. The next year 70 per cent found themselves in the groups averaging \$933 or less. About 40 per cent averaged \$729 or less in 1919 and \$396 or less in 1920. One-sixth averaged \$326 or less in the former year and \$177 or less in the latter.²⁴

The three main classes engaged in agriculture, owner-operators, tenants, and laborers, representing approximately 52.5, 34.5, and 13 per cent, respectively, of the total number, share the labor income from farming very unequally. Here again we must depend upon broad averages for our knowledge of the conditions. The estimates of labor income for the years 1919-1925 appear in Table 71.

According to these averages the tenant farmer's labor income since 1920 has been better than the owner-operator's; and the latter has not been so well paid for his labor as have hired workers. The outstanding fact is that the land owner finds it exceedingly difficult to make a commercial rate of interest on the value of his land and a labor wage at the same time. The tenant apparently does better, for he has a less difficult problem, since he needs to make interest on a smaller investment involving no land. It is not that he does better than the city toiler, but only not so bad as the landowner. When the value of food, fuel, and house rent, furnished in part by the farm and equalling \$634 in 1924-25,²⁵ is deducted from these figures, there is not often anything at all left. It

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Report of Secretary of Agriculture, 1925, p. 34.

TABLE 70.—RANGE OF INCOMES RECEIVED BY FARMERS, 1919, 1920.²⁶

Income Range	Per Cent of Farmers	Per Cent of Income	No. of Farmers Jan. 1, 1920 (Thous- ands)	Amount Income Received in 1919 (Millions)	Average Income, 1919		Amount of Income Received 1920 (Millions)	Average Income, 1920	
					Current dollars	Loss		Current dollars	Loss
Negative Income	4.55	...	293	Loss	Loss	Loss	Loss	Loss	Loss
0- 500	12.53	2.3	808	\$ 263.2	\$ 326	\$ 143.0	\$ 177	\$ 396	\$ 177
500- 1000	21.89	9.0	1,412	1,029.9	729	559.7	396	635	396
1000- 1500	17.01	11.2	1,097	1,281.6	1,168	696.5	635	933	635
1500- 2000	14.69	14.2	947	1,624.9	1,716	883.1	933	1,283	933
2000- 3000	13.31	17.7	858	2,025.4	2,361	1,100.8	1,283	1,813	1,283
3000- 4000	7.66	14.4	494	1,647.8	3,336	895.5	1,813	2,369	1,813
4000- 5000	3.25	8.0	210	915.4	4,359	497.5	2,369	3,150	2,369
5000- 7500	3.17	10.3	24	1,178.6	5,777	640.6	3,150	4,560	3,150
7500-10000	0.93	4.4	60	503.4	8,390	273.6	4,560	8,132	4,560
10000- and over	1.01	8.5	65	972.7	14,965	528.6	8,132		

²⁶ L. C. Gray, United States Department of Agriculture, "Accumulation of Wealth by Farmers," *American Economic Review*, Vol. XIII, Supplement, March, 1923, p. 177.

thus seems justifiable to say that if the farm did not furnish home, fuel and food, the farmer generally would find it economically impossible to remain in agriculture.²⁷

TABLE 71.—AVERAGE INCOMES OF FARM OWNERS, TENANTS AND LABORERS, 1919-1925.²⁸

CROP YEAR	OWNER- OPERATOR'S LABOR	TENANT- OPERATOR'S LABOR INCOME	WAGES OF HIRED LABOR WITHOUT BOARD
1919-1920	\$793	\$1,326	\$675
1920-1921	298	899	779
1921-1922	178	793	520
1922-1923	345	945	501
1923-1924	442	1,016	563
1924-1925	573	1,122	569

It is further obvious that at the best years agriculture gives but small chance for accumulating wealth, and that to only a few. Ordinarily savings must be pinched out of the meager "fruits of the hand" or gained from rising land values. Compared with other occupations, the advantage, if there is any, lies not in the possibilities of good income or fortune, but in the opportunity for greater personal independence. As owner or tenant, the farmer may be no better off economically than the wage earner in other industries but he is not a wage slave. He has some compensation in being his own master and running his own business. Nevertheless, wealth is one element of social power, and rural society will fall short in comparison with urban society just so long as it suffers economically.

THE PROBLEM OF INCOMES

We have pointed out the handicaps under which the agricultural class labors in producing wealth. We have

²⁷ National Industrial Conference Board, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

²⁸ These data are taken from tables published by the National Industrial Conference Board, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

seen how meager the resulting income is. But what of the outlook? For half a century, with only brief intervals of quiescence, the farmers of America have been agitated over the problem of income. Again and again agrarian movements have focused upon this issue, but without important results. Unsolved it remains. Progress there has been in the agricultural process. Varieties of plants and animals have been constantly improved. More efficient methods of husbandry have been adopted. Machinery has been introduced until the agriculturalist of today is perhaps nine or ten times more productive than the farmer of a few generations ago. Between 1870 and 1920 the physical production per agricultural worker is said to have doubled.²⁹ He ought to profit from all this in larger income. He should receive many times what the hoe and sickle farmer did. But as a matter of fact, his income seems to be about what it was fifty years ago. His efforts to progress have been like those of Alice in "Alice in Wonderland," merely running harder to keep in the same place. Must this continue to be his fate?

To attempt to answer this question would lead into much speculation and end in conjecture. Suffice it therefore merely to outline the conditions looking toward a solution. Better farming is desirable, but that produces a surplus forcing prices to unprofitable levels. How to control the surplus and stabilize the market then becomes the problem. Just now the farmers are intrigued by a proposal to have the government take care of the surplus and maintain the price of staples on a paying basis. The McNary-Haugen bill before Congress, embodying this idea, calls for a subsidy to agriculture. It is justified on the ground that urban interests have long taken a subsidy from the pockets of the taxpayer and consumer in the form of a protective tariff. Now the farmer calls for an evening up. Doubtless something would be accomplished by this; but it would scarcely prove a panacea.

²⁹ H. R. Tolley, "Relation of Efficiency in Production to Returns from Farming." Mimeographed circular, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Nov., 1926.

Better business organization to control the marketing process is likewise needed. The coöperative movement promises much in this direction. If that movement can be made universal and thorogoin, it may eventually regulate, within limits, production and thus the prices of farm products. The reorganization of farms on a more efficient basis, and the application of more intelligence to their management also are necessary. But that will not avail to solve the problem of income unless at the same time there is an efficient organization of the farmers as a class. These are some of the things that must be done if larger returns are to come from agriculture. But when the best possible has been done, agriculture will probably still fall short of being a fortune hunter's paradise.

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XXI

THE FARMER'S STANDARD OF LIVING

THE problem of income among farmers having been analyzed, the next question is, how do they use it? Naturally, the first draft on the earnings of any class is the expense of living. At least the necessities of bare existence must be provided. Whether anything more is secured, depends upon several factors later to be mentioned. How much of the income will be required for mere subsistence is naturally governed by the size of the family. It is customary, however, in discussions of income expenditures to regard the family as a household of five persons. This, as a matter of fact, closely approximates the average size of the family in the United States. This family is assumed to consist of a father and mother and three children ranging from two to fourteen years of age, the whole equalling about 3.35 adults as regards consumption requirements. If the family is large, it will obviously need more of the income than if it is small. So the question of the relative size of the farmer's family must be considered in relation to the utilization of income.

If anything remains after the necessities of living are provided, it may be expended in bringing more children into the world and in maintaining them, so that the family is kept at the bare subsistence level with no margin for other purposes. In case there is a residue not thus consumed, it may go into savings. In the country this will probably mean the acquisition of more land, its improvement, and the increase of capital employed in the productive process. If the surplus does not go into savings, or only a part of it is so appropriated, it will normally be spent on comforts and luxuries, that is, on things that

provide not only for physical subsistence but for a more abundant living.

Whether the farmer spends all his income on necessities, breeds to the limit, saves some of it in case of a margin, or employs it to improve his manner of living, or just what combination of these options he makes as a consumer of goods, is what concerns us in this chapter. The inquiry pertains at bottom to what is called the standard of living.

The utilization of income is the best index of a group's intelligence, education, value judgments, ideals, social status—in short, of the standard of living.

It may be unnecessary to say that life is pretty thoroly determined by economic conditions, and may be fairly measured by them. One does not normally find people living high on low income, or low on high income. There must be a surplus to make high living possible. To be sure, it doesn't always follow that where size of income is sufficient, people will live high. They may make other choices, as already suggested. They may prefer indeed to breed, adding to their numbers till no margin above animal subsistence remains. Or they may prefer to save and increase their acquisitions, in lieu of improving their mode of living. Altho surplus income makes possible these alternatives, as a rule in American society they are not often followed. Surplus income, therefore, determines not only the possible standard of life, but largely dictates the probable standard. In other words, the larger the income, the higher people will live. For the law of living is not merely to subsist, but to subsist as abundantly as possible. It is not the necessities that people care for, but the comforts and luxuries. And when the price will allow, they will sacrifice the rearing of progeny and the hoarding of savings for the privilege of consumption. As income mounts upward, the more the rank and file seem to forego all other things for the joy of high living. The birth rate, as is well known, declines regularly as people mount up the economic scale. And, I suspect, the desire to hoard does likewise, at least within

broad limits. So, I repeat, the size of the income determines not only how people may live, but largely how they will live; the law being, the more ample the means, the more likely the expenditure for comforts and luxuries.

How far the farmer utilizes his income in the normal way remains to be discovered from the available data on the subject. However, before turning to that question, we shall need to get a clear understanding of the idea involved in the standard of living.

DEFINITION OF STANDARD OF LIVING

The term, "standard of living," has to do with consumption rather than acquisition. Rightly used, it means not what it costs to live, nor how people ought to live, unless perchance we are talking about an ideal scale of living. It means in reality the way in which a group or class of people habitually live or wish to live. It involves the total range of satisfactions enjoyed or desired.

Kirkpatrick has submitted a more formal definition. He says: "It may be regarded as a measure of life in terms of the sum total of values enjoyed by the family, as evidenced thru the acquisition and expenditure of income, and thru the use of time in the satisfaction of wants for things both material (as food, clothing and shelter) and spiritual (as education, music and art)."¹ He calls this the "standard of life," and thinks that it means more than the more common term, the "standard of living," which is usually defined with reference to the consumption of material goods. He wishes to stress the necessity of including expenditures for health, transportation, education, recreation and social relationships, along with those for food, housing, fuel and clothing. In this he is quite right, but it is not necessary to designate the proper concept by the term he employs, for the more common

¹ E. L. Kirkpatrick, "The Standard of Living in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming," *Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 423*, p. 5.

term has been given much breadth of meaning by others and can be given sufficient content for all purposes.

In fact, the term is used with various qualifying adjectives to designate the higher levels of living, some of which include all that any one can desire. The term, "a subsistence standard of living," is commonly used to indicate a scale of living that embraces only the physical or animal needs of existence. The term, "a comfort standard of living," is used to describe a scale of expenditure that allows in some measure for the needs of men as social creatures as well as for their mere animal requirements. It allows for decent housing and clothing, insurance, the conservation of health, a little recreation and amusement, and a modest taste of life's comforts and cultural privileges. The term, "efficiency standard of life or living," originally suggested by the English economist, Alfred Marshall, is only a different name for a comfort or health standard. Still another term, "a standard of luxury," signifies a level of living in which all sorts of wants are indulged. It implies the idea of leisure and pleasure, conspicuous display, vicarious consumption, elegance, travel, the gratification of whimsical notions, and the disposition to follow the dictates of fashion. Then we have the phrase, "a normal standard of living," or one which connotes a well-balanced and moderate enjoyment of goods and services, work and leisure, social contacts and opportunities, and whatever else conduces to a healthy, wholesome development, physical, mental, moral and social.

The standard of living is clearly an excellent measure of social adequacy. By means of it we can compare farmers among themselves and with other classes. We can discover whether the same income is associated with as high a standard in the country as in the city, or with a higher or lower one; and if differences appear, what the causes may be.

In the studies made of the way urban classes live, wide variations are found. There are many scales, ranging from mere subsistence thru all degrees of comfort up

to the greatest luxury. These social levels parallel pretty closely the main income classes, such as unskilled laborers, skilled artisans, the clerical class, managers, professional people, and rich capitalists. In general, however, there are broad groups within which about the same standard of living prevails. Likewise in the studies made of farm families, there seem to be several levels. There are not so many gradations, however, as in the cities; nor are they so far apart. Farm laborers, farm tenants of several types, and owner-operators are groups varying in their scale of expenditure. It is, therefore, obviously quite impossible to formulate an idea of a universal standard of living either for urban or rural people and compare the two. Comparisons must be made for particular classes or groups. Like must be compared with like, if such exist and can be located. Nor do the differences end with the variations so far mentioned. City classes are not all alike, and the same classes in any two cities are not altogether comparable in their standards of living. Much less so is it with the farm classes living in the various sections of rural America. A farm tenant family in Georgia, for instance, and one in Iowa are likely to be a good deal farther apart in their standards of living than a street-car conductor in Cleveland is from one in St. Louis. The fact of variations suggests inquiry as to causes of the differences.

SUNDRY FACTORS DETERMINING STANDARDS OF LIVING

It has been made sufficiently clear that the amount of income is the primary factor. Differences in what people have to spend largely account for differences in standards. It is only fair to say, however, that this assumption is sometimes challenged. Those who object to it contend that it is putting the cart before the horse when income is made the cause, and standard of living the effect. They say that standards are first and furnish the dynamic for seeking income with which to gratify them. True it is that we are reared in a social environment where stand-

ards are received as part of our heritage. Some may have them without the wherewithal to realize them; but ordinarily a family's economic status is the big factor in determining how much of the social heritage its members will fall heir to. For instance, poverty isolates the individual from many elements of that heritage, even as riches expose to them by widening the view. Hence, tho income and standards reciprocally influence each other, there can be little question about which is primary.

Certain other factors, however, tend to modify the influence of income. In recognizing these, we obviously give emphasis to specific factors in the social heritage.

1. *One is social class.* To be sure, income may be chiefly responsible for the existence of classes; but wholly apart from material possessions, there are class norms and values dictated by tradition. The individual takes his cue from his associates, and all tend more or less to conform to common ideals. "Keeping up with the Joneses" means just this, and the Joneses are always people of the same class as their imitators. Altho classes are not closed groups in America, and individuals can without much difficulty pass from one to another with changing fortune, the average person adheres pretty much to the habits of his associates.

2. *A second factor* is the progress of civilization. Society is not static, least of all our own. The creation of new commodities and new interests gives rise to new wants. What is accounted good today will be revaluated tomorrow. First in one direction and then in another moves the development, bidding us cast the old aside or be left stranded, alone and helpless. Thus for the social order there is no abiding set of values, but a progressive revaluation.

3. *A third factor* is the individual's temperament. Individuals and families will have criteria of their own, due to biologic heritage, differences in education, age, etc. The influence of education, in particular, is very great. The Federal investigations in this field have found that where the farmer and his wife have received more than

twelve grades of schooling a much higher standard of living prevails than among those with less. It averaged more than \$550 higher than for those with eight or less grades, and \$277 higher than those with nine to twelve grades. More important still was the difference in the way the expenditure was distributed. The more highly educated families devoted proportionally much more of their income to advancement. This averaged 10.4 per cent in the highest class, compared with 7.0 in the next below and 5.8 in the lowest.² All these conditions affect the expenditure of income.

4. *A fourth factor*, already mentioned, is size of family and age of its members. For instance, the studies of farmers' expenditures on living show an increase of total cost of about \$140 for each additional child. As the numbers mount up, a larger proportion of the cost must be spent on food and clothing, and less is used for cultural purposes. This means that to increase the size of the family is to lower the standard of living, if the amount of non-material goods is the criterion of high or low standard. With advancing age of children somewhat less goes for material and more for spiritual things; hence a higher standard tends to result.³

So much for certain general factors. What of particular ones influencing the farmers' standard of living? There are some, and they trace to practically the same forces that determine the peculiar mental attitudes of country people. More specifically: (a) one factor is geographic conditions. Not only does it help to differentiate the standard of living among farmers in the several sections of the country and among those within the same section, but it also helps to differentiate rural from urban standards. The city dweller is influenced primarily by configuration to a social environment, but countrymen by adaptation to a physical environment. The conditions of life of the one are not those of the other, and each in con-

² E. L. Kirkpatrick, "The Farmer's Standard of Living," *U. S. Dept. of Agr. Bulletin No. 1466*, pp. 44-45.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-41.

sequence has its own standards. (b) Isolation, both physical and social, is another rural factor. It conduces to indifference toward many things that otherwise would be important. There is no social ladder to climb, no social position to gain or hold, no reputation to make or advance by conspicuous consumption. On the contrary, the farmer is more likely to enhance his standing by conspicuous production. His isolation, coupled with the nature of his occupation, largely eliminates the interest in expensive clothes. Anything desirable and comfortable rather than costly and stylish will do, for the most part. At the same time, isolation from the centers where all sort of goods are displayed in ways to create wants protects the farmer against rapid change of standards. He is thus more conservative than the city dweller.

The effects of isolation are seen in some sections where a crude and simple way of living ill befits the income. This is notably true of immigrant groups and even of certain religious sectarians long resident in the country. (c) The inertia of the past has a hand in moulding rural standards. Certain values and habits of a pioneer civilization, not yet far removed in most sections, still hold good. This is perhaps outstanding as regards health practices. Again, the ideals of bygone days may be followed where conditions have so changed as to make them difficult. For instance, the rather extravagant and luxurious ways of living followed by the slaveholding planters of the Cotton Kingdom still tend to persist in parts of the South.

Other factors could be mentioned as modifying the expenditure of the farmer's income. Some of these will incidentally appear later on in another connection. Ignoring them for the present, we may call attention to forces working for uniformity of standards. These, of course, influence the urban as well as the rural population. Perhaps we should say it is the urban standards that are being broadcast, instead of the rise of common standards; for of a truth it is the urbanizing process we have in mind. Practically all of the agencies seeking the improvement

of country life set up urban standards as their norm. This is true of educational efforts made by the schools, colleges, universities, the United States Department of Agriculture, the Public Health Service, women's clubs, Boys' and Girls' Club Work, the coöperative organizations, churches and other less important forces. The extension work of the home and farm demonstrators generally proceeds upon the assumption that city culture should be transplanted to the country. Of increasing importance is the impress of the city newspaper, urban literature, and the radio upon the ways of the countryman.

The city is literally overrunning wide areas of the countryside in the automobile. At the same time the country people are swarming into the cities for business and pleasure, or to find work and permanent residence. Inevitably contacts between urban and rural families are being multiplied. The consequence is a growing imitation of town and city customs by farmers, and a marked tendency toward a common standard of living.

STANDARD OF LIVING AND FARM EXPENDITURE

The best objective measure of the standard of living is the cost of living and its distribution among the various classes of goods, utilities, services and satisfactions for which it is expended. This measure has its faults. Kirkpatrick calls attention to two or three that apply especially to the farm situation.⁴ One is the chance for great discrepancies between market or estimated value of goods furnished by the farm and their actual value. Another is the difficulty of measuring food values by their cost, the adequacy of clothing by the money spent on it, the comforts of a home by its rental price, or the satisfactions gained by expenditures for travel, recreation, education and the like. A third difficulty comes from the fact that the cost of living, even tho inclusive of many intangible things, such as books, musical instruments, and pictures, gives no hint whether there is any leisure time for the use

⁴ E. L. Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

of these goods or not. And if there is not, they do not indicate a very high standard. One may mention a fourth limitation in using the cost of living measure. That is its complete failure to reveal whether the expenditures have been economical or wasteful. Bearing in mind these shortcomings of the method, the cost of living remains the best measure we have.

Eight or ten groups of goods and services enter into the cost of living. These are food, clothing, rent, operating goods—as fuel and light—furnishings, maintenance of health, insurance, culture and advancement, personal goods and unclassified items. In the studies of the cost of living on farms made by the Department of Agriculture, one of the problems has been to fix the value of goods furnished by the farm. These are important items, including most of the food, the rent, and a considerable portion of the fuel.

Just what is meant by each of the groups as related to the cost of living on farms should be made clear. Food includes meat, milk products, flour and meal, honey, fruit and vegetables furnished by the farm, together with groceries or other purchased food supplies. Clothing includes all wearing apparel purchased during the year. Rent of the farmhouse for one year is reckoned at ten per cent of its value. Furnishings include all furniture, musical instruments, pictures, floor coverings, bedding, tableware, linens, utensils and equipment for sewing, cleaning, laundry and canning purchased during the year. Operating goods include fuel furnished by the farm and purchased, cleansing materials, matches bought, help hired in the house, laundry sent out, telephone charges, automobile upkeep and annual depreciation at 15 per cent of cost, in proportion to its use for household purposes. Maintenance of health includes doctors', nurses', dentists' and hospital charges, and cost of medicine for the year. Insurance includes life, health and accident premiums. Personal goods include barbers' services, toilet articles, gifts, candy, tobacco. Advancement goods include school expenses of all kinds, reading matter at home, organiza-

tion dues, sports, vacations, travel, benevolences. Unclassified goods include cost of burials and other unspecified outlays.⁵

The data of several studies of farm family budgets made by the United States Department of Agriculture are available to show the average distribution of expenditure among the different groups of goods, etc. The following table shows the findings in three such studies.

1. In general, a similar average distribution of expenditure over the main groups of goods appears to prevail in different sections of the country. The most important exception is in the item of fuel. For this the per cent of the budget is low in the Southern sections and high in New England and New York, quite as one would expect. The food item is higher in the Southern sections than in other regions, but generally it constitutes about two-fifths of the cost of living. Clothing costs about one-seventh, rent slightly over one-tenth, and light and heat under one-twelfth. The outlay for all other purposes averages over one-fourth of the total.⁶ It is clear that there is a somewhat greater similarity of distribution among families in the same general locality than between those of different sections. Thus the South tends to cluster about one average; the Northeast another; and the North Central a third. These sectional differences, however, in no wise obscure the fact of a striking similarity thruout the United States as a whole.

2. From the distribution of income over the various items in the cost of living among farmers in general, we turn to the situation among different classes of farmers. The following table, compiled from the studies available, will give some idea of how these classes compare in their standards of living.⁷

The first difference to be noted is in the total value of all goods used, the amount rising from hired men to

⁵ E. L. Kirkpatrick and J. T. Saunders, "The Relation between the Ability to Pay and the Standard of Living among Farmers," *U. S. Dept. of Agri. Bulletin No. 1382*, p. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

⁷ Compiled from Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

TABLE 72.—DISTRIBUTION OF AVERAGE VALUE OF GOODS USED AMONG THE DIFFERENT GROUPS OF GOODS CONSUMED PER FAMILY DURING ONE YEAR; 2,886 FARM FAMILIES OF SELECTED LOCALITIES IN 11 STATES IN COMPARISON WITH FARM FAMILIES OF OTHER LOCALITIES FOR WHICH DATA ARE AVAILABLE.⁸

Goods Used	2,886 Farm Families of Selected Localities in 11 States, 1922-1924				861 Farm Families of Selected Localities of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Texas, 1919 ¹	402 Farm Families of Livingston County, New York, for Year Ended Aug. 31, 1921 ^{2 3}
	317 Families New England States	1,130 Families Southern States	1,439 Families North Central States			
	All Families All States					
Total value.....	\$1,597.50	\$1,692.20	\$1,551.00	\$1,613.20	\$1,436.00	\$2,012.00
Per Cent of Total						
Food including groceries...	41.2	41.8	44.6	38.6	44.0	39.5
Clothing	14.7	13.1	15.6	14.4	17.7	13.7
Rent	12.5	12.0	10.1	14.4	9.7	11.6
Furniture and furnishings	2.5	2.1	2.3	2.7	2.0	2.1
Operation goods (fuel)...	13.3	15.1	12.5	13.6	12.0	15.8
{	(5.3)	(8.2)	(4.3)	(5.5)	(3.7)	(7.4)
	3.8	3.6	3.1	4.5	4.7	4.1
Maintenance of health....						
Advancement goods	6.6	7.0	6.7	6.4	5.9	6.2
Personal goods	2.6	3.0	2.4	2.6	⁴ 1.2	2.4
Insurance, life and health.	2.6	2.1	2.5	2.7	2.6	⁵ 4.0
Unclassified	.2	.2	.2	.1	.2	.6

¹ "Relation Between the Ability to Pay and the Standard of Living Among Farmers." *Dept. Agr. Bul. 1382*. 1926.
² "Family Living in Farm Homes." *Dept. Agr. Bul. 1214*, 1924.

³ Percentages in this column differ from those given on p. 10, *Dept. Agr. Bul. 1214*, owing to reclassification of goods used in order to get more definite comparisons.

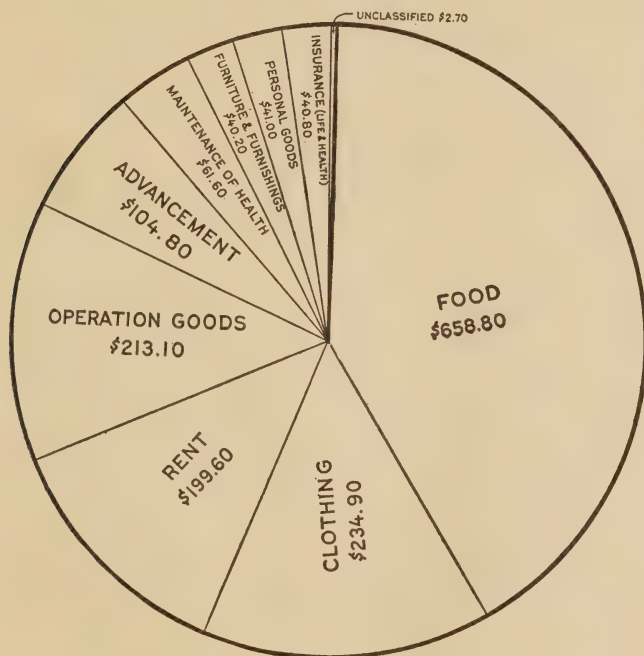
⁴ May be low due to probable omission of some of the minor kinds of personal goods not enumerated in detail when records were obtained.

⁵ Represents an average of approximately \$15 per family reported as savings.

⁸ Kirkpatrick, *U. S. Dept. of Agr. Bulletin No. 1466*, p. 32.

FIGURE 54.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE AVERAGE VALUE OF GOODS AMONG THE PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF GOODS FURNISHED BY THE FARM AND PURCHASED FOR HOUSEHOLD USE, DURING ONE YEAR.⁹

2,886 Farm Homes of Selected Localities in 11 States, 1922-1924.



Total Value of All Goods Used, \$1,597.50

Average Size of Household, 4.8 Persons

Average Size of Family, 4.4 Persons

The value of food is approximately two-fifths, the value of clothing, rent, and operation goods approximately two-fifths, and the value of all other goods slightly less than one-fifth of the value of family living.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

FIGURE 55.—AVERAGE VALUE OF GOODS FURNISHED BY THE FARM AND PURCHASED FOR HOUSEHOLD USE DURING ONE YEAR.¹⁰

2,886 Farm Homes of Selected Localities in 11 States, 1922-1924.



Purchased, \$913.80

Furnished by Farm, \$683.70

Average Size of Household, 4.8 Persons

Average Size of Family, 4.4 Persons

The value of food furnished is more than twice the value of rent and almost twice the value of both rent and fuel. The value of fuel purchased is less than one-fourth of the value of all goods purchased.

¹⁰ Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

owners. Altho tenants' families were larger than owners', they lived on about a fifth less, while hired-men's families lived on 28 per cent less than owners' and 9 per cent less than tenants'. Owners' families spent from four to

TABLE 73.—DISTRIBUTION OF AVERAGE EXPENDITURES FOR GOODS FURNISHED BY FARM AND PURCHASED BY 2,886 FAMILIES OF VARIOUS CLASSES OF SELECTED LOCALITIES IN 11 STATES, 1922-1924.

ITEM	ALL FAMILIES	OWNERS' FAMILIES	TENANTS' FAMILIES	HIRED- MEN'S FAMILIES
Number of Families	2,886	1,950	867	69
Size of Family	4.4	4.4	4.5	4.4
Average Expenditure	\$1,597	\$1,767	\$1,356	\$1,237
	PER CENT	PER CENT	PER CENT	PER CENT
Food	41.2	39.9	44.7	44.2
Clothing	14.7	14.8	14.5	13.0
Rent (10% Value of House)	12.5	12.8	11.7	10.7
Furniture and Furnishings	2.5	2.5	2.4	4.4
Operating Goods (Fuel) ¹ . {	{ 13.3	{ 13.5	{ 13.1	{ 12.4
	{ (8.2)	{ (5.3)	{ (5.5)	{ (5.9)
Maintenance of Health ..	3.6	3.7	4.3	6.3
Advancement	7.0	7.4	4.3	3.7
Personal Goods	3.0	2.6	2.5	2.7
Insurance, Life and Health	2.1	2.6	2.4	2.6
Unclassified	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0

¹ Fuel is included in the total and also given in parenthesis.

five per cent less on food than did tenants' or hired-men's families. Owners spent more on clothing and lived in much better houses than either the tenant or hired class. Owners nearly doubled what the hired class spent on advancement, and far exceeded the tenant class. Clearly, the cost of living varies with the income, and likewise the standard varies according to the total cost of living.

The variation in expenditure for the several items can be seen in Figure 64.

3. Having compared expenditure distribution for items

in the cost of living among farm families in various sections and among various classes in the same section, it will now be informing to compare these with workingmen's families.

Obviously farmers and workingmen distribute their expenditures in similar ways with respect to the items listed. The average is about the same for material and non-material goods. When comparisons are made on these points between the two classes according to gradations in the total cost of living, two or three things are brought out.¹¹ One is a decrease in the percentage of the total cost of living allocated to food as the expenditure rises. This, however, is more pronounced among farmers than workingmen in industry.¹² There is an upward trend in the proportion going for clothing as expenditure rises. This is more marked with industrial families. The most striking difference regards rent. It tends downward with industrialists and remains practically unchanged with farmers as the cost of living ascends.

4. There are laws governing the expenditure of income, as appears in the comparisons we have made. They are known as Engel's Laws, formulated by Dr. Ernst Engel, a German statistician, in 1857 from the study of budgets among working class families. He deduced four now famous principles:

1. As the income of a family increased, a smaller percentage of it was expended for food.
2. As the income of a family increased, the percentage of expenditure for clothing remained proportionately the same.
3. With all the incomes investigated, the percentage of expenditure for rent, fuel and light remained invariably the same.
4. As the income increased in amount, a constantly increasing percentage was expended for education, health, recreation, amusement, etc.¹³

¹¹ Kirkpatrick, *Bulletin No. 1466*, p. 35.

¹² In comparing industrial workers of 1902 with farmers twenty years later no account is taken of fluctuation of price levels. If this were done it might make a difference in distribution of goods in the budget.

¹³ See R. C. Chapin, *Standard of Living*, p. 11, 1909.

TABLE 74.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE AVERAGE VALUE OF GOODS AMONG THE DIFFERENT GROUPS OF GOODS USED PER FAMILY DURING ONE YEAR, FARM FAMILIES, IN COMPARISON WITH WORKINGMEN'S FAMILIES STUDIED BY THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF LABOR.¹⁴

Goods Used	2,886 Farm Families of Selected Localities in 11 States 1922-1924	861 Farm Families of Selected Localities of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Texas, 1919	402 Farm Families of Livingston Co., N. Y., for Year Ending Aug. 31, 1921 ¹	12,096 Workmen's Families in 92 Industrial Centers, 1918 ³	11,156 Workmen's Families in 33 Industrial Centers, 1902 ⁴
	\$1,597.50	\$1,436.00	\$2,012.00	\$1,434.40	\$617.80
Total value of all goods...					
Per Cent of Total					
Food, including groceries....	41.2	44.0	² 39.5	38.2	43.1
Clothing	14.7	17.7	13.7	16.6	13.0
Rent	12.5	9.7	11.6	13.4	18.1
Fuel and light.....	5.3	3.7	7.4	5.3	5.7
All others	26.3	24.9	27.8	26.4	20.1

¹ "Family Living in Farm Homes," *U. S. Dept. Agr. Bulletin No. 1214*.

² Percentages in this column differ from those given on p. 10, *U. S. Dept. Agr. Bulletin No. 1214*, owing to reclassification of goods used to get more definite comparisons.

³ "Cost of Living in the United States," *U. S. Dept. Labor Bureau Labor Statistics, Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2.

⁴ "Cost of Living and Retail Prices of Food," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor*, 1903.

⁵ Not including 235 families for which rent was combined with fuel and light.

¹⁴ Table, *op. cit.*, p. 33, with data from two other studies cited on p. 10, *U. S. Dept. Agr. Bulletin No. 1383*, by E. L. Kirkpatrick and J. T. Sanders, "The Relation between the Ability to Pay and the Standard of Living among Farmers." The income in terms of dollars for the various groups are not wholly comparable owing to the substantial fluctuation in price level between the dates of the various studies. No doubt the standards of living themselves are also modified when so long a period of time as from 1902 to 1924 elapses.

These laws do not hold true in every respect for American industrial workers. There is somewhat greater elasticity and freedom of expenditure here. In the case of the second law, there is increase of outlay on clothing as total expenditure rises. And the third law, also, has to be modified, for with American workingmen the outlay for the three items does not vary in the same way.¹⁵

But when thus modified to suit American conditions, the studies before us disclose the fact that these laws apply to farmers and industrial laborers alike. The accompanying chart taken from Kirkpatrick's bulletin shows the situation with respect to farm families. There is the same general trend in all the main items. As income rises among farmers, even as among workers, more is devoted to culture and advancement.

AN ADEQUATE STANDARD OF LIVING

What is an adequate standard of living for farm families? By definition one could formulate one for the family of average size, but in doing so it would be necessary to take into account the conditions under which farmers live. It would hardly do to assume that the standards of other classes are suitable for countrymen. The needs of each class and of each individual in relation to its environment must be considered. Therefore the only way to find out what is adequate for farmers is to study enough farm families to discover at what levels they live most efficiently. The level of efficiency may then be taken as the standard of adequacy.

Have enough cases been studied to date to give us the requisite information? With data available from only about four thousand out of more than six million families, it seems doubtful.

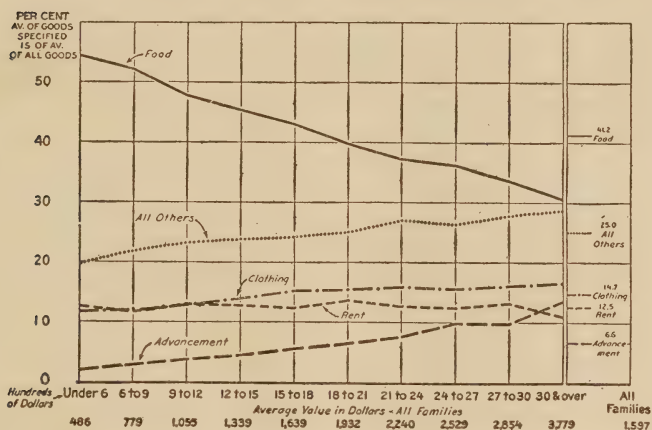
We might assume, however, that the average cost of living as shown by the data at hand would represent an

¹⁵ W. F. Ogburn, *Quarterly Pub. Amer. Statistical Assoc.*, Vol. 16, No. 126, June, 1919, p. 374; also F. H. Streightoff, *The Standard of Living among Industrial People of America*, pp. 12-20, 1911.

adequate standard. In the study of 861 families in selected counties of Kentucky, Tennessee and Texas in 1919, the average was \$1,436. In that of 402 families of Liv-

FIGURE 56.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE AVERAGE VALUES OF GOODS AMONG THE PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF GOODS, BY INCREASE IN THE AVERAGE VALUE OF ALL GOODS USED, DURING ONE YEAR.¹⁶

2,886 Farm Families of Selected Localities of the United States, 1922-1924 (Owners and Tenants, including Hired Men)



The percentage that the value of food forms of the value of all goods decreases from over 54 per cent to almost 31 per cent, with an increase of approximately \$3,000 in the value of all goods used, on an average. Obversely, the percentages that the values of clothing, advancement, and all other goods form increase, altho less markedly. The percentage that the value of rent forms of the total value of all goods remains almost stationary with increased value of all goods used.

ington County, New York, for the year ending August 31, 1921, it was \$2,012. In that of 2,886 families of Mason County, Kentucky, and Delaware County, Ohio, and selected localities in New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachu-

¹⁶ Kirkpatrick, *Bulletin 1466*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, p. 28.

setts, Connecticut, Alabama, South Carolina, Missouri, Kansas, and Iowa, for the years 1922-1924, it was \$1,597. For the three studies the average was \$1,681. The distribution of this cost among the various items entering into the family budget shows an average of about 73.6 per cent expended for food, clothing, rent, light and fuel. This leaves an average outlay of 26.4 per cent for other things. The latter group of items includes advancement, which accounted for an average of 6.2 per cent of the total budget. Do these averages represent an adequate standard of living? One cannot say unless it is known how far they conduce to human and social efficiency.

Kirkpatrick and Sanders urge the importance of taking the per cent of outlay for advancement uses as the true index of the level of any standard of living.¹⁷ It is assumed, of course, that advancement goods will not be purchased at a sacrifice of material things. We know that as income rises, more is spent on advancement. In the study of 2,886 families in eleven states, for instance, the per cent of the total cost of living going to advancement ranged as shown in the following tabulation:

TABLE 75.—PER CENT OF TOTAL COST OF LIVING EXPENDED ON ADVANCEMENT.¹⁸

Total Cost	No. of Families in Each Group	Size of Family	Per Cent Spent for Advancement
Below \$600	58	3.0	19
\$600-899	280	3.4	2.7
\$900-1,199	579	3.7	3.6
\$1,200-1,499	614	4.1	4.4
\$1,500-1,799	492	4.8	5.5
\$1,800-2,099	332	4.8	6.3
\$2,100-2,399	196	5.3	7.5
\$2,400-2,699	116	5.4	9.8
\$2,700-2,999	83	5.7	9.7
\$3,000 and over.....	136	6.2	13.4
All value groups.....	2,886	4.4	6.6

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

At what point in this scale can we say adequacy has been reached? If we take the point of average expenditure for advancement, then it falls somewhere around a two-thousand-dollar-cost-of-living level. That places 80 per cent of the total sample below the standard. If we take what seems to have been the best year in the farmer's history, 1919, the average estimated income per farm family was just about this amount. But it is doubtful if 20 per cent of the families received that average or more.¹⁹ Estimates placed 70 per cent of them at levels ranging from 1,700 downward. Thus measured by ability to pay, only a small per cent of American farmers in the fattest years can attain an adequate standard of living. Judged by the incomes received since 1920, when estimated averages run from below \$800 to about \$1,500, still fewer families can reach the assumed standard.

It will be noted in the table that up to the \$2,100-\$2,399 level, there is a gradual upward trend for advancement, then a more rapid increase. This same tendency appears in the study of 861 families in Kentucky, Tennessee and Texas.²⁰ This suggests that possibly at about \$2,400 a point is reached where advancement begins to receive special consideration. It also suggests that at that point funds are sufficient to allow a liberal release for cultural purposes. Hence it is possible that with about \$2,400 outlay on the cost of living, a fairly adequate standard of living is attained.

If this conclusion is at all justified, the deplorable fact must be faced that the vast bulk of our farmers cannot afford an adequate standard. They do not come as near it under prevailing circumstances as do laborers in industry.

¹⁹ In the very nature of the case our criterion of adequacy is arbitrarily assumed, hence by the method employed a great majority of farmers inevitably have an inadequate standard. But this seems to be about as suggestive a method as any, with the data at our disposal.

²⁰ Kirkpatrick and Sanders, *ibid.*, p. 11.

HOW JUDGE ABILITY TO AFFORD AN ADEQUATE
STANDARD?

These tentative conclusions and the method by which they have been reached may not be valid. Everything has been made to turn on income as the accepted measure of the standard of living. It has been suggested, however, that income is not a complete measure of the farmer's ability to afford an adequate standard of living. For other classes it is valid enough, but for the farmer so many complicative factors are present that possibly "net worth" and rate of accumulation are more reliable measures.²¹

By "net worth" is meant the value of all of a given farmer's wealth in terms of dollars, less all indebtedness, for the year for which the cost of living is being calculated. It should be observed that income, by contrast, represents returns for only the year for which cost of living is figured. What the usual income may be is hard to find out, and has not thus far been considered in relation to annual expenditure. Again, goods are often purchased before the income of the year is available. Accumulated or accumulating funds and credit are not often reckoned in income, but may influence the cost of living. Moreover, the upkeep and expansion of farm resources for any given year may curtail the available income for living.²² Thus it is possible that "net worth" and rate of accumulation of wealth are more reliable criteria.

These criteria were applied in the 1919 study of farm owners in Kentucky, Tennessee and Texas. When a coefficient of correlation between expenditure for advancement and net worth is calculated, a fairly close agreement is found. The figure is 0.31. For rate of accumulation and advancement it is 0.22. When net worth ranged between \$12,500 and \$27,499, expenditure for advancement reached 6.6 per cent of the total budget. Above that amount of wealth the per cent rose rapidly. Similarly,

²¹ Kirkpatrick and Sanders, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

when the annual rate of accumulation reached \$850 to \$1,050, the same rate of expenditure for advancement was attained, with a rapid rise as accumulation increased.²³

The slender data on which this analysis is based render it of no particular value except for the hints it gives as to the economic conditions under which farmers have to live if they are to enjoy a high standard of living.

IMPROVING THE FARMER'S STANDARD OF LIVING

If the facts presented in this chapter reflect the general situation, it looks as if the chief need of the farmer is more income. If the standard of living of the overwhelming majority is to be improved, as it surely needs to be, there must be the wherewithal. So we come back to the whole question of the economics of agriculture. Any further discussion of that problem lies beyond the scope of this book. There are, however, possibilities of improvement without more income. By accumulating knowledge of the cost of living and the manner in which it is spent, it will become possible to educate people to make a better use of their resources. The Federal investigators put emphasis on this.

They point out how families may be guided to better balanced budgets in the light of available knowledge. For instance, the average cost for families of various sizes and ages, when determined, may become a sort of norm for the guidance of those in like situations. Again, it may show where economies may be secured, and which way the greatest efficiency lies. In brief, it may help to more rationally planned budgets.

Kirkpatrick has worked out a Standard of Life score card that might be effectively used as a sort of normative standard to stimulate better balanced budgeting. Based on a scale of 1,000 points to a home, it is as follows:²⁴

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁴ E. L. Kirkpatrick, "The Standard of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming." *Cornell University Agr. Coll. Exper. Station Bulletin* 423, pp. 49-53.

I. Expenditures for Necessities, Comforts and Luxuries	
A. Expenditures for Necessities	100
B. Expenditures for Advancement	100
II. Education of Children	300
III. Social Values Manifested thru Disposition to Improve Environment, Use of Time, and Participation in Community Activities.	
A. Home surroundings and home	235
B. Use of time	80
C. Participation in community activities and organizations	125
D. General outlook	60
Total Values	<u>1,000</u>

In the very nature of the case there can be no absolute standard. Families differ so much in size, age of members, taste, ambition and outlook that they cannot and should not be subjected to arbitrary norms. Nevertheless as a test and corrective of reasonable adequacy an ideal of this sort has suggestive value.

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Part V

THE STRUCTURAL ELEMENT

XXII

THE ANCIENT AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY

WHY IT CONCERNS US

SOCIOLOGY is the science of human grouping. It studies the origin, growth and disintegration of groups: it is concerned with their processes or behavior, with their composition, their structure and their adequacy as agencies of human survival and well being. If, therefore, we are to understand American country life, we must study the wider phenomenon of rural grouping in the world at large, and unless we go behind the present scenes to take account of the past we shall fail to note the significance of group life among countrymen or to comprehend fully the American situation of today.

All social problems have a history. And usually their cause and their cure are largely revealed thru the unfolding of that history. Our rural life presents a grave problem or, better, many grave problems, and according to the author's viewpoint, these problems are in a peculiar sense tied up with the history of community development. To trace in some measure that history, ought, therefore, to give us the key to the present problems. It ought to help us see what ails our rural civilization, and suggest remedies for its ills.

Let us, then, state the plan of procedure we are to follow. It is, first, to study the ancient community, then the early American rural community, and, finally, planned communities. We may so far anticipate what we expect to bring out by a few brief statements: (1) a collective mode of living has been the normal way of agriculturists till of late generations; (2) such a mode of living has

been the most adequate and satisfying for tillers of the soil; (3) the disintegration of this mode of living has been due to conquest, to the rise of urban industrial society, and latterly to the rapid westward expansion of civilization; (4) the isolated American mode of rural living is an unstable variant which is proving itself wholly inadequate to the social situation; (5) cooperative effort and enterprise are indispensable for social adequacy; (6) these arise and prevail where people have dwelt together collectively; (7) a reconstruction of our rural society along village community lines is desirable.

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

“The Village Community” is the name commonly used to designate the settlements of ancient agriculturists. Such settlements have been widely distributed thruout the Old World. They have existed in China and India from earliest times. Likewise in Europe the historian traces them across the plains of Russia, in the Baltic regions, thruout much of Germany, France, the British Isles, the Danube basin, and the Mediterranean countries.

The origin of the village community takes us back to the beginning of civilization itself, i.e., to the beginning of permanent settlements. For apparently this was the prevailing form of organization that early groups took in establishing fixed habitats. The appearance of this form seems also to have coincided with the rise of a dominant agricultural economy. Before the advent of such an economy, people were more or less nomadic as hunters or herdsmen. Altho nomads frequently cultivated some plants where they encamped for a season, these were never their main source of food. The hunting and fishing Indians of North America were thus agriculturists of a sort. So likewise, the pastoral Tartar tribes of Northeast Europe are said to pause in their wanderings for two or three months in the summer to raise some quick-growing grain. But practices of this sort do not really constitute

agriculture. It exists only where people depend upon it for a living and have fixed abodes.

We find the early agriculturists of the Old World living in village communities. There are, of course, no records or other evidence that take us back to the origin of this mode of life. At best we get back only to a time when the social order was fairly well advanced. Hence, when we speak of this institution as the original type among soil tillers, it must be understood that "original" refers only to the earliest form found associated with Old World civilization.

We may presume that in the beginning the village was composed of a kinship or clan group. It may have been merely a composite family or its expanded form, as Sir Henry Maine believed. This family, known as the *Zadruga* among the Southern Slavs, where it is common, consists of a group of kinsmen. Sometimes as high as sixty or seventy men are found in this joint family. The various families live in a communal fashion under the headship of an elected chief.¹ Altho none of the *Zadrugas* of the Slavs ever make a village, since the latter will commonly contain several of them, the village may nevertheless have had its beginning in a like kinship group.

Under a pastoral or herding system the clan tended to break down into patriarchal families. This signified that a weakening of the kinship bond was under way when permanent settlements began. The village community, therefore, acted as a group-preserving agency by substituting common territory for common blood as the basis of social organization. The fixity of abode and proprietary interest in the land were stabilizing influences inuring to the group's advantage. Among other things, as Kropotkin in *Mutual Aid* has pointed out, the independent family was recognized and emphasized by the village. Personal initiative was also fostered as it had not been in tribal life. Thus the advent of the village community

¹ See Helen Douglas Irvine, *The Making of Rural Europe*, pp. 40-44.

marks not only the beginning of civilization and agriculture, but of a social order favoring the development of the private family and personal freedom under conditions assuring group security.

THE SAXON VILLAGE

It is from Saxon England that we get our most complete knowledge of the ancient village. For a thousand years, from about 500 to 1500, the rural economy of England centered in this institution. The typical village almost always nestled beside some brook or stream. Water was necessary and settlements were made where it was available. Moreover, it was on the alluvial soil along the streams that agriculture was most easy. So conspicuous are these facts that the typical village has been called "The Valley Village." There may have been villages of a different type. Harold Peake has described two others, viz., "The Forest Village" and "The Moorland Village."² For our purpose it will be well to adhere to what is typical. In Saxon times the village settlement probably consisted of twenty to thirty or more families, living in rude houses built of "wattle and daub" or stone. Under the roof were sheltered also the domestic animals and the products of the soil. The buildings were grouped about an open space, usually roughly circular or oval in shape, the shape, however, depending much upon the conditions of the site. This space was small in some villages and fairly large in others.³ It has come to be known as the Commons or Village Green. In addition there were sometimes in the more fully developed villages garden plots about the houses. About the whole settlement was a fence or hedge, hence the name *tun* and later *town*.⁴ This part of the community was commonly known as the *tun*, Ham or Thorp.

The second part of the community was the arable land.

² Harold Peake, *The English Village*, *passim*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

This consisted of three large fields held in common by the villagers. For the purpose of cultivation each field was divided into long narrow strips measuring an acre in extent. These were separated by unploughed belts of grass called baulks. The acre was a furrow long, i.e., a furlong, and four rods or poles wide. The furrow was the length a yoke of cattle would pull the plow before resting and the rod was presumably the length of the stick or goad with which the oxen were driven.⁵

Strips scattered thru the three fields were assigned by lot to each family, so that no one would get all the good and no one all the poor soil. This allotment was probably made yearly. The soil was tilled by the joint labor of the village. Each man was obliged to sow the same crop as his neighbor. At the harvest each household received the yield of the acres allotted to it. A three-course rotation of crops was enforced, so that the soil might not be impoverished. One field was allowed to lie fallow each year.

Some of the more recent students of the ancient village, particularly Harold Peake, are inclined to think that not all villages in the British Isles had the three-field system. A few may have had a one or a two-field system.⁶ But such were certainly not typical, even if their existence is finally proved.

The third part of the village community consisted of common meadows for pastures and hay, together with heath and woods. These uncultivated wastes commonly lay around the whole colony and stretched away to the wastes of the next village. The woodlands afforded timber for building, fencing and fuel, and also pasturage for the pigs.

The plan of allotting the arable fields was applied also to the meadows and pasture lands. Lots were drawn for the privilege of mowing hay. After it was gathered in, the meadows became common. On a certain day in August, known as Lammas Day, the meadows were thrown

⁵ P. H. Ditchfield, *Old Village Life*, p. 95.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

open to the stock of the community. A mass was celebrated in which a loaf made from newly ripened wheat was used. Thus "Loaf Mass," or Lammas, became an important event of the year.⁷

The people of the village obviously carried on their affairs in a collective manner. Everything was arranged on the basis of equality. There was, however, division of labor with special privileges and services. Holdings, at least in Saxon times, varied. The peasant generally had about 30 acres of arable land, together with his share in the meadow lands, pasturage and waste. In earlier times he had held 120 acres of arable land, for evidence indicates that a reduction in acreage had taken place with the growth of village population and feudalism. Beside the "Gebur," or typical villager, there were in Saxon times "Cottiers," whose holdings were five acres or a little more. Then the village had its bee-keepers, swine-herds, sheep-herds, ox-herds, goat-herds, cow-herds and functionaries of other sorts.⁸ All such functionaries were maintained by the community out of the common products. The governing body was the folkmoot or village assembly. It regulated the affairs of the community.

Such was the ancient village community as it appeared in England during the fifth century. It had doubtless undergone considerable development from earlier days, losing some of its original simplicity and equality, and passing, in a measure, under the domination of forces destined eventually to alter it completely. The beginnings of the manorial system were already at hand. A description of that system will enable us to follow the process of change in village life.

THE MANOR

The term "Manor" came into the British Isles with the Normans. Thereafter a complete feudal system prevailed. But no radical change was introduced into the agricul-

⁷ P. H. Ditchfield, *Old Village Life*, p. 65.

⁸ Peake, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

tural village of that time. The principles of the manorial system seem already to have existed in fact, if not in name, in many villages. It had been developing probably from Roman days and was only brought to a perfected stage when the Normans set up their rule.

In Saxon times the village commonly had a "Lord." If free villages existed they were probably exceptional.⁹ The lord held a goodly portion of land, took a lion's share of the produce of the community, exacted tribute of it otherwise, acted as judge over it, but rendered no needed service. He was an exploiter.¹⁰ Worse ones were to follow, but in him were presented the principles and practices of the feudal system. His presence suggested the Manor as we shall presently see it in Mediæval England. But otherwise the village did not much resemble that feudal institution in its fully developed form.

Whence came this lord? Maitland in *Domesday Book and Beyond* suggests that he arose under the late Saxon kings, the village in earlier Saxon days being wholly free.¹¹ Seebohm in his *English Village Community* tries to show that the lord was as old as Roman rule. He holds that the village community descended from the Roman villa and was always servile.¹² Roman lords probably did establish rule over some villages. Their houses have been discovered, especially in the south of England. Perhaps the "villa" was the Roman counterpart of the mediæval manor.¹³ If so, it only shows that at this date conquerors of Britain were interfering with the village life that had been there before them. It does not prove that the village had originated with them. Indeed, a wealth of evidence points to just such an origin as was indicated in earlier paragraphs of this chapter. It is also pretty clear that the lord, and eventually the full-grown manorial system, were late additions to the village community. As Professor Vinogradoff has said: "The Communal organi-

⁹ Peake, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹¹ F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 129, 339, 352.

¹² Ditchfield, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

zation of the peasantry is more ancient and more deeply laid than the manorial order. Even the feudal period shows everywhere traces of a peasant class living and working in economically self-dependent communities under the loose authority of a lord whose claims may proceed from political causes and affect the semblance of ownership, but do not give rise to the manorial connection between estate and village.”¹⁴

One thing is clear, that however far back the lord may be traced, his appearance and the rise of the manorial system were due to conquest. We know full well that the Norman conquest initiated this system in England. But much seems to indicate that the Saxons already had a similar system.

Even before the Saxons there is evidence that the Romans probably had something of the same sort. Recently an effort has been made to establish the lord over the village some 1200 B. C. in central Europe and then to import him into the British Isles with the coming of early Alpine peoples.¹⁵ In this theory we run across another amplification of the Nordic myth. And, perforce, the lord must be a Nordic conqueror. But we have already followed the speculation about the beginnings of the Manor too far. It would profit us nothing to confuse our minds further with the imaginings of this new mythology. Hence, we leave the question of origins and turn at once to a study of the Manor itself.

The Manor of Norman England was usually the village community or township as we have described it. Sometimes several village communities were united into a single Manor. Vinogradoff describes the Manor as “an estate or district in which the central house is the hall.”¹⁶ The “hall” was the seat of the lord. According to Norman law, there could be no land without a lord, hence all England was divided into Manors. The same lord might hold several. One of William’s followers held 139

¹⁴ Quoted by Ditchfield, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

¹⁵ Peake, *op. cit.*, Chap. VI.

¹⁶ Quoted by Ditchfield, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

Manors. But such estates were possessed only by a few great lords. Ordinarily the lord held but one estate.

The Norman Manor was a political system imposed upon the villages by the invaders for the purpose of domination and exploitation. If the Saxon lord and the system that he represented in parts of England was likewise an institution of domination and exploitation, it was apparently imperfectly developed and mild in comparison with the Norman. The Saxon theory was radically different from the Norman. The former looked upon the village or township as a property-owning and self-governing institution in its own right. The lord held certain jurisdiction over the community, sharing its land and participating in other advantages in return for his unneeded and self-imposed services. He did not claim ownership of the whole community and absolute authority over it. The Norman lord did. All the land belonged to the King by right. Absolute ownership was assigned by the King to such lords and under such conditions as he saw fit. Many Manors were not assigned to underlords, but kept by the King himself.¹⁷ Thus the Norman Manor was in theory and practice a thoroughgoing exploitative system. The destruction of the village community in the end was the logical outcome of this system.

Much the same system of agriculture as the village had long followed continued under the Manor. The social organization, however, was altered. With that we are chiefly concerned. In our account of the village we assumed a status of virtual freedom and equality among the people. It was this status that the Manor destroyed. We do not attribute this to the Norman institution alone but to the whole manorial development, beginning whenever it did and by whatever forces chanced to produce it. We are only describing the organization as of Norman times, for there we find it most complete. However, there can be no doubt that a very important part of this change was due to Norman influence.

The layout of the Manor was, of course, not greatly

¹⁷ Peake, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139.

different from that of the village. There was the same field plan. A new feature was the lord's house and *demesne* and other features that he sometimes introduced. In some cases the *demesne* or farm was a compact portion of the best meadow lands which he had enclosed. More often the *demesne* was not a compact holding, but consisted of strips scattered through the arable fields, the meadows and pastures. Howbeit, these might include half of the whole land and all the meadows and woods besides. The Norman lords habitually seized more and more land for their exclusive use.

The *villagers* were of several classes and all in some kind of bondage to the lord. This bondage was either legal or economic. Lands which had once been communal were now held only in tenantry under the lord. The status of the various classes will make clear just how the manor was organized.

1. At the head of the village group were the *sokemen*, or freemen, later called *yoemen*. "The *yoemen*, the *bowmen*, the *lads of dale and fell*" had been rewarded by the lord with grants of land and other privileges for service as warriors. Their tenure was later known as "free socage," and denoted "an estate held by any certain and deterministic service, as by fealty and money rent, or by homage and fealty without rent."¹⁸ The *sokemen* were not bound to the land as were *villeins*. They could leave the Manor at will. They had to pay the lord a fixed rent either in money, kind or labor, or all three, but otherwise he bargained with them one by one instead of commanding them.¹⁹ This class was not large.

2. The chief class numerically and the one constituting the heart of the manorial village was the *villani* or *villeins*. Two-thirds of the manorial population was of this class as late as 1300.²⁰ They were *adscripti glebae*, i.e., bound to the soil and could not leave the Manor except as the lord willed. Upon them fell the support of the lord.

¹⁸ Ditchfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.

¹⁹ Mary Bateson, *Mediæval England*, pp. 106, 112.

²⁰ N. Hone, *The Manor*, p. 58.

They had to till his *demesne* and render other services. Two kinds of work had to be given by them. One was "week work," involving two or three days' labor each week for the lord. The other, "boon-work," was special labor in seeding, harvest, and at times of special urgency. In fact, his services were at the command of the lord at all times. More than half the villein's time was thus preempted by the lord. In addition he had to pay rent and furnish oxen for the lord's plough-teams, and a fine, or "merchant," when his daughter married.

The villein held land from which he supported his family. The usual holding was a *virgate* or 30 acres in the arable fields. Once it had been a *hide*, a much larger tract, but the growth of the manorial system had cut it down. Sometimes the holding was only a half-virgate. These holdings were inherited from generation to generation, but always the heirs had to pay the lord a *heriot*, i.e., the best ox, horse or other chattel.²¹

The villager as a villein was thus in both personal and economic bondage. His only escape was by flight to the city, from whence no lord could retrieve him, so city law decreed.

3. *A third class was the cottars or cottagers.* They held never more than five or six acres of land and often not over a quarter of an acre or none at all. They were the humblest of tenants. They kept no oxen and thus did not have to plow the lord's land. But one day's work a week was required of them, and during harvest, boon-work also.²² Rental of poultry, eggs or honey was also due the lord. Their free time was hired to freemen or to the lord himself. When engaged in boon-work the cottar was furnished food and drink. His right to his cottage and land and some live stock was a permanent one. He was, however, bound to the soil, as all villeins, i.e., *adscripti glebae*.

4. *A fourth class, very few in number, were the servi or slaves.* These are said to have entirely disappeared in

²¹ Ditchfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 112.

the century following the Norman conquest.²³ They became cottars.

5. In addition to these classes there were a number of artisans, the priest of the church, officials and functionaries of various sorts. The smith, carpenter, baker and miller were a part of its life. And so were the ox-herds, bee-keepers, sheep-herds, swine-herds, cow-herds, with their respective duties.

The most important official was the *bailiff*, a man of almost innumerable duties and responsibilities. He was virtually a manager, superintendent and overseer all in one. He was responsible to the lord or to his steward.

The *provost*, elected by the community, was an under-bailiff. His chief duty was to see that the work was done well and to prevent dishonesty. The hayward was another official who inspected the fields. He saw that boon-work was performed and the lord received his due of labor. The ploughmen were the expert tillers and cultivators of the soil. They had charge of the whole process.²⁴

The manorial village of twelfth and thirteenth century England was thus a little world in itself, self-sufficient and independent. It grew its own food, provided flax and wool for clothing its inhabitants, and what it needed from the outside was got by barter.

The affairs of the Manor were regulated by assemblies called courts. The lord or his steward presided over them. There were two courts which pertained alone to manorial relations and interests, one of which was the *Court baron* and the other the *Customary court*. The first was concerned with the free tenants, their rents and relations to the lord. The second dealt with servile tenants, their services, duties, offenses. It made arrangements for all common tillage and other work. Quarrels among the villeins and offenses against the lord were adjudicated by it. This court was in some measure a survival of the folkmoot of Saxon times.

The third court was the King's Court or *Court leet*. It

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-128.

was held on the Manor to try criminal offenses and infractions of the law of the realm.²⁵

VILLAGE DECAY

The village community was doomed to destruction under the English manorial system. That might was right, was implicit in the feudal theory of land holding. The local lord held his Manor from some overlord or the King. But the idea, already pointed out, that the land was the property not of the village community but of the feudal class always remained as a possible pretext for the aggressions of the lord. And so it happened that when occasion arose, the lords, by the exercise of their power, appropriated the lands for their own profit and pleasure and the community decayed.

The legal basis for the aggressions of the feudal lords was laid in the Statute of Merton (1235). This law made them owners of the waste and meadows, not mere guardians. Immediately they began to enclose these communal lands in their private demesnes. Mansions were erected and a separation of lord and community, both spatially and socially, not known in Saxon days, began to appear. This statute Peake regards as the turning point in the history of the English village.²⁶ It marked the legal beginning of a process of encroachment upon communal interests which was eventually to end in the extinction of the community.

The rise of industrial society and capitalism in the middle of the thirteenth century gave new occasion for the greater raids upon village life. The domestic system of manufacturing and an important town life were developing with the expansion of trade. A money economy and the accompanying wage system came into existence. The effects of these changes penetrated to the Manors. The products of pastoral farming, such as wool, meat and leather, were in growing demand.²⁷ As money came into use, the services and obligations of the villeins were com-

²⁵ Peake, p. 155.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

²⁷ Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

muted to cash payments. Land was let for a cash rental. The profit motive expressed in money returns came to play an increasing part in the lord's plans.

Following these developments came the Black Death of 1349, devastating the country until half the population died. On many Manors large numbers of the customary tenants were swept away. No one remained to inherit their lands and the lord added them to his demesne. The tenant's services and rents had been largely commuted to wage payment. The decimated population made laborers few and wages high. Cultivation thus became more costly and less profitable than sheep-farming, with the rise of a great demand for wool at home and abroad. So, many lords turned their demesnes and all the tenant holdings they had acquired into sheep pastures. They also enclosed the meadows and wastes of the villages, thus dispossessing the villeins and cottars of their ancient communal privileges. In this way the manorial lord established a monopoly of stock-raising. Large numbers of peasants thus became landless wage-earners. Others, the more privileged ones, enclosed their holdings as the lord had done and thus established independent farms. Many others still, in the course of the succeeding couple of centuries, became vagabonds.

This *First Agrarian Revolution*, as it is known, lasted from around 1400 or 1450 to 1600. The main trend was toward the engrossment of estates, the dispossession of the peasants, and the decay of the village. Efforts to stay the movement by legislation did not avail. A system of *Latifundia* in place of village communities became established.²⁸

This First Agrarian Revolution in England brought only the first installment of the *Latifundia*. It remained for the *Second Agrarian Revolution* to give new impetus and complete the work. This took place from 1700 or 1730 to about 1850. It was one phase of the Industrial

²⁸ Miss Irvine in her book, already referred to, uses this term to describe the large estate held by a landlord for income and profit but without other interest in it. See Chap. IV.

Revolution. The rapid growth of city populations created new markets for agricultural products. In England the particular demand was for a greatly increased food supply. Impetus was thus given to the improvement of methods of soil cultivation. Scientific agriculture arose, and farming became highly commercialized and capitalistic. The landlords had the capital and made the most of their opportunity. A new greed for land resulted, and the enclosure movement began anew after the lull of a century. Urban Capital, joined with rural, carried forward the engrossment of estates, till the middle of the nineteenth century saw the destruction of the village community in England completed.

Capitalistic landlords suppressed the tenants either by reducing them to wage-earners or by expelling them from the villages. The small holders were bought out; they were dispossessed by fraud; they were forced out because they had not the means to fence their lands; they fell into debt in an effort to survive and when prices for farm stuff fell, the landlords got their mortgaged farms. Writers of the time tell of the depopulation that followed. Parishes that had hundreds of farmers and cottagers were reduced to a very few families, sometimes to one or two. They tell us of increasing poverty and unemployment and the necessity for poor relief. They tell us of wretched hovels and the growing scarcity of lodging of any sort for the dispossessed. They tell us, finally, of the great exodus to the cities as factories were built and industrialism became supreme.²⁹

Goldsmith in the *Deserted Village* probably presents a correct picture of the fate of these communities and the cause of their decay:

Sweet smiling village, loveliest of the lawn,
Thy sports are fled, and all thy charms withdrawn;
Amidst thy bowers the tyrant's hand is seen,
And desolation saddens all thy green:
One only master grasps the whole domain,
And half a tillage stints thy smiling plain.

²⁹ Irvine, *op. cit.*, Chap. VIII.

THE ANCIENT VILLAGE TODAY

In some lands once dotted with villages there are now none to be traced. In others they persist, tho under radically different form from the ancient type. Elsewhere they remain much as in the beginning. By and large they are still numerous. Some one has estimated that there are probably 2,000,000 of them in the world. At any event, the greater part of the agriculturists of the globe still live in some form of village community.

Capitalistic farming has rarely gone to such extremes and wrought such havoc with country life as in England. On much of the continent, altho effecting changes in agriculture, it has not destroyed village life. The small holder still dwells and flourishes in his community. And these communities are the most striking aspects of the countryside. They are of varying sizes ranging from a mere handful of dwellings to scores and hundreds. But small and large alike, they remain exclusively farmers' communities. Their sole and single business is agriculture. They are in no sense trade centers after the fashion of the American village. They are not shipping points as with us, for most of them are not on railways. They are just homes of farmers, villager and farmer being interchangeable terms. Outside such villages there are not many farmers to be found in much of Europe. Isolated farmsteads are not common. The peasant of Russia, Germany or France is thus a member of a real community, of a compact group, living in a collective manner.

THE RUSSIAN VILLAGE

The "Mir," as the Russian village is called, is the most primitive type. A brief description of it will convey some idea of the collective mode of life in Europe. Along a single street there will be a group of houses close together, perhaps almost touching. The barns will be joined to the house, or sometimes built together a short distance

FIGURE 57.—AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES OF FRANCE ³⁰



FIGURE 58.—AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES OF FRANCE SHOWING THE DIVISIONS OF LAND INTO STRIPS ³¹



³⁰ View from Aeroplane, Courtesy World Agricultural Society. ³¹ *Ibid.*

FIGURE 59.—A CLOSE VIEW OF A FRENCH AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE ³²



FIGURE 60.—A FRENCH AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE SHOWING LARGER FIELDS ³³



³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

FIGURE 61.—FRENCH AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE SHOWING FARMSTEADS AND HOME LOTS ³⁴



FIGURE 62.—FRENCH AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE SHOWING FARMSTEADS AND HOME LOTS ³⁵



Aeroplane view.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

away. In the center of the village there will be a church. Lying about this cluster of farmsteads will be some land for gardens, known as "homestead land." Immediately about these buildings and grounds will be an area for pasture, used for all the herds of the community together. Farther out will lie the tillable lands, arranged as of old in three fields. These fields are cropped by a system of crop rotation. One field will grow wheat, barley or rye; one flax and oats or potatoes; and the third will be left untilled. This arable land, like all the rest, is owned by the community, but cultivated by individual households. For this purpose it is divided into strips which are redistributed periodically among the families. Every ten or twelve years each family will be allotted strips in all the fields, in amount according to the number of eaters or workers in the household.

In addition to arable and pasture lands there will be meadows and forests. The meadows furnish hay, the allotments being distributed each year to the various households. The forests will likewise be allotted every few years among the village households. From these, timber and fuel are secured.

The Mir has at its head the village elder, or "starosta." Its affairs are regulated by an assembly of the villagers. Both men and women participate in this. Important functions performed by this assembly are the periodic reapportionment of their lands and all such matters as pertain to their common interests.

So much for the typical farmers' community of Russia as it existed up to the Revolution. Some ten or twelve years before the Revolution, the Czar's Government had started a movement to establish private landownership by permanently apportioning the fields of the Mirs. This also involved settling the owner on his land and disintegrating somewhat the compact village. Little headway was made by this movement. With the coming of the Revolution, the peasants seized all the lands of the government along with those of the nobility. These together with the village community lands, were then reappor-

tioned according to the old "land community" method. In this, such separate holdings as had been established under the Czar were swept back again into the communal system. And the Bolsheviki Government over all declared all lands to be the property of the State.

The significant thing about the Russian Mir is its communal features, such as the compact settlement, the collective ownership of the land, and the participation of each family in the common enterprises and affairs of the village.

Elsewhere in Europe generally the village community of today has discarded many of these characteristics. Private ownership of land prevails in France and Germany. Each family enjoys economic independence, free from the trammels of community direction. The compact settlement, however, still remains, and in the life and work of the peasants many collective habits still hold sway.

SOCIOLOGIC CONSEQUENCES OF COMMUNAL LIFE

In the psychologic and sociologic consequences of this mode of living lie its chief interest for us. They consist essentially in the formation of habits of thinking and acting together. And these in turn make it possible for the farmers of Europe to carry on large-scale cooperative enterprises in credit, production, marketing, purchasing, education, etc., to the end that agriculture is a profitable and satisfying occupation. The influence of the village mode of living is thus much broader and more far-reaching than the confines of the local group. The communism of the Mir, for instance, is reflected in the whole behavior of the Russian nation. And it has particular meaning for the student of country life, in that it is responsible for a remarkable system of cooperative organization. In other countries where rural villages exist without much, if any, collectivism in property, there is found a similar development of cooperation of one sort and another. Even in Denmark, where the ancient village has been gradually

abandoned for the separate farmstead, the habits and traditions of the old order persist with unabated force. They are counted foremost among the factors responsible for the development of the greatest and most "superlatively effective" system of agricultural cooperation to be found in the world.

Europe is much crowded. Land is limited and agriculture is an intensive process carried on by small holders. This small-scale farming has many disadvantages economically. Machinery and other costly materials cannot be afforded by the individual farmer. Marketing and buying supplies is rendered peculiarly difficult, and the risks are greater than for the large-scale farmer. Nevertheless, in the face of these handicaps, millions of the farmers of Europe are singularly successful. Cooperation is the means to this success. It is the secret of their system, and the secret of cooperation itself is fundamentally the community life out of which it has arisen.

This fact, as Miss Helen Douglas Irvine, late member of the staff of The International Institute of Agriculture at Rome, has emphasized, is often overlooked. She says that "the communal life of peasant families, and that of village communities in every part of Europe has implanted the instinct to work and to own jointly with his fellows in the nature of the peasant."³⁶ She goes on to say that even where villages are no longer important, the "survivals of the joint enterprises of village communities" are many. And "the passage from such customs to coöperation on the modern plan was in some cases immediate and spontaneous."³⁷ Instances of this she cites from Italy, France, Germany, Switzerland and Scandinavia. Her conclusion is that "where the communal life of the village has not been too much depressed," it develops naturally and spontaneously with cooperative enterprises without any help of professional organizers.³⁸

Where farmers do not live in village communities, as in America, they fail to get together in joint enterprises.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 188.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 190.

There has been nothing in their experience to condition such behavior. No traditions or habits give any foundation for it. They may see the advantages of cooperation when it is presented; it may appear clear enough to them as the way of economic salvation. They may even respond to the organizer's appeal and join associations, but in the long run and at the crucial hour, the American farmer commonly fails. At best our cooperative ventures are wanting in naturalness and spontaneity. This is because there is lacking the heritage of communal living to which the European is heir. As Professor Branson has so well said of the German farmers: "The small landowning peasants do not have to bother about getting together. They are together already; have been together during a thousand years of history. Their children play together, sing together in the village schools, dance together in the seasonal holidays, practice together in the village bands and song clubs. They come to know one another thru and thru. They know after a while who among them has the grace and grit to stick tight in a farm organization, say, in a cooperative credit union, a type of organization that exists in almost every farm village in Germany."³⁹ It is the conviction of this writer that "what coöperative farm enterprise lacks in America is compact country community life, and this lack is usually fatal to farm organization of every sort. Successful farm cooperation must be based on country community life."⁴⁰

There are, assuredly, factors in American rural society besides the lack of compact communities that must be reckoned with in appraising the difficulties of cooperation. But we must agree that this one is certainly fundamental.

One other consequence of the village mode of living remains to be mentioned. I refer to the attachment to country life that it engenders. Such attachment is manifest in a degree never seen in the New World. People of Europe wish to live in the country rather than in the city.

³⁹ E. C. Branson, "Farm Village Life in South Germany," *Rural America*, January, 1925, p. 11.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

They hunger for the land. To be sure, there is also a rural exodus, but it is because there is no place for an ever increasing population in the village community and not because of a distaste for country life, as in the United States. One may, of course, easily overestimate the influence of the village in producing this devotion to the soil. But when we consider how the compact group mitigates isolation and removes other handicaps, it cannot be ignored.

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XXIII

COLONIAL AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITIES

COLONIZATION

IN the seventeenth century the Old World began seriously to colonize the New. It will be recalled that by that time the manorial system in England had gone far in its work of undermining the village community. Enough of the latter remained, however, to give it some prospects of survival. Moreover, a vigorous tradition of its better days must have been cherished by the peasantry. Hence we have two forms of rural settlement and organization to reckon with in the mother country when migrations to America began. Naturally we could expect both forms to be transplanted by the Colonists; and that is precisely what we do find.

Two social classes were represented in these types of organization: one, the feudal class of various ranks from the great lords to the country squires; the other, the peasantry and yeomenry. The feudal class had the wealth and power of the realm and social customs and habits of its own. Along with ideals of ease and luxury went methods of domination and exploitation. The peasantry, as we have seen, were losing out at this time on every hand. They were being reduced to landless wage-earners and expelled from the villages of their forefathers. Poverty and discontent were abroad in rural England. A thirst for freedom and opportunity was stirring the ranks of the villagers. Representatives of both the nobility and the peasantry turned to America; the one in search of great fortune and adventure; the other in quest of homes and freedom.

From the peasant and yeomen class the colonists of New England were largely recruited. They came directly from the country parishes or from a background immediately in touch with them. For at that time four-fifths of the population of England was rural. The collective social habits of this class were, therefore, transferred to the new environment. The village community thus became the mode of settlement of the New England colonists. It was obviously the most natural and easy thing in the world for them to follow the ancient mode, but one cannot help feeling that its establishment was also one expression of the freedom the colonists were seeking. It afforded a mode of escape from the oppression inflicted by the manor and its lord. There were, of course, other factors beside these that fostered the village type of settlement. We mention them, not because they are of major importance, but because they should not be ignored. In a wild country, hostile in climate and native inhabitants, there was need of protection and mutual aid. The compact group, with its collective manner of life, afforded this. Moreover, individuals did not have capital sufficient to develop extensive farming enterprises of a private nature. They had to pool their resources. Geographic configuration was such that compact settlements were often necessary. Religious interests also held groups together for the purpose of worship. So early New England received the village community from Old England.

Freed from the restrictions of the old order, the new communities reverted to an ancient simplicity of plan and organization. They returned to a type more primitive than was usual in seventeenth century England. Purpose as well as conditions, I am inclined to think, played a part in this reversion.

The feudal class, on the contrary, furnished the chief colonists to Virginia and the southern colonies. They came with more or less capital, seeking great estates and fortunes. The manor had been their sphere at home and it was their object here. They tried to establish it in the plantation system. No compact settlements were

formed, but separate farmsteads on large estates. Industrial laborers and slaves took the place of villeins and cottars, much to the advantage of the New World masters. For the latter's authority was more absolute than that of the English lord. Thus was realized a development of the manorial idea not seen in England. To be sure the American manor fell short of its English counterpart in the absence of an hereditary squirarchy. The great planters, however, constituted themselves a ruling aristocracy not unlike the feudal class of the mother country.

The Southern plantation was thus a manor with adaptations, traceable primarily to the nobility of England. Only in a secondary sense was it the result of geographic and climatic conditions favoring large-scale agriculture. Once founded, it flourished and spread, aided by Negro slavery, which, in turn, it also fostered. When slavery was ended, a new type of share and crop tenantry and wage labor was substituted, and the plantation kept going. In twelve Southern states, nine with extensive areas and three with small ones, this system is found today. There are cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar-cane, and mixed crop plantations. They range in size from some hundreds to many thousands of acres, the average falling between eight hundred and nine hundred acres.¹ There will be from a half-dozen to more than a hundred families of croppers and tenants living on the farm units of a plantation.² The lot of these workers is commonly one of ignorance, poverty and wretchedness. They are usually in debt bondage to the plantation owner and exploited by him. Laws forbid tenants to leave the plantation while in debt to the planter. And customary practices are otherwise so far coercive that the state of this class tends to be one of serfdom. Not infrequently it is actual peonage. Thus, in certain respects the plantation still remains manorial.

Other manors, besides those transplanted from England,

¹ C. O. Brannen, "Relation of Land Tenure to Plantation Organization," United States Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin No. 1269*, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

were set up in America. The most important groups were in New Jersey and New York, established by the Dutch. These, however, did not spread to other parts of the country nor play any significant part in the community development of rural America. They need not, therefore, detain us.

NEW ENGLAND VILLAGES

As already indicated, the New England colonists settled in village communities. About a half-century ago, for the first time, students of the social sciences became aware of this interesting fact. Since then, interest in country life has awakened and sociologists have been giving attention to the forces that have determined our history. Among these must be included the village settlement, and to a more detailed account of its establishment in Colonial New England we may profitably turn.

Studies of the records of the original towns of Massachusetts reveal their communal nature. Plymouth, Salem, Dorchester, Roxbury, Watertown and Cambridge are cases in point.³ All these were projected on the lines of the Old World agricultural villages. The compact form of settlement with outlying fields, a land system with the houses and home lots fenced in and owned in severalty, common fields outside the town, and a surrounding tract of absolutely common and undivided land used for pasturage and woodland under communal regulations were the significant features.⁴

We may take Salem, the oldest of the Massachusetts Bay communities, for an illustration. Its self-regulating history goes back to 1630. From about this time its records begin to throw interesting light upon our subject. In Salem village the home lots, or grounds for buildings, garden, corn raising and cow pens, were two acres in extent. In other towns they were often larger. Since Salem was partly a fishing as well as an agricultural vil-

³ Anne B. MacLear, "Early New England Towns," *Columbia University Studies in Economics, History and Public Law*, Vol. 29, No. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

lage, there were some who had only home lots. The majority, however, had in addition arable lands. These were parceled out among heads of families, the minimum being ten acres. Large families received more. Family holdings, after custom immemorial, were scattered among the several arable fields. By 1640 Salem had ten such fields. Among these were Northfield, containing some 490 acres in ten-acre lots, and Southfield, embracing 600 acres.⁵ Until the middle of the eighteenth century these remained common fields owned and cultivated by the proprietors in common.⁶

The regulation of these fields was a matter for the village meeting, or if not for the whole village, then for the commoners of the particular fields, as at Salem. They had to determine what crops to grow, the fencing, improvements, rights of pasturage, and whatever else pertained to their interest. The Salem records of 1680 specify how many cows, oxen, horses and calves each proprietor could pasture.⁷

Salem and all other early towns had in addition to plow lands, meadows, pasture fields, woodlands and village commons that were communal properties, wholly undivided. Salem had its "great pasture," and in 1636 we read of the town setting aside all the land "along the shore on Darby's fort side up to Mr. Humphrey's land and so to run along toward Marble Head 1120 pole into the land for the commoners of the town to serve them for wood and timber."⁸

The growth of the population led to the division of these common meadows, pastures, etc., into home lots for new families. Thus, relatively early such holdings began to be whittled away. The new comers became mere cottagers. They were granted home lots on the payment of rental but were denied the rights of commonage. This gave rise to a bitter fight at the close of the seventeenth century. The cottagers won the rights for which they

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁶ H. B. Adams, *Common Fields of Salem*, p. 8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 99. Quoted from *Salem Town Records*, p. 34.

contended in 1714, when a portion of the lands were set aside for their use. The remainder of the commons, including over 4,000 acres, was in 1722 divided among 1,132 claimants.⁹

Like their old world prototypes, these communities had their herdsman, who had charge of cattle, swine, geese and other animals as they roamed over the common pasture and wastes. In opening the arable fields to the stock, Lammas Day was also observed in Salem.

In all these early towns founded before there was any governing body over the settlements of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the town meeting was supreme. It was composed of all male inhabitants, and untrammelled by any superior authority, it acted as the Saxon folk-moot must have a thousand years earlier. Thus in all ways the early New England settlements were true village communities.

As the colonists pushed inland, during the next century and a half succeeding the planting of the first original towns, their mode of settlement remained the same. The records of such towns reveal their communal character. Even today the original plots may often be observed, little changed since the pioneer generation. This is notably true of those towns that have remained agricultural throughout their history. Many such are to be found in the Connecticut Valley. Unlike the first group of communities, which thru urbanization have lost by now all the earmarks of their communal infancy, these rural towns, remaining agricultural, have retained most of theirs. We may with profit examine a few of them.

Old Hadley is one that was founded in 1659 by fifty-three families who had found their way up the Connecticut Valley from Hartford and Wethersfield. Religious disagreement had caused them to go into the wilderness that they might find peace and harmony, as they expressed it. On a smiling plain enclosed by an ox-bow bend of the river they selected a location for their new home. The

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 104. Quoted from *Essex Institutes Col.* 20, p. 178. The report of the proprietors' meeting, November 22, 1714.

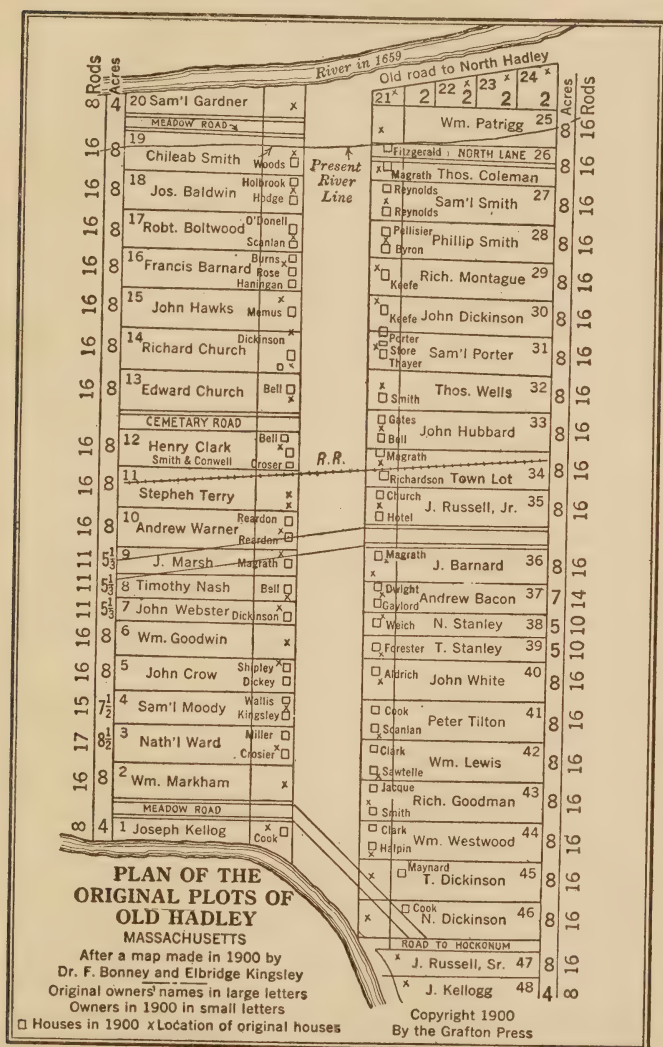
original plot of Old Hadley village is seen on the map, as it was reproduced some years ago. Along a single street were built the houses. This street was laid out across the plain from river to river. It measures one mile in length and twenty rods in width, and embraces forty acres of land. Besides being an avenue for travel, it is also the village commons. Originally it was the chief pasturage of the community. A stockade ran behind the houses and, resting on the river at either end of the plot, formed a secure enclosure for the town cattle, swine, sheep and geese. The rights of each family to the use of this pasturage were carefully defined by the town meeting.

Each family had a "home lot" of eight acres running back from the commons, the farmsteads being located on one end of the plots. In 1659 thirty-nine men were assigned lands in the home lots and the "great meadows." This arrangement reminds us at once of the ancient village layout.

The tillable and meadow lands lay chiefly in the ox-bow west of the farmstead site, known as the "great meadows." There were three arable fields developed there, of which the various families held portions. The "great meadows" average about one-half mile in width and run for seven miles around the river. Upwards of 2,000 acres of land lie in that direction. Later, other fields and meadows were developed to the east of the village. On the well-timbered mountain sides and abutting plain were the woodlands of the community. The names of cultivated fields, meadow and pasture lands have come down and are in vogue today. Many of the names suggest the use to which the fields were originally put. North Furlong, Indian Hill, Honey Pot, Cross Path, Plain Hill and Aqua Vitæ were arable fields in the "great meadow." Grass Hollow, Foot Meadow, Meadow Hill and Pond Meadow probably indicate grass or pasture lands in the early days.

In spite of all the changes of ownership and such divisions and combinations as have been incidental thereto during more than two centuries, property holdings in Hadley today hark back to the old system of scattered

FIGURE 63.—PLAN OF THE ORIGINAL PLOTS OF OLD HADLEY, MASSACHUSETTS.¹⁰



¹⁰ From *The Grafton Magazine*, Copyright, 1909, by the Grafton Press, 105 West 40th Street, New York.

allotments. The villagers of the present generation list their lands with reference to the various fields, in which small parcels are owned as of old. Thus one owner has land as follows: $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in Home lot, $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres in Great Meadows, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in Cross Path, $10\frac{1}{2}$ in Acqua Vitæ and 18 in Mt. Wood. Another holds 9 acres in Home lot, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in Bacon Hole, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in Plain Hill, 3 in Great Hill, $\frac{3}{4}$ at Fort River Bridge and 3 at Nooks. Still another possesses two Home lots of $5\frac{1}{2}$ and 6 acres each, 3 acres in North Cemetery, 4 in Great Hill, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in Great Landing, 6 in Grass Hollows, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in Nooks, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in Bacon Hill, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in Long Lot, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in Warner lot, and 116 in Mt. Wood. One has an 8 acre Home lot and three separate parcels in Acqua Vitæ of $3\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{3}{4}$ and $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres each. Finally one has a Home lot of 2 acres, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres in North Furlong. After this manner run the records of present-day ownership among the people of Old Hadley village.

Figure 65 has been prepared to show something of this scattered ownership. The pins in the fields with threads running to the houses along the streets represent the distribution of holdings. No attention was given to the home lots in making this map, as it is assumed that they belong in each case to the house-holder whose lands were traced.

The unfenced tillable fields of Hadley, as one sees them today, must present much the same appearance as when commonage was the custom of the village.

The social life was as intimate and unified as the physical features of the village. It was, as W. H. Hudson has so beautifully said of a village in Wiltshire which he pictures as a situation where each house was a center of human life and the centers closely in touch with one another, "connected like a row of children linked together by their hands; all together forming one organism, instinct with one life, moved by one mind like a many-colored serpent lying at rest extended at full length upon the ground." In this organism, he goes on to say, all thoughts and feelings would freely pass from one to another, not necessarily by speech, but by virtue of the

FIGURE 64.—LOOKING DOWN WEST STREET, OR THE ORIGINAL COMMONS, IN OLD HADLEY



FIGURE 65.—SHOWING LAND HOLDINGS IN OLD HADLEY IN RELATION TO
"HOME LOTS" AS NOW HELD

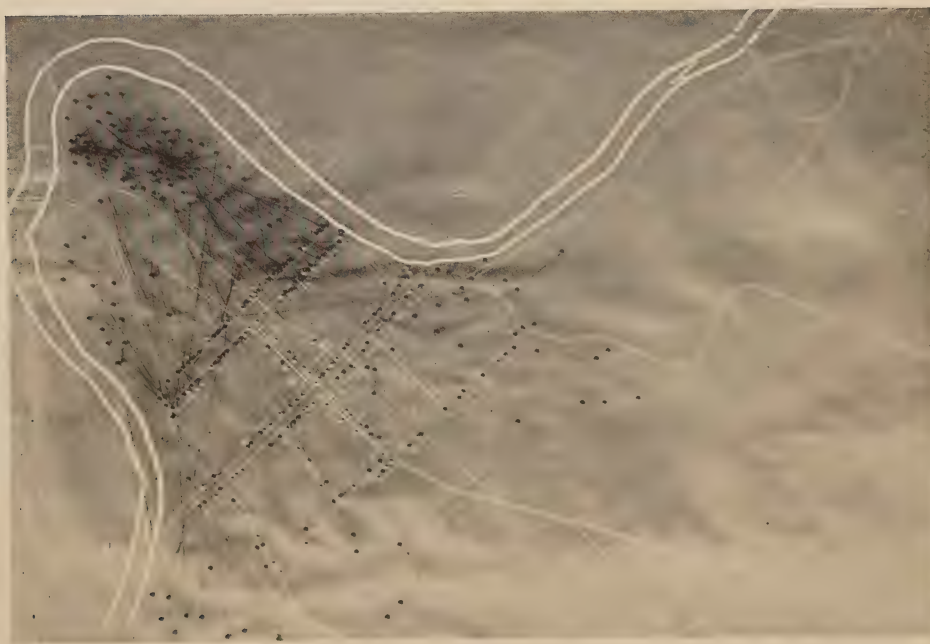
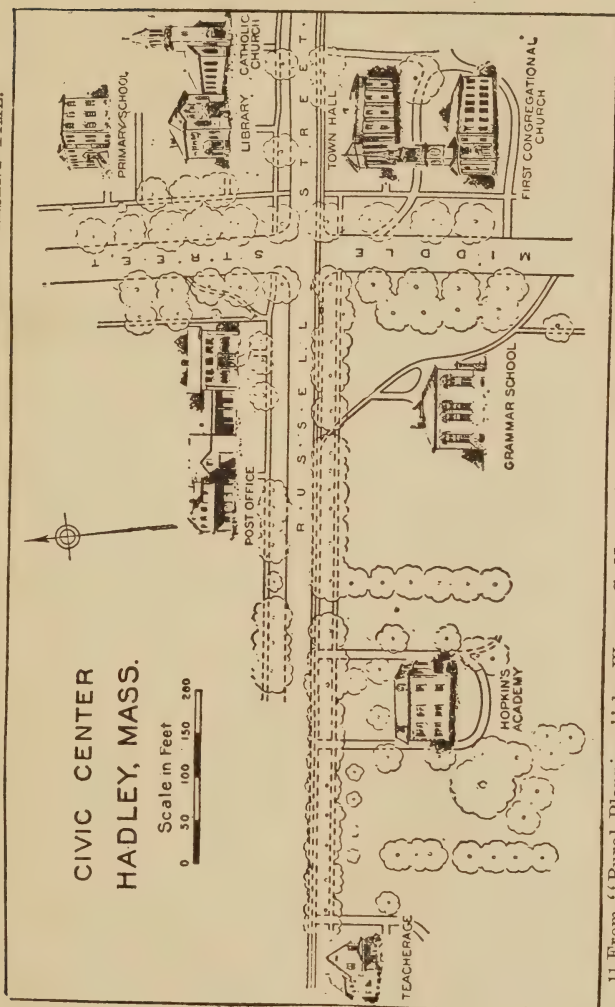


FIGURE 66.—THE COMMUNITY CENTER OF OLD HADLEY AT THE PRESENT TIME.¹¹



¹¹ From "Rural Planning," by Wayne C. Nason, *Bulletin No. 1441*, United States Department of Agriculture.

sympathy and solidarity uniting the people. No one would have a thought or emotion strange to his fellows. "The temper, mood, and outlook of the individual and the village would be the same."¹²

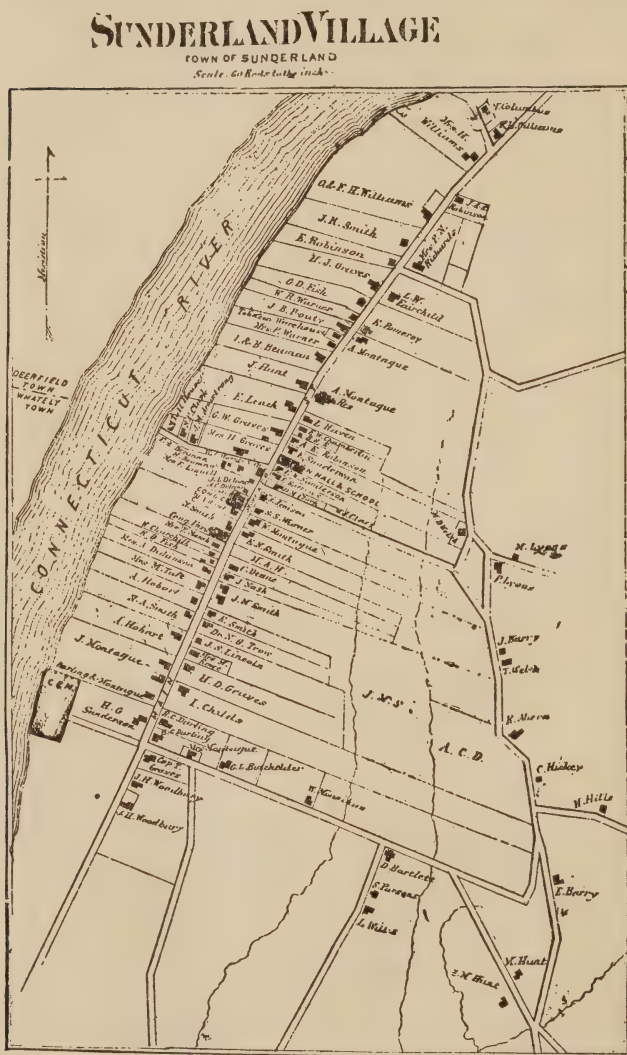
A little farther up the Connecticut and back upon one of its tributaries lies Old Deerfield, whose founding dates from 1671. On the Connecticut itself, between Hadley and Deerfield, lies Sunderland, a town established in 1718. The accompanying maps of these villages show them as they were about fifty years ago. But barring minor changes, a new set of owners, and some extension of the village bounds, these maps show them much as they are today and as they were in general plan when first founded.

Characteristic features of the communal plan are at once apparent upon examining the maps. The compact grouping, chiefly along a single street, is seen. Houses and barns are built on home lots of a few acres each. Altho not appearing on the maps, plow fields, meadows and pastures lie beyond the village sites. These have long since been divided into private holdings, whereas they were once held in commonage. Even now the absence of fences on the broad Sunderland plain gives hints of earlier conditions. Here too, as in Hadley, we find land is owned in parcels scattered here and there in what were once common fields. In the heart of these villages one observes such institutions as the church, town hall, school, and library. A natural community center is thus a feature of their organization. The germ of this traces back not only to early New England communities but even to early Christian England.

Without attempting in any way to trace the founding of village communities, suffice it to say that their establishment thruout New England was fairly general during the eighteenth as well as the seventeenth century. The entire period of the colonial community extends from 1607 to 1800. Occasionally, undivided common lands are still to be found, giving evidence of this type of settlement. For example, within the last five years a New Hampshire

¹² W. H. Hudson, *A Traveller in Little Things*, pp. 110-112.

FIGURE 68.—THE VILLAGE OF SUNDERLAND, MASSACHUSETTS.



village has faced the problem of dividing up a parcel of 6,900 acres. Conway, the town in question, was founded in 1765 by 69 families on a plantation of 23,040 acres. A 6,900 acre tract of woodland and pasture had come down to the present decade in common ownership among the heirs of the original settlers. By the villagers of Conway this tract had always been looked upon and used in commonage. And the efforts of certain descendants of the original proprietors, after a lapse of more than a century, to acquire private ownership and control thereof created a local problem of great interest.¹³

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY IN THE WEST

The westward migration of New Englanders failed to transplant the village community to the new regions. Conditions were unfavorable for a general development in this direction. Sporadic efforts, however, were made. But these did not always derive their inspiration from New England sources. More often it came from the Old World itself thru religious sects or Utopian philosophies. In response to such influences, a number of communities arose in the states from New York westward during the early nineteenth century. Typical of these were the Oneida Community of western New York, the Zoar Community of eastern Ohio, the New Harmony Community of Indiana and the Amana Community of Iowa.

These settlements adhered in a general way to the modes already described. There was, however, in many of them an effort to realize complete communism. That, too often, was their ideal instead of the moderate collectivism of the typical village community. This extreme idealism, together with the antagonism of a highly individualistic and competitive society round about, usually caused them to fail and quickly disintegrate. Hence their influence was brief and unimportant. Only a few survivals can be found today. Perhaps the most important survival of

¹³ See Account by Hobart Pillsbury in the *Sunday Herald*, Boston, April 23, 1922.

this sort is the Amana settlement in Iowa County, Iowa. Amana, or The Community of True Inspiration, was established in Iowa in 1854. It is a society of German Pietists, devoted to communism. On a tract of 26,000 acres of land which they purchased during the fifties and early sixties, seven villages were founded. They are all located within a radius of six miles from the central one. Each village has from forty to one hundred houses, grouped along a straggling street after the manner of the German Dorf. At one end of the street are the barns and sheds. At the other are workshops and factories. Fields, orchards and gardens lie in the rear of the houses on either side of the street. Each village has a church, school, bakery, dairy, post office, general store, and sawmill.¹⁴

These seven villages have a population of 1,700 to 1,800 in all and, taken together, they constitute the society of Amana. The society owns all property, real and personal. Each person contributes his labor and is given free maintenance, shelter, schooling, medical service, care in sickness and old age, and in addition, an annual allowance out of the common fund. This allowance is fixed in accordance with "justice and equity" for each individual or family.¹⁵ In other words, it is a thoroughgoing communistic order.

The society is a corporation, governed by an elected Board of Trustees. There are thirteen of these chosen annually from among the village elders. Each village is governed by a group of seven to nineteen elders appointed by these Trustees. The elders direct the work and life of the local community.¹⁶

Altho the Amana villages do some manufacturing, their main business is in agriculture. They are reported to be fairly prosperous and contented communities. However, they have not grown in numbers nor spread to other sections. Their extreme communistic organization renders them poorly adapted for successful propagation among ordinary farmers.

¹⁴ Bertha M. H. Shambaugh, *Amana, the Community of True Inspiration*, p. 95.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Chapter II.

Notwithstanding the failure of the village community to take root generally outside of New England, its influence has not been altogether negligible. It was carried into Utah by the Mormons, and with local adaptations, became their mode of settlement. Consequently, in that state today is found the only important group of such villages in America outside of New England.

The explanation of the village among the Mormons lies in the fact that many of them came originally out of New England. They were Yankee farmers, reared in towns of the type described. Under favorable conditions they would naturally duplicate the patterns best known to them. Conditions, as it chanced, were exceptionally favorable in Utah when the Mormons migrated thither. The land had not been surveyed by the Federal Government and offered for sale in blocks of a certain form and size. The country was a desert, and the pioneers of necessity clung together along the streams to secure water. Indians were hostile, and compact modes of dwelling gave some protection. There was, moreover, the need for mutual aid in irrigation projects and the pooling of all resources if the colonists were to survive. Thus, the village was peculiarly adapted to the situation, and, being favored by the leaders of the Mormon church, became the accepted mode. With the rise of irrigation and small-hold farming, the situation further conduced to the perpetuation of village life.¹⁷

The first agricultural community of the Mormons, Salt Lake City, was laid out in 1847 somewhat after the village type. It diverged from the type in that it was plotted as a square and divided into ten acre blocks. Each landholder was given a lot of $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres in the town. The fields lay beyond, and were divided into 75, 60, and 20 acre plots, which were assigned to householders according to the size and working ability of the family. With the plots went water for irrigation. This general plan became the model

¹⁷ L. Nelson, "A Social Survey of Escalante, Utah," *Brigham Young University Studies*, No. 1, pp. 4-5.

for all subsequent villages of Mormons in the inter-mountain region.¹⁸

A valuable study of one of these villages has recently been published by Professor Lowery Nelson. It is that of Escalante, located in Potato Valley. This village will serve to illustrate the type that prevails.

Escalante was founded in 1876 by a group of colonists from older settlements in Utah. In this unsurveyed locality, beside a creek, they plotted the town site of 18 blocks containing 5 acres each. These blocks were then divided into four lots of $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres each for home lots.¹⁹ On these lots were located the farmsteads, houses, barns, corrals, pens and sheds. No buildings were constructed in the arable fields. The lots also gave space for gardens and small orchards.²⁰ To the north, east, and south of the townsite arable fields were laid out. Originally these fields were divided into 160-acre tracts, but with the understanding that they would be subdivided into farms of $22\frac{1}{2}$ acres each.²¹

The accompanying map shows the community of the present. The farms comprise 13,016 acres, more than half of which is undeveloped and waste land. The original idea of confining the size of farms to $22\frac{1}{2}$ acres has not been adhered to, for they now range from 5 to 680 acres. However, about one-fourth of the whole number are under 24 acres, and nearly another fourth between 25 and 49 acres in size. The larger tracts are chiefly range lands. Sixty per cent of all farms are under 100 acres.²²

It will be noted on the map that the smaller farms tend to cluster about the town site, while the largest ones lie farthest out. The average distance from the owners' homes to their fields is 2.3 miles. Only a few are more than three miles away.²³

The map shows a village larger than the original one, containing a population of 1,010 in 1923. It is a distinctively farmers' community with only a few laborers,

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

FIGURE 69.—PLAT OF ESCALANTE, UTAH.²⁴



²⁴ From "A Social Survey of Escalante, Utah," by Lowry Nelson, *Brigham Young University Studies* No. 1. Provo, Utah, 1925, in Cooperation with U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

craftsmen and other non-agricultural workers included. The 180 heads of families include 135 active and three retired farmers.²⁵ The type of farming is live-stock production. Soil cultivation is incidental thereto and largely for hay raising. It is stated that the village has reached its maximum size, considering its land resources.²⁶

Unlike the true village community, Escalante is an incorporated town, with a town board and mayor constituting its government. In several other respects it obviously does not conform to type. There have never been any common lands or any practice of commonage in cultivation. From the beginning each has had his own farm separate and distinct from those of his neighbors. There has thus been no need of community regulation of the agricultural process. However, the farmers have formed organizations for irrigation purposes. Two joint stock companies maintain the water canals and distribute the supply to users. Since, moreover, the chief business is live-stock raising, associations for promoting this business have arisen, two concerned with cattle and one with sheep.²⁷ These represent cooperative efforts.

An important aspect of this and all Mormon villages is religious homogeneity and organization. The one church, embracing all the people and supported by a system of tithing, closely parallels not only early New England but old England village community life in this respect.

The author of the survey under consideration raises the question of the present status of Mormon villages in general. He finds, as in the case of Escalante, that those in the outlying and isolated sections of the state are maintaining their original compactness. Very few isolated farmsteads are developing in their environs. In newly developed irrigated sections, the isolated farmstead is the mode of settlement being adopted. In the older and more populous counties, such as Utah, Salt Lake City, Davis, Weber and Box Elder, it is also common to find people dwelling apart on their farms, as well as in villages. In

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

these sections the village was the original mode and still continues to be the dominant one, altho isolated farmsteads are increasing.²⁸

Whether or not these developments indicate disintegrative tendencies, the surveyor was not prepared to say. The forces at work were not obvious. Further study would be necessary to identify them. The isolated farmsteads might represent new farms and farmers. They might be villagers who had moved out to the open country, or they might not. Hence no judgment is passed on the adequacy of the village under modern conditions nor upon its future prospects.

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- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

XXIV

THE PRESENT DAY RURAL COMMUNITY

A FEW years ago it was rather the fashion to speak of the American farmer as a man without a community. In the South, the Middle West and the West, where this notion was more or less current among students of country life, one habitually thought of villagers and townsmen as living in real communities, since such places were definitely defined and incorporated areas. But, living outside of incorporated districts, the farmer seemed to be altogether devoid of a community. Legally, at least, there was no way of locating him. He belonged to no population aggregate, could not usually be placed in any well-defined geographic area, nor often designated by reference to any social unit. He was indeed of all men apparently the most detached, ungrouped and isolated.

This peculiar dilemma began to arrest attention about a decade ago. At that time various agencies of social action were beginning to focus on the problems of country life and were more or less at a loss over what should be the unit of organization. Political subdivisions there were, but they seemed artificial. Natural units and groupings were needed. Hence an interest in first-hand studies of the rural situation was aroused.

THE "RURBAN" AREA

The first important research project having for its object the study of the structure of rural society was undertaken at the University of Wisconsin by Dr. C. J. Galpin. A single county was chosen for investigation. In this county were twelve hamlets, villages and towns that served

as trade centers. The areas about each of these centers whence came the farmers to buy and sell, to do their banking, to patronize the creameries, the high schools, the libraries, the churches, etc., were carefully surveyed and mapped. Thus were discovered "comparatively determinable and fixed areas of land surrounding each center" whose inhabitants, averaging about the same number of families as in the center itself, were served by the center with precisely the same character of service as it rendered to the people within its corporate limits. Having established the existence of these trade or social service zones, and having discovered that the service rendered by the centers was the same whether to the farmer or to the townsman and villager, Dr. Galpin reached the conclusion that such trade zones formed the boundaries of actual rural communities. It was contended, moreover, that these zones were also the zones of most frequent contacts and widest acquaintance among farmers. For at the center, farm families meet with those from the whole zone. In this way a certain psychological unity, which coincided with the definite territorial area, was assumed to be present. According to this investigation, therefore, the rural community was found to be a reality, but not an area apart from the village or town. On the contrary, it was a social basin contiguous to and determined by some sort of urban center. Wherefore it seemed proper to speak of the farmer's community as the "Rurban community," i.e., rural and urban in combination.

Dr. Galpin's analysis was at once hailed as a real discovery. At last the farmer's community seemed to have been identified and its characteristics revealed by scientific research. Rural sociologists consequently seized upon the notion and gave it wide vogue. It became the most prevalent way of defining the rural community.

However, the "Rurban" idea did not fully satisfy. Country life did not appear to all observers so completely town centered. Often the major interests and activities of farm people seemed to have other foci and to bear no relation whatever to urban centers. Furthermore, it was

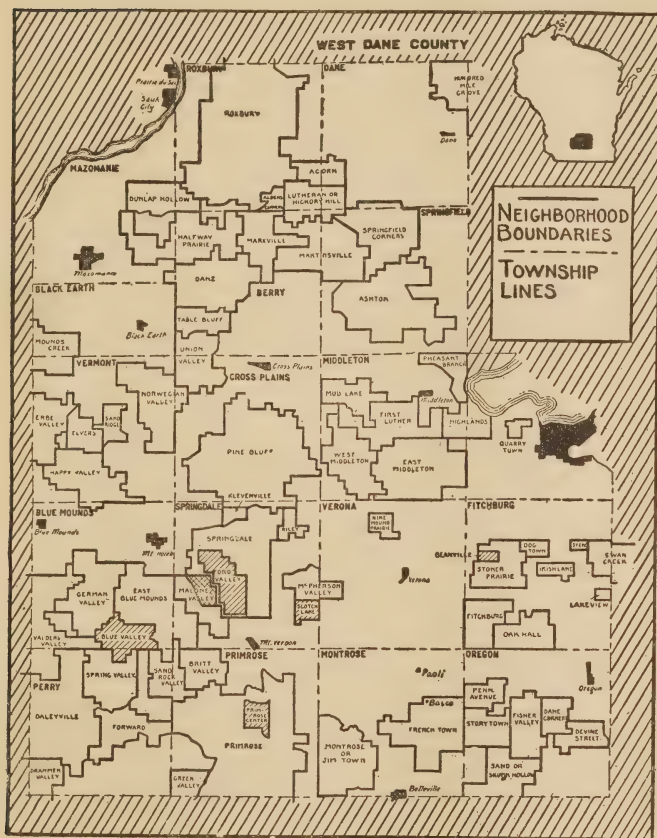
by no means clear that the inhabitants of a trade zone usually are aware of a unity of interests or of sharing anything in common. Indeed, it is not generally demonstrable that those dwelling in one section of the zone are in anywise extensively acquainted with those dwelling in the section on the opposite side of the center. The inadequacy of the rural explanation thus revealed itself. Hence a new impetus was given to further field work and more extensive inquiry into the nature of community life in the country.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The existence of rural neighborhoods, apart from rural centers, has always been recognized by those having an intimate knowledge of country life. Names by which such areas are designated are encountered almost everywhere. For example, in a certain section familiar to the writer the names run as follows: Soule Settlement, The Pond, Walnut Grove, Hell's Point, Powers' Settlement, Pretty Prairie, and No-God's Corners. Just what such localities stood for in a social way, was not, until of late, so well understood. Were the names merely convenient ways of designating localities or did they signify natural social groups? Might they in any sense indicate communities? When questions of this sort began to be asked, the only way to answer them was to study the neighborhoods themselves. Under the direction of the Division of Farm Life Studies of the Office of Farm Management and Farm Economics of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, several such studies were projected. They were first undertaken in Wisconsin, New York, North Carolina and Missouri. They sought to unearth the facts. In the following paragraphs we shall present the findings of the more important studies so far made.

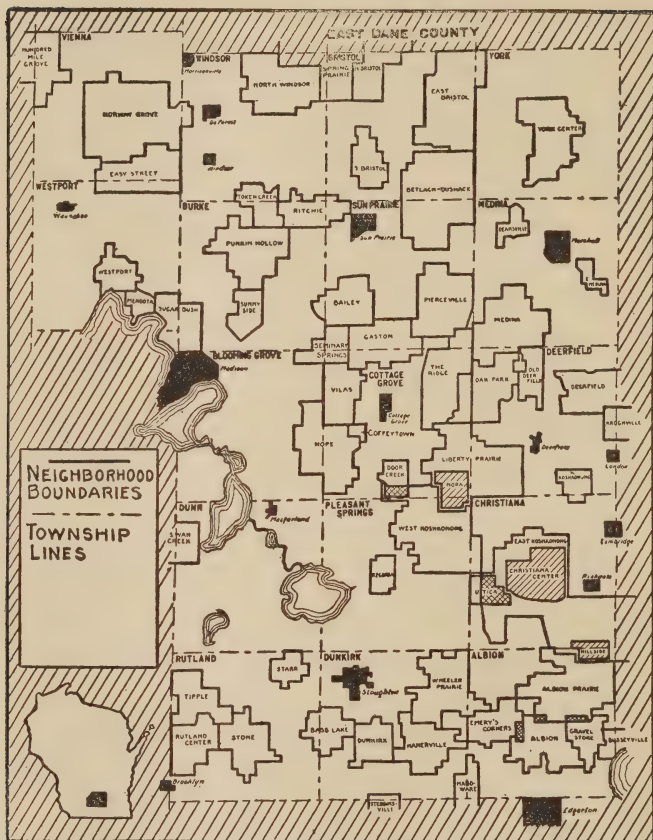
1. The *first* one was undertaken in Dane County, Wisconsin, by J. H. Kolb. In order to discover the neighborhood groups, the question was asked of each farm family: "By what name is the country neighborhood called in which you live?" It was explained that not the township

FIGURE 70.—NEIGHBORHOOD BASE MAP.¹



or village or even necessarily the school district was meant, but only the country locality. The assumption was made "that when a family recognized some grouping as its own, and was willing to confess this name as it would its own family name, there was evidence of group consciousness

¹ J. H. Kolb, "Rural Primary Groups," *Research Bulletin No. 51*, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, p. 8.

FIGURE 71.—NEIGHBORHOOD BASE MAP.³

and unity.”² It was, of course, understood that there might be true groups that had no local name. When answers had been secured from all farm families, they were plotted on the map of the county. Lines were then drawn

² J. H. Kolb, “Rural Primary Groups,” *Research Bulletin No. 51*, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, p. 6.

³ Reproduced from *op. cit.*, p. 9.

about those farms whose families professed membership in the same locality. Thus the boundaries of neighborhood areas were traced. These are indicated on the accompanying maps.

In this county were found 121 groups of rural people within geographic areas characterized by locality names. These groups, moreover, had a local consciousness of unity. Practically the whole area of the county save "a comparatively uniform space surrounding cities and villages" was occupied by these neighborhood settlements.⁴

The chief sources of the group names were, first, natural phenomena, such as hills, groves, valleys; second, family names; and third, place of former residence. A complete classification gives the following table.⁵

NAME OF SOURCE	TOTAL
Accident	6
Economic institution	1
Educational institution	3
Family name	32
Former resident	8
Nationality	8
Natural phenomena	39
Post Office	4
Social institution	5
Township	15

The sources of the names were at once suggestive of the vital factors that had created and were perpetuating the groups. It was found, incidentally, that there had often been two or more such factors at work. In every case the surveyor took account of both primary and secondary influences.

Illustrations of neighborhoods as determined by the leading factors responsible for their existence will be illuminating. Topography and original vegetation show their influence in such cases as Britt Valley, Blue Valley, Spring Valley, Wheeler Prairie, Nine Mounds Prairie, The Ridge, Hundred Mile Grove and Norway Grove.⁶ Economic influences are not so easily indicated by place names, but cases

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

such as Utica and Token Creek represent trading points.⁷ Nationality was seen in Liberty Prairie and West Kashkonong.⁸ The social factor, in the sense of family leadership, sports and sociability, found exemplification in such neighborhoods as Springfield Corners, Oak Hall, and Ashton.⁹ Numerous cases where religious and educational institutions played the chief rôle are also in evidence.¹⁰

It was discovered, however, that the factors originally responsible for the grouping were often no longer present. In fact, at the time of the study there were 26 cases in which no factors at all were in operation. The localities were mere names and nothing more. In other instances new factors had superseded the ones originally in force. So it was revealed that these groups were not fixed and static social areas, such as one might suppose them to be from a glance at the map. Quite the contrary, they often proved to be changing unities.

Of the 121 neighborhoods, 18 seem to have remained substantially unchanged, but all the others had either changed completely or were in the process of increasing or decreasing. Of those classified as "completely changed," 26 were groups only in name. Their social significance had entirely disappeared. The surveyor is careful to note in this connection, however, that "this does not mean that all local consciousness is gone or that the grouping is entirely to no purpose, but it does mean that the strong bonds of religion, sociability, and cooperative effort are focused not locally, but at the general center, Oregon."¹¹ Those groups classified as increasing or decreasing are to be thought of not only as changing in *geographic boundaries*, but more particularly in the *vitality and solidarity* of the group itself.

The real significance of these rural areas must not be overlooked. It lies in the fact that they are for the most part true social unities. By this is meant that there is present a local consciousness of cohesion. When therefore they are designated as primary groups or neighbor-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-28.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

hoods, it is to say that they are psychological and social as well as geographic.

Attention should also be called to the existence of rural areas in this county, for about each city or village was found a comparatively uniform space where no vital neighborhoods were discoverable.¹² In these spaces the grouping or focusing of the farm families was toward the urban centers. These centers dominated the social life of the outlying farms. In so far as distinctly open country neighborhoods were concerned, these were ungrouped areas. Nevertheless, it was apparent that "sometimes a rural consciousness as distinct from the village was found and sometimes, especially with the smaller centers, there seemed to be a blending over until no boundary could be distinguished."¹³

When a trade-zone map of all the village and town centers is superimposed upon the neighborhood map of this county, the open country neighborhoods are all found to be embraced in rural areas. They split up between the urban areas in all sorts of ways. The chief fact to be noted, however, is that such areas do not generally supplant socially the neighborhood groups.

2. A *second* study of open country neighborhoods was made by Professors Dwight Sanderson and Warren S. Thompson in Otsego County, New York.¹⁴

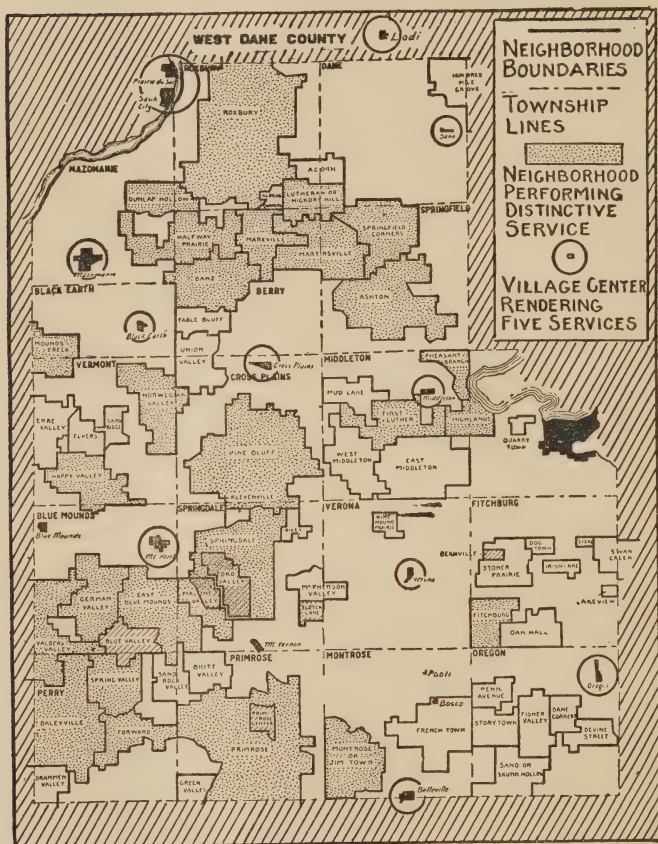
Inquiry was made of each farm family in the county as to the name of the locality in which it lived. Data were thus obtained for determining the boundaries of the open country areas. The findings were then charted on the accompanying map. This map, as the surveyors summarize it, "shows 222 locality names used by 3,177 houses; 42 local names used by less than 5 houses each in a total of 171 houses; 43 village centers with 845 farmhouses so near the villages that they used the village name for their locality; and 950 farmhouses outside of areas having any local name; making a total of 5,143 houses shown on the map of

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

¹⁴ See "The Social Areas of Otsego County," *Bulletin No. 422*, Agricultural Experiment Station, Cornell University, July, 1923.

FIGURE 72.—NEIGHBORHOOD VILLAGE CENTER MAP.¹⁵
Service Relationship.



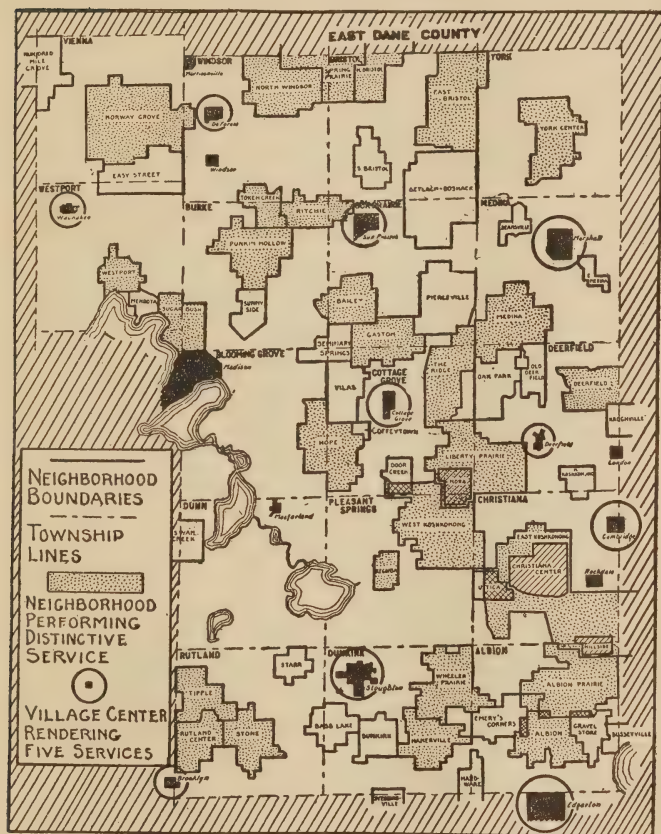
the county. . . . The results show that about 62 per cent of the farmhouses are located in areas having locality names, about 16 per cent are so near villages that they use the village name, and about 22 per cent have no local name

¹⁵ Reproduced from *op. cit.*, p. 72.

or use a local name which is common to only three or four houses." ¹⁶ Further analysis shows that the average num-

FIGURE 73.—NEIGHBORHOOD VILLAGE CENTER MAP.¹⁷

Service Relationship.



ber of families to the neighborhood was 14 and the average area was $2\frac{1}{4}$ square miles.¹⁸

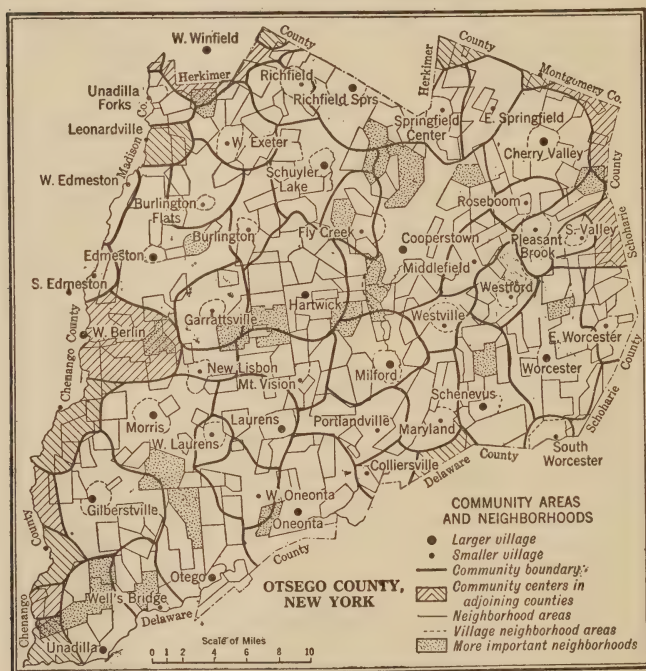
¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁷ Reproduced from *op. cit.*, p. 73.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

The names of the neighborhoods had various origins, such as those of prominent persons or families of first settlers; natural phenomena, as creeks, lakes, hills and valleys; nationalities, churches, school districts, mills, and

FIGURE 74.—COMMUNITY AREAS AND NEIGHBORHOODS, OTSEGO COUNTY, N. Y.¹⁹



post offices, while several names were of unknown derivation. One outstanding source of names was families of early settlers and prominent persons. There were 71 bearing names of this type. The most important source was the school district, since there were 75 cases in this class.

The names in many cases clearly indicate the factors

¹⁹ Reproduced from *op. cit.*, opposite p. 12.

giving identity to the neighborhood. The chief factors in the order of their importance were assigned by the people themselves as follows: school, kinship, hills, valleys, isolation, church, grange, roads, and farmer's nationality.²⁰

In seeking to determine the nature of rural neighborhoods, the investigators went back of the names and the areas to which the names applied to find the psychological and sociological realities. They endeavored to establish some criterion by which to judge. Professor Kolb, in his Wisconsin study, had described the rural neighborhood as "that first grouping beyond the family which has social significance and which is conscious of some local unity."²¹ The American Country Life Association had described it as "a geographic group of farm families having some distinct local social cohesion."²² But the facts discovered in Otsego County seemed to call for a more exact description, because the investigators found cases where only a half-dozen families were using the same locality name. There was doubt whether grouping so small, even tho local cohesion and unity prevailed, should be called neighborhoods. It seemed pertinent to raise the question whether a certain degree of consciousness of local unity and cohesion was not necessary in order for a primary local group to qualify as a neighborhood. Hence, two criteria were proposed for distinguishing the neighborhood areas. The first was "the amount of neighborliness and the degree to which it was common to the whole group"; the second was the common activities of the group.²³

In studying the localities to find how far these forces were present, several questions were submitted to the families involved. One was concerning the activities in which the neighborhood joined. The following were reported: farm work, church, Sunday school, school, socials and home parties, dancing, Dairymen's League, Grange, farm and home bureau, and others of a miscellaneous na-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²¹ Kolb, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

²² *Proceedings First National Country Life Conference*, p. 128, 1920.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

ture. In 38 cases there were no activities. Another question asked was whether the people got together in any way at their homes. About half the neighborhoods reported that they foregathered in house parties, socials, ladies' aids, family gatherings, church work, dances, home economics clubs and husking bees. To the question whether the people of the neighborhood did any visiting among themselves, 57 affirmative answers were received, while 75 stated they visited only a little. A fourth question was whether the men helped one another in farm work. All but a dozen reported they did. The types of work mentioned in order of frequency were as follows: threshing, silo-filling, haying, harvesting, cutting corn, cutting wood, drawing milk, exchanging tools, butchering, planting, digging potatoes, cutting ice, shoveling snow on the roads.²⁴

In the light of this knowledge, supplemented by a detailed study of several of the localities, the authors of the survey classified the neighborhoods under seven types, the most important factors responsible for the local bond of unity serving as the basis of classification. The types are characterized as follows: (1) *The hamlet* is described as a group of houses close together and usually associated with some institution or business. It is exemplified in Exeter Center. (2) *The institutional neighborhood* is described as a cluster of families tributary to one or more institutions, such as school, grange, or church. (3) *The business neighborhood* is described as a group of families tributary to a mill, creamery, store, railway station, or some industrial plant. (4) *The ethnic neighborhood* is described as a group of families of a common alien race. Plainfield Center, made up of Welsh, is typical. (5) *The kinship neighborhood* is described as a group of families closely related in blood. (6) *The topographic neighborhood* is described as consisting of families whose bond of unity is due to some more or less isolated situation, such as a valley or hill. Often, however, such localities are only geographic and not social areas. (7) *The village neighborhood* is described as a group of farm families so near a village that the

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

village name is used for the locality. Such neighborhoods are so closely identified with the village group proper that they can hardly be called separate units.²⁵ It is recognized that these seven types are not entirely distinct and separate. Some overlapping is evident, the hamlet being practically always an institutional type often determined by the ethnic or topographic factors also.²⁶

The New York county was much like the one in Wisconsin as regards conditions of change in neighborhoods. The business neighborhood, originally determined by mills, blacksmith shops, cheese factories, etc., was practically a thing of the past as a social unit.²⁷ The kinship neighborhood was fast disappearing.²⁸ Where topography was the only factor in creating community bonds, little of significance remained. Institutional neighborhoods were the most permanent. Where they were isolated by distance or topography from village centers, they were subject to the least change and were found at their best. Such neighborhoods had a larger area and population than the average of the county. Their area ranged from 5 to 10 sq. miles, and the number of families from 25 to 50. In other words, they were from two to four times the size of the ordinary neighborhoods. In fact, of the total number of neighborhoods in the county, only 20 to 25 may be said to be going concerns or functioning social areas; and all these are of the institutional type. The authors of the Survey therefore conclude that the rural neighborhood in this county "is ceasing to function as a social unit except where its life is centered in some local institution."²⁹

Altho the neighborhood as a social unit is passing out, a certain amount of neighborliness among farmers dwelling near together still remains. The authors are of the opinion that this will continue wherever the people are permanent residents, since the very nature of farm work fosters it.³⁰

Since the institutional neighborhoods are the only ones of real social significance in this county, it will be profitable

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-27.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

to give a more detailed account of one of them. The authors' description of Pierstown may be reproduced by way of illustration:

"Pierstown is about six miles north of Cooperstown, where most of its business is done and which is its natural community center. It is slightly farther from Richfield Springs. It includes about 36 families and approximately 150 persons, almost all of American stock, scattered over an area extending halfway to Cooperstown on the south, and from a mile and a half to two miles west and northwest of the school. It is bounded by hills on the north and west and by Otsego Lake on the east. At the neighborhood center there is a good district school, but the chief neighborhood activities center in the Grange hall. The Grange has a membership of about 100. It has a good building, equipped with a kitchen, a dining-room, and a hall, with a stage, which seats about 200. A small grocery store is kept in the basement. The regular meeting of the Grange is held here every fortnight, a Sunday school is held every Sunday, and preaching services are conducted once a month or oftener. Also, the young people hold half a dozen dances during the year, the Grange has an annual dance, and socials and suppers are frequent. The farm and home bureaus, the Dairymen's League, and the ladies' aid society, also hold their meetings here. At Christmas the Grange, the Sunday school, and the three district schools cooperate in an entertainment which is attended by the whole neighborhood. For all of these occasions the Grange furnishes the hall, with heat and light, free of charge, so that it is a real social center. The Grange has a good degree team, and the lecturers' hour furnishes good programs in which the members have been trained to participate. The Grange has also taken an active interest in making an attractive Grange exhibit at the county fair, and its members are interested in raising farm and garden products, in canning fruits and vegetables, and in raising flowers, for this exhibit. The people have been encouraged to take part in these neighborhood activities, so that each expects to do

his share. The home bureau has brought the women together more closely in specific occupational interests."

It is pertinent to ask why the rural neighborhood as a social unit is disappearing. The main reason assigned by the survey under review is that these areas are being absorbed by the larger community. This means that the social interests of the people are focusing upon the village centers; that rurban areas are superseding the distinctly rural areas.³¹ Back of this change lies, of course, the development of good roads and new means of communication and locomotion.

The question of rurban areas, as well as rural neighborhoods, in Otsego County was also investigated. The boundaries of these areas were determined from data furnished by the farm families, showing to what extent each village or town served them as a trading and social center. Including one city having about 12,000 population, the county had 43 rurban areas. The centers are generally small villages, ranging from 70 people to 2,700. They average but 380 persons, if the two largest are left out of account. Only three number as many as 1,000 people. The size of the area tends to vary directly with the size of the village center. The average farm population to the area is 416, but in this some are included who properly belong to rurban areas whose centers lie beyond the county boundaries. When proper allowance is made for such families, the surveyors state that the average farm population per area is practically the same as that of the village centers.³²

The surveyors emphasize what has already been suggested, that these rurban areas "are the natural social areas, whose institutions bind the people together into locality groups."³³ Owing to the topography of the county, the villages are numerous and the areas small. This probably accounts for the extensive focalization of farm life upon the villages.

3. A third study of rural areas was made by Professors E. L. Morgan and Owen Howells in Boone County, Mis-

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 28-31.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

souri.³⁴ By methods similar to those already described, the rural areas were determined as they appear on the accompanying map.

Fifty-nine neighborhoods, bearing locality names, were found. The names originated from sources much like those in Wisconsin and New York. However, the range of sources is decidedly more limited. The authors of the survey classify them under six heads, viz.: individuals, accounting for 30 cases; natural phenomena, 11 cases; school and church, 5 cases; church alone, 5 cases; former population centers, 2 cases; and miscellaneous, 6 cases.³⁵

The factors responsible for whatever "we consciousness" these neighborhoods exhibit, like the sources of names, seem to be somewhat more restricted than was revealed by the other surveys noticed. The authors especially call attention to the absence of ethnic or nationality factors, and also of religious sects with beliefs or habits of such peculiar nature as to be an exclusive group-making force.³⁶ The ethnic homogeneity, however, applied only to the white population, as there were several Negro neighborhoods in addition to the white ones. Institutions are about the only factors now effective in creating neighborhood unity. These embrace the school, church, store, and blacksmith shop.

The authors attempted to measure the degree of local "we consciousness." The measuring stick was "the frequency with which the group came together for any purpose, the readiness with which the group name was accepted and recognized by those living within and without the area, and . . . the frequency with which activities occurred that demanded a conscious recognition of group organization."³⁷ They found the highest degree of "we consciousness" where interest centered in three or four institutions. In several cases an excellent church fostered only a slightly lower degree of group spirit. A lesser degree was found where school district and church and some-

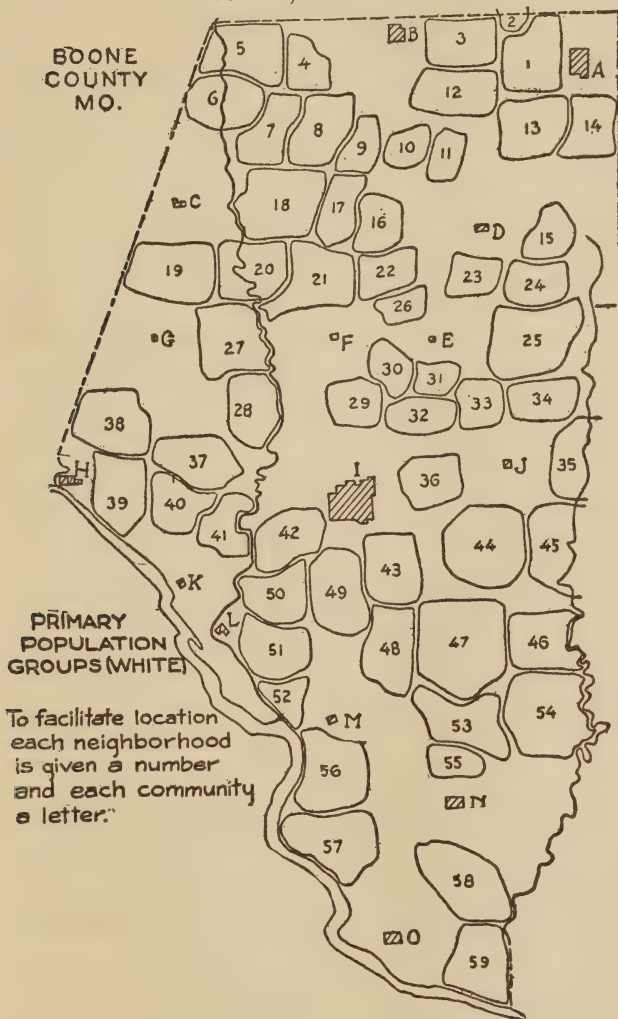
³⁴ See "Rural Population Groups," *Research Bulletin No. 74*, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., 1925.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

FIGURE 75.—WHITE PRIMARY POPULATION GROUPS, BOONE COUNTY, MISSOURI.³⁸



³⁸ Reproduced from *op. cit.*, p. 7.

times a store were involved. Only the slightest degree of group unity was manifest where kinship bonds or natural phenomena were the prevailing factors.³⁹

The surveyors of Boone County found the school districts to be the most constant and effective social areas. In addition to the districts maintaining high schools, there were 79 rural school districts. In every way these seemed to be the largest and most dynamic agencies in securing face-to-face contacts. Hence it is pointed out that, whatever other forces are responsible for the primary groups, the school district is also to be recognized. Thus the primary group association is said to be dual in nature.⁴⁰ For illustration, the case of the Butler-Simms neighborhood is cited. Here unity derives from the men responsible for a "patriarchal domain," but, at the same time, underlying this is the consciousness of the Barnett school district.⁴¹ In this connection the authors direct attention to the unbounded areas in the map as being unbounded, not because there are no primary groups there, but because the only group-making force is the school district. In other words, the bounded areas are those where there are other forces besides the school district.⁴²

School districts are supposed to be wholly arbitrary legal units, like townships and counties. But it appears that in this case there has been constant adjustment of the district lines to conform to needs. The districts are, therefore, no longer arbitrary, but natural social unities.⁴³

This Missouri county has 15 rural areas, the centers of which are indicated on the map by squares and letters. These areas are described in this survey as being characterized by secondary group relationships of the primary population groups.⁴⁴ Stress is laid upon the fact that primary groups in this county, even as everywhere else, are split up in the formation of rural areas. A single primary group may divide its allegiance between two or more secondary groups.⁴⁵ The rural, or trade center area, is therefore,

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 59.

made up of parts of several neighborhood areas. Individuals show loyalty to a single primary group but at the same time they may be attached to several secondary groups, as for example, to two different towns where they trade, do banking, or send to high school.⁴⁶ The superior strength of primary group attachment is evinced in the fact that numerous secondary attachments do not disintegrate it.⁴⁷

Special mention is made in the report of this survey, of the consolidated school district as a type of secondary group. It is a relatively new grouping but one gaining in force as a social unit. There are two such districts in Boone County.⁴⁸

The investigators were impressed with the likenesses between the neighborhood and the secondary groups. They say that "the characteristics of each closely parallel the other; that the rural group is just a super-neighborhood."⁴⁹ The chief difference between the two is in the degree of group consciousness. The primary group, because of intimacy of contact, has a higher degree of group consciousness than the secondary.⁵⁰ Sharp distinctions between groups seem to these authors rather arbitrary. For, as they say: "The phenomena of group life begin with the family and find the individual a part of ever-widening circles, each catering to definite needs in his life. Within each circle he sets up a community of interests with the other members thereof, but always more or less conscious of other circles claiming his loyalty. From neighborhood to world community, the synthesizing of group relations is so perfect that only by fixing upon arbitrary limits can the separate stages of community be delineated."⁵¹

That conditions and groupings in rural society are constantly changing is also stressed. The old self-sufficient rural neighborhood is passing. Only a few still remain. Larger social areas are forming. They are seen in

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

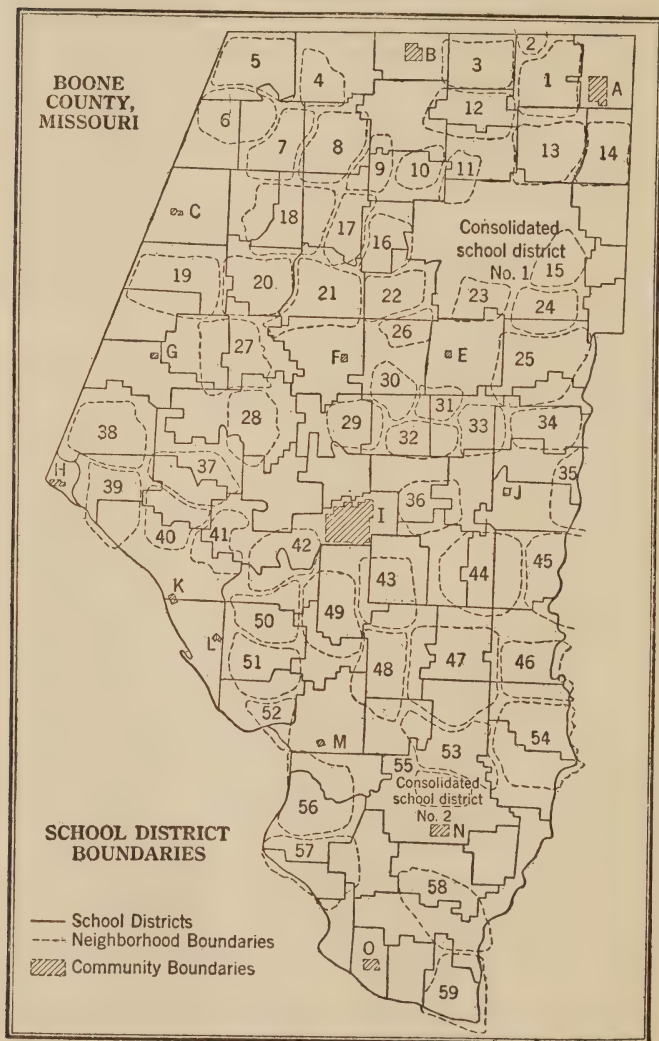
⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 60.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

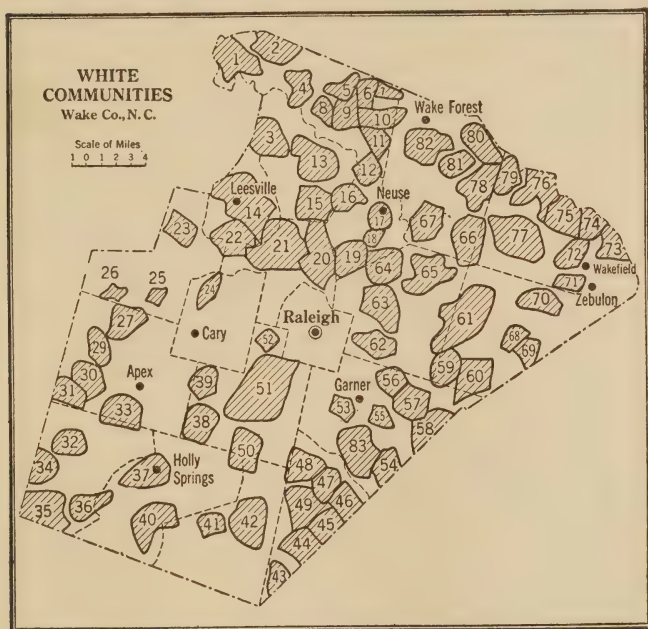
⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

FIGURE 76.—SCHOOL DISTRICT BOUNDARIES, BOONE COUNTY, MISSOURI.⁵²⁵² Reproduced from *op. cit.*, p. 23.

consolidated school districts and village- or town-centered groupings.⁵³

4. The fourth study of rural social areas was made in Wake County, North Carolina, by Professors C. C. Zimmerman and C. C. Taylor.⁵⁴

FIGURE 77.—WHITE COMMUNITIES, WAKE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA.⁵⁵



White communities, 83 in number, as originally found and which were supposed at first to be geographic sociological communities. A list of the names of these "communities" follows.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

⁵⁴ See "Rural Organization," *Bulletin No. 245*, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Raleigh, 1922.

⁵⁵ Reproduced from *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 9.

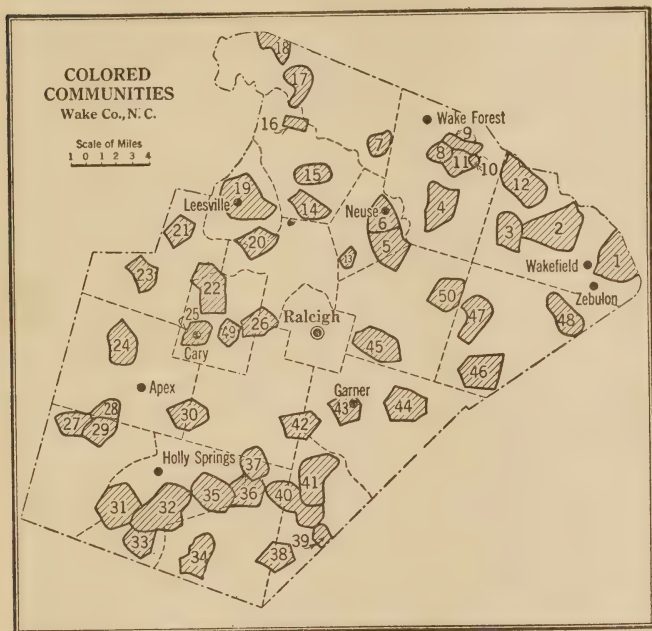
White Community Names Given.

- | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Olive Grove | 28. Salem | 56. Ebenezer |
| 2. Fellowship | 29. Green Level | 57. Anchor Lodge |
| 3. New Bethel | 30. White Oak or | 58. Mount Moriah |
| 4. New Light | Jenks Cross- | 59. Bethlehem |
| *5. Cedar Grove | roads | 60. Shotwell |
| *6. Sunrise | 31. Olive Crossroads | 61. Knightdale |
| *7. Purnell | 32. New Hill | 62. Samaria |
| *8. Bend | 33. Pleasant Plains | 63. Wilders Grove |
| *9. Stony Hill | 34. Bonsal | 64. Buffalo |
| *10. Union Cross- | 35. Sloans | 65. Broadwell |
| roads or Kear- | 36. Hallemans | 66. Judd Hill |
| ney | Crossroads | 67. Wake Cross- |
| 11. West Grove | 37. Holly Springs | roads |
| 12. Tolls | 38. Beverly Jones | 68. Marshburn Hill |
| 13. Bay Leaf | Crossroads | 69. Clyde Chapel |
| 14. Leesville | 39. Oak Hill | 70. Lizzard Lick |
| 15. Tipper's Cross- | 40. Wilbon | 71. Pleasant Hill |
| roads or Six | 41. Cairo | 72. Union Chapel |
| Forks | 42. Willow Springs | 73. Wake Chapel |
| 16. Mount Vernon | 43. Cannon Grove | 74. Hughes |
| 17. Neuse | 44. Mount Pleasant | 75. Hopkins |
| 18. Bunnyville | 45. Middle Creek | Chapel |
| Crossroads | 46. Gulleys Mill | 76. Mitchells Mill |
| 19. Millbrook | 47. Turner | 77. Antioch |
| 20. Oak Grove | 48. Williams Cross- | 78. Rolesville |
| 21. Pleasant Grove | roads | 79. Pulley Town |
| 22. Ebenezer | 49. Plymouth | 80. Clement |
| 23. Adams Cross- | 50. Catawba | Academy |
| roads or Mount | Springs | 81. Freeman's |
| Herman | 51. Ram Kat | Mill or Balance |
| 24. Reedy Creek | 52. Goodwin | Rock |
| 25. Morrisville | 53. Garner | 82. Forestville |
| 26. Carpenter | 54. Mount Herman | 83. Cade Springs |
| 27. Upchurch | 55. Auburn | |

* Also known as Harricane.

Here was a county of over 75,000 population in 1919, of which not quite 40,000 were in the open country and the rest in incorporated places. The country population was roughly, two-fifths colored and three-fifths white. Analyzing the social structure of the rural districts by methods analogous to those already described, the investigators found 83 white and 50 colored geographic areas. These all

FIGURE 78.—COLORED COMMUNITIES, WAKE CO., NORTH CAROLINA.⁵⁶



Negro communities, 50 in number, as originally found and which were supposed at first to be geographic sociological communities. A list of the names of these "communities" follows.

Colored Community Names Given.

- | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Rosinburg | 11. Reedy Creek | 20. Hickory Grove |
| 2. White Oak | 12. St. Marys | 21. Pleasant Grove |
| 3. Riley Hill | 13. Wake Chapel | 22. Evans Grove |
| 4. Macedonia | 14. Tippers Cross-roads | 23. Shiloh |
| 5. St. Matthews | 15. Lovely Hill | 24. Scotts Grove |
| 6. Neuse | 16. Ray | 25. Cary |
| 7. Jennys Branch | 17. New Light | 26. Method |
| 8. Alston | 18. League Rock | 27. Christian Chapel |
| 9. Balance Rock | 19. Fletchers Grove | 28. Mount Zion |
| 10. Pearce | | 29. Friendship |

⁵⁶ Reproduced from *op. cit.*, p. 10.

- | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 30. Pleasant Grove | 38. St. Anna | 45. New Bethel |
| 31. Bazzel Creek | 39. McCoy | 46. Shotwell |
| 32. Wilbon | 40. Pardon | 47. Flat Rock |
| 33. Piney Grove | 41. Juniper Level | 48. Pleasant Grove |
| 34. Fuquay Springs | 42. Popular Springs | 49. Union Bethel |
| 35. Needmore | 43. Garner | 50. Mellabys Cross- |
| 36. Providence | 44. Springfield | roads |
| 37. Pleasant Hill | | |

bore names similar in source to those mentioned in the other surveys that we have noticed. The four chief sources, in the order of their frequency, were as follows: railway stations, villages, some family names, and some natural phenomena.

In between these named areas there was found territory of the nameless sort where presumably no definite neighborhoods existed. In this particular, the situation was quite the same as that prevailing in the Wisconsin and New York counties.

The Wisconsin, New York and Missouri surveys found the rural geographic areas or neighborhoods to be primary social groups. The surveyors of Wake County, on the contrary, positively declare that none of the local geographic areas was a sociologic area. Of the neighborhoods deriving their geographic names from institutions, they say: "It is impossible to find any geographic group whose face-to-face relationships are the same. The landlord communes with people of his same class status and his same standard of living. The tenant nearly always has a community of interest separate from the other classes. Of course, the Negro communes and associates in face-to-face relationship with other Negroes. To say that Cedar Grove, Purnell, Sunrise, or Union Crossroads is a geographic sociological community is to deny the scientific meaning of the word community. This is typical of all other institutional groups which were designated by community names."⁵⁷ Of those areas bearing family names, the surveyors say: "To have a geographic sociological community

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

at Jeffries or Litchfords the group giving this as their community would have to be homogeneous in every detail, and, in addition, cover a specific geographic area. There must be only one class of people with one standard of living inhabiting the same area. This is not so. The group or area bearing a family name is often a sociological community, but in no instance in Wake County was it found to be a geographic sociological community. The sociological community exists, but it is not geographically exclusive. The economic and social strata preclude the geographic community."⁵⁸ In like vein it is declared of the areas where physiographic factors give the name that "They were names of localities which contain numerous communities inhabiting the same area and separated from each other by race, class status, social practices, and standards of conduct."⁵⁹ The whole situation with reference to the neighborhoods is summed up by the surveyors when they say: "It was impossible to find a geographic community in the tangled skein of human relationships."⁶⁰

The surveyors of this county found rural primary groups in the sense that families or individuals participate "with different groups of people in different institutions for the satisfaction of different desires."⁶¹ But as already seen, they found no exclusively geographic primary groups. Eleven types of primary groups of the non-geographic sort are listed, viz.: school, night school, church, Sunday school, Junior Order Lodge, Masonic Lodge, welfare associations, Farmers' Union, credit union, farm loan associations, and neighborhood groups.⁶² By "Neighborhood" is meant "a community group of elders or heads of families who visit each other. It is not a geographic neighborhood."⁶³

5. A fifth survey of Whitman County, Washington, by Professors E. A. Taylor and F. R. Yoder followed the same methods and reached substantially the same conclu-

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 33, note.

sions as the others.⁶⁴ Nothing would be added to the data already before us by presenting an analysis of this survey; hence a bare reference to it will suffice.

The findings of the five surveys as regards rural neighborhoods do not fully agree. It is a case of four against one that such areas are true local *social* units. Several explanations of why the results of the North Carolina survey are at variance with the others suggest themselves. First of all, conditions are possibly different. The North Carolina investigators report a degree of social heterogeneity that does not seem to exist in the case of the other states. There was cleavage between the black and white races, and between landlords and tenants. Five classes of people are said to be produced by the kind of farming prevailing in the South. "These are the absentee landlords, the owner-operator who is a landlord, the owner-operator, the tenant, and the cropper. Most often the cropper is a colored man. You find all of these classes except the absentee owner living in the same geographic area at the same time."⁶⁵ This economic and social stratification prevents these neighborhoods from being social units, so the surveyors tell us. That such stratification is a fact cannot be gainsaid, but whether it precludes social unity to the extent alleged is another question.

Another explanation may be that the difference is chiefly one of interpreting similar data. This indeed seems to be the principal explanation, for the Carolina surveyors started out with a set definition of the primary group, to which they gave a very strict construction.⁶⁶ Moreover, in searching for this group in the neighborhood areas they did not seem to penetrate much beneath the surface for evidences of psychological unities. The chances are that there are more such unities than this survey has brought to light. On the other hand, it may well be that Southern social stratification does prevent so large a measure of local

⁶⁴ "Rural Social Organization in Whitman Co.," by E. A. Taylor and F. R. Yoder, State College of Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 203*, June, 1926.

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

group consciousness as was revealed in the Wisconsin, New York, Missouri, and Washington neighborhoods. In brief, the real difference between these and the Carolina areas is perhaps only a matter of degree.

THE RURAL COMMUNITY DEFINED

The data furnished by the several studies analyzed give materials for formulating some definite notion of what constitutes the rural community. The country neighborhood, or primary group, has been fully described. We have seen that it is a local geographic area of the open country, usually with a name, in which the inhabitants have more or less frequent face-to-face contacts. We have seen indeed that it is often more than a mere intimate contact area. For there is exchange of services or neighborliness. And this practice, in fact, is what gives us the idea of neighborhood. As Dr. L. H. Bailey has said: "A neighborhood comprises the region of neighboring."⁶⁸ We have seen, moreover, that the neighborhood does not always stop with mere neighboring. It may, and not infrequently does, have common interests and activities which are pursued in group-wise fashion under a definite consciousness of unity and solidarity. Thus it appears that the rural neighborhood is a variable area of common life; variable in size, in range of group activities and degree of consciousness of unity.

Is the open country neighborhood then the rural community? Obviously we cannot say until we have defined community. But, there is no general agreement as to just what community is, i.e., as to what are the indispensable elements constituting it. One has said that it is any "area of common life,"⁶⁹ but others think this is too broad and lacks specific content. So an effort is made to give more definite meaning to the "common life." Thus Dr. R. E. Hieronymus emphasizes acting "together in the *chief con-*

⁶⁸ L. H. Bailey, *York State Rural Problems*, Vol. II, p. 27.

⁶⁹ R. M. Maciver, *Community*, p. 22.

cerns of life.”⁷⁰ And President K. L. Butterfield stresses the factor of group *self-sufficiency*. He says that the community must be “big enough to have its own centers of interest—its trading center, its social center, its own church, its own schoolhouse, its own Grange, its own library, and to possess such other institutions as the people of the community need. . . . A community is the smallest social unit that will hold together. Theoretically a community could live unto itself; tho that would be actually impossible; just as it is impossible for an individual to live really a hermit.”⁷¹ Professor J. M. Gillette thinks that there must be an established *home*, or *center of common interests* and cooperation.⁷² Professor Dwight Sanderson holds that community is distinguished by “*organized association of the chief human activities.*”⁷³ Professors Morgan and Howells find the peculiarities of community in the *complexity* of secondary grouping. It occurs where primary groups are meeting the more complex needs in common.⁷⁴ Dr. C. J. Galpin, as already shown, sees the rural community marked by the fact of grouping about urban centers that render more or less complete social service to the farmers.⁷⁵

Despite this lack of agreement over the essentials of community there is a growing tendency among sociologists to restrict the term, “rural community,” to certain general types of grouping; and these are those larger geographic areas of the country where all or most of the major human interests are organized in a common center or centers by a group more or less conscious of its collectivity.

Reverting then to the question whether the rural neighborhood is a community or not, the answer must therefore be that all depends upon the neighborhood. Some, indeed,

⁷⁰ See “Locating the Rural Community,” by Dwight Sanderson, *The Cornell Reading Course for the Farm*, June, 1920, p. 415.

⁷¹ “Mobilizing the Rural Community,” by E. L. Morgan, *Extension Bulletin No. 23*, Introduction, p. 9, Massachusetts Agricultural College, 1918.

⁷² J. M. Gillette, *Rural Sociology*, p. 547.

⁷³ *Op. cit.*, p. 417.

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*

have all the peculiar qualities of common life that certain writers insist the community must needs possess. They have centers of common interest and organization, are relatively self-sufficient in that they are meeting the fundamental needs of life, and are thoroly group conscious. Such neighborhoods apparently meet all the requirements that are being arbitrarily laid down for the rural community. On the other hand, many neighborhoods do not adequately qualify, and it is a question whether they ought to be called communities at all.

Some sociologists have been insistent upon drawing sharp distinctions between neighborhood and community. Thus President Butterfield has said: "I wish to emphasize one point very strongly. We must not confuse a 'community' with a 'neighborhood.' A neighborhood is simply a group of families living conveniently near together. The neighborhood can do a great many things, but it is not a community. A true community is a social group that is more or less self-sufficing."⁷⁶

Dr. L. H. Bailey also has made a careful distinction. He says: "A neighborhood comprises the region of neighboring. It is personal. The community represents commonality of interests rather than friendship of folks. I want the community to develop, and to have a better church and school and Grange and library; but within the community there may be several neighborhoods, and it is important that the neighborhood activities be not forgotten or overlooked in our grasp for bigger things. A community cannot accomplish much if the neighborhoods are dead or if they are torn by petty dissensions."⁷⁷

But, as we have already made clear, no such sharp distinctions exist in reality. When they are made, they are essentially distinctions without any significant difference. And as more complete knowledge of rural social structure is obtained, sociologists are coming to see this. Thus Professor Sanderson does well to say: "It must be confessed

⁷⁶ See "Mobilizing the Rural Community," by E. L. Morgan, *Extension Bulletin No. 23*, Introduction, p. 9, Massachusetts Agricultural College, 1918.

⁷⁷ L. H. Bailey, *op. cit.*

that no sharp distinction can be drawn, for, as in all classifications of the phenomena of life, no absolute differences exist. In general, the neighborhood has but one or two institutions, or renders but one or two, or at most three, forms of service (such as educational, economic, religious, or social) to its people; whereas the community center usually furnishes most of the services commonly enjoyed by rural people, and is more nearly self-sufficient. However, certain areas which seem to have more of the characteristics of a community than of a neighborhood may furnish but two or three forms of service, and it therefore seems difficult to distinguish communities from neighborhoods by the number of interests satisfied by the local institutions. The only principle for the distinction of *neighborhood* and *community* which we have been able to recognize, is that more of the interests of the people in a neighborhood are satisfied by the institutions and life of the community than by the neighborhood."⁷⁸

To the same effect Professors Morgan and Howells in their report on the Missouri survey say: "From neighborhood to world community the synthesizing of group relations is so perfect that only by fixing upon arbitrary limits can the separate stages of community be delineated."⁷⁹

Nevertheless for convenience and more or less arbitrarily, sociologists are coming to confine the term rural community to the rural areas or at most to such areas as are unified by institutions that minister to the chief needs of country people. In like manner, the term neighborhood is being reserved for the smaller areas where personal contacts prevail and revolve about only one or two interests.

THE REGROUPING OF RURAL LIFE

It must have become clear to the reader that rural social structure is undergoing change. The neighborhood and community are obviously involved in this process. Primary groups of which the neighborhood is representative were modal to the age of homespun and the ox cart. Social life

⁷⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

in that age was highly personal and local. This meant that society was territorial in its basis; in other words, that contacts were largely limited to and generally inclusive of all within a narrow geographic area. This gave the neighborhood. And the neighborhood in turn gave the farmer his only community.

The self-sufficient agriculture of the homespun and ox-cart age scarcely gave rise to any interests that took the farmer outside his immediate locality. His simple wants were satisfied at home on his farm by the efforts of his household, assisted occasionally by his neighbors. In fact, along with the self-sufficient farm went the self-sufficient neighborhood as the rural community.

Needless to say that age has past. A manufacturing and motor age has succeeded it. Agriculture is no longer self-sufficient; it is commercialized and dependent. No farmer is able any more to supply his own wants economically, and few neighborhoods are able to meet them either economically or socially. The countryman must therefore reach out to wider spheres. Under these circumstances community is taking on new form and meaning. In large measure the old territorial basis of grouping is giving place to functional grouping. The personal contact area tends to be superseded by a more or less impersonal interest grouping.

This interest or functional, impersonal or secondary, grouping characterizes all urban life. The territorial basis has largely disappeared in the modern city. The same tendency, tho in lesser degree and under less favorable conditions, is manifesting itself thruout rural society. The greater economic and social homogeneity of the country will probably prevent the movement from going to such limits as it has in the city. More of the primary and territorial will remain.

Illustrative of this new grouping is the growing importance of the trading center. There is a townward trend of farmer's institutions, such as schools, churches, hospitals, libraries, creameries, fraternal orders, amusements, etc. Neighborhoods are ceasing to function, to the degree

that the town becomes the center of organization. All sorts of cooperative associations are arising. They are concerned with marketing commodities, such as cotton, tobacco, live stock, wool, fruit and grain. Likewise farm loan, insurance, and credit associations are developing. There are also milk route, mail route, bank and warehouse groups. Even the consolidated school represents to some degree this new tendency in the country.

In addition the functional differentiations, there are other factors causing the regrouping of farmers. Of these, specialization in production and efficiency in service are noteworthy. There must be a sufficient volume of business to sustain a profitable creamery or any other cooperative enterprise. Thus the neighborhood gives way to a new and wider association. The old school district or church parish becomes too small a unit for successful maintenance, and naturally consolidation follows.

This regrouping process marks the gradual transition from what may be called a *natural* social order in the country to a *planned* social order. The natural order just grew. It was the product of a *laissez faire* policy, if of any at all. The dawning day is one of rising conscious purpose and social *self-direction*. It is a *faire marcher* policy that is awake to the fact that community life can be planned.

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XXV

THE COUNTRY VILLAGE

A DISTINCT TYPE

RURAL America has numerous small population aggregates known as villages or "towns." In common usage they are more often called towns than villages. As groupings they bear some resemblance to the historic agricultural village, but when a careful analysis is made, this resemblance proves to be more superficial than real. These towns and villages are communities of a kind, but different from the ancient communities of countrymen. They are in fact a distinct type. It would be too much to say that they are peculiarly American, for their counterparts are found elsewhere; but it would not be erroneous to say that they have a place and importance in our rural society that is unique in the realm of country life at large. To analyze these groupings, indicate their characteristics, show why they are distinct, point out their functions, relate them to the open country and the city, and appraise them as communities, is the immediate task of this chapter.

Our country villages differ in one important respect from the ancient village community; they are not at all agricultural. They have other interests and functions, as will presently appear. They also differ in numerous ways from urban groups, as we shall see farther on. Still more do they differ from open country communities, not merely because there is aggregation on the one hand and dispersion on the other, nor because the one is given to agriculture and the other to something else, but for several less obvious reasons. It will become clear as we proceed that these communities are neither strictly country nor city. There are good grounds for calling them either

rural or urban. Perhaps the term "Rurban," which has been given a somewhat different application, would be the best.¹ However, we prefer to let them remain in the rural category, to which popular usage and the census classification has assigned them. For from the structural viewpoint, which is fundamental, villages are *simple establishments*. This means they are unit or primary groups after the order of rural association in general, and not *compound establishments*, i. e. aggregations of many groups prevalingly secondary, after the manner of urban associations. Hence for this reason, if for no others, the village would seem to be essentially rural.

ORIGIN OF COUNTRY VILLAGES

European towns were walled or fortified cities. In origin they did not differ from villages, for such they were in the beginning. Their permanent inhabitants followed farming and cattle-raising, had common fields and lived as all villagers did. Then certain villages were made into strongholds to serve as places of refuge and shelter for the inhabitants of the unprotected places. Thus by converting an agricultural community into a place of defense, the town was created.²

How different the origin of our country towns! Few of them, except perhaps in New England, ever were agricultural communities. From the first they were designed for other purposes. In not many cases have they evolved from one kind of village to another. They are as a rule what they originally set out to be, that is, business centers. They sprang from various activities; a sawmill or grist-mill, a general store, a station on a railway with grain elevator or stock pens, a river ford, a wayside inn or a county seat, have given rise to them. Most villages trace back to some such enterprises. A considerable number owe their origin to the location of sawmills or grist-mills when the country

¹ N. L. Sims, *The Rural Community; Ancient and Modern*, pp. 136-137.

² Carl Bücher, *Industrial Evolution*, translated by Wickett, p. 116.

was being first settled. A second important group grew from shipping points for grain or live stock on railways, and a third had their genesis in the establishment of the offices of county government. A typical instance of the latter is found in Aton, a town studied by the writer. This village got its start in the thirties of the last century. Two men entered a section of land on the northern frontier of Indiana. They then proceeded to have a county government organized and secured the location of its seat at their settlement. A townsite was plotted, a courthouse and jail were built, and soon a store, a blacksmith shop and a grist-mill arose. Thus a village began to spring up in response to conditions created by the transaction of political business.³

Illustrative of another source of origin is a village often frequented by the writer, which traces to a saw- and grist-mill combined. These were located on a small stream, in the vicinity of which a few pioneers had taken up land, and had need of the services of such mills. Presently a small store dispensing a few commodities that the settlers needed to buy, was started by the miller. Then followed a blacksmith shop. There was presently a school. A half-dozen families connected with these activities were soon congregated at this spot and formed the nucleus of a village. It was not long before an inn was built and then a church. In this manner began a community that grew into a flourishing hamlet and eventually into a little town. Instances of villages rising along railways are so familiar that one scarcely need cite a case. The author recalls one, however, whose founding he witnessed on a newly built line across Iowa. A water tank was erected by the railroad, then a siding with stock pens. Soon an enterprising farmer had forty acres laid out into town lots and started a store. An elevator and lumber yard quickly followed. Families began to buy lots and build houses, and a boom town was under way. Within a very few years it became a good trading point with a bank and all the service agencies and institutions usual in a little town of a thousand population.

³ N. L. Sims, *A Hoosier Village*, pp. 21-22.

NUMERICAL IMPORTANCE OF COUNTRY VILLAGES

In the chapter on the Rural People, some reference was made to the number of country villages. The number was there indicated to be 10,239, ranging in population from 250 to 2,500. In addition, the Institute of Social and Religious Research, to whose village studies we are indebted for much of the material in this chapter, lists 8,142 unincorporated places of this class. These data were derived from the Rand-McNally Atlas for 1921, and are believed to be fairly reliable. There are thus a total of 18,381 villages in the United States. The vast majority of them are unquestionably country rather than suburban communities.

There is a fairly close correlation between the number of villages and the population density. This variation ranges from 0.15 villages in every 100 square miles of territory where the density is less than ten persons per square mile, to 3.29 villages per 100 square miles of territory where the density is seventy persons or more per square mile.⁴

The number of villages in proportion to the rural population is another matter. There is no such uniform correlation as with the general population. The Middle Atlantic states, for instance, have a high ratio, and the Southern states a low one between the two factors. Excluding New England and the South, anywhere from 27 to 39 per cent of the rural population in the other parts of the country lives in villages. In the three Southern divisions the range is from 13 to 20 per cent only.⁵ There are striking differences between states with approximately equal rural populations. Counting towns up to 5,000 population, Douglass has made some interesting comparisons of such states. For example, Illinois has 993 towns compared with 325 for Mississippi, and Iowa 811, to 161 for Louisiana.⁶

Leaving New England and the South out, nearly one out of three rural people are villagers. In the South it is one

⁴ C. Luther Fry, *American Villagers*, p. 34.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

⁶ H. P. Douglass, *The Little Town*, p. 29.

in every six. The average for the country, omitting New England, is one in four. New England has to be left out because census data for that section are not comparable with those for other sections. However, to one familiar with New England it is evident that the ratio of villagers to rural dwellers is very high.

The striking difference between sections as regards the number of villages, requires explanation. Douglass advances three major reasons to account for it. They are *agricultural prosperity, physiography, and habit*.⁷ Under *the first* he argues that villages will be most numerous in regions of highest land values, largest improved areas, greatest value of products per acre, and most extensive farm improvement. Similarly, they will be fewest where conditions are the reverse. Thus he holds villages are a sort of luxury of prosperous farmers. The differences between the north and south Mississippi Valley illustrate this.

Of much less importance is the *second factor, physiography*. The prevalence of mountains, plains and water supply have influenced grouping. The Piedmont lands of North Carolina led to small farming and relatively numerous villages, in contrast to South Carolina, with its wide plains conducing to the plantation system that fosters few villages. Again, in the arid West, where irrigation is necessary, agriculture becomes intensive and settlements compact.

Habit, the third factor, is explained as the social custom of settlers. Those migrating from the South to Kansas, Missouri, Indiana and Ohio, not being accustomed to towns, established few. Those coming from New England into Iowa and Illinois, brought their town habits along.

The village is becoming increasingly important in rural society. The proportion of the rural population dwelling in such places grows apace. Students of country life have long been of the opinion that country villages were generally declining. Several studies of limited areas indicated that about half the incorporated towns of 2,500 or less were

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 28-32.

either stationary or losing population.⁸ A comprehensive analysis by the Institute of Social and Religious Research seems to disprove this opinion. In fact, the very opposite is shown to be true by their data.

The Institute has calculated that the increase both in number and population of incorporated villages was 41.4 per cent between 1900 and 1920. The unincorporated villages showed for the same period an increase of 45 per cent in number and of 48 per cent in population.⁹ In comparison with this growth, the open country population outside of incorporated villages, exclusive of New England, increased only 8.7 per cent from 1900 to 1920. Outside all villages it increased but 5.4 per cent. This means that the population of incorporated villages grew five times as fast as that of the country outside. It means that all villages grew nine times as much as the strictly farm population.¹⁰

This growth compares well with cities. The cities of 1900 increased in population by two-thirds up to 1920. The villages increased by one-half, and the rural population outside of incorporated places one-fifth.¹¹

When changes in the same territory are compared, it is found that incorporated villages in 1900 grew 51.3 per cent during the next twenty years; while the remaining rural area grew only 19.5 per cent. There were of course many unincorporated villages included in the latter; hence the actual differences in growth of village and open country were really greater than these figures show.¹²

Not all villages grow, however. Some stand still and others decline. The data indicate that one-tenth of all places that were incorporated in 1900 lost population during the next twenty years, while 47.3 per cent grew.¹³ Naturally, as a rule those sections experiencing the largest growth in rural population show the greatest growth in

⁸ N. L. Sims, *A Hoosier Village*, p. 179; *The Rural Community; Ancient and Modern*, p. 140; also J. M. Gillette, *Rural Sociology*, 1922, p. 463.

⁹ Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

villages. This was notably true of the Far West and of the South.

A number of factors are operating to enlarge the place of the village in rural America. The last twenty years have brought a revolution in the means of travel. This has undoubtedly fostered the growth of towns. In the South a changing system of agriculture also has worked to the same end. The decline of cross-road stores, mills and blacksmith shops thru town competition, has tended in a small way to enhance this growth. The gravitation of other rural institutions to village centers, facilitated, of course, by the transportation revolution, has likewise been an important factor.

Again, I suppose there is an increasing tendency to manufacture farm food products in village centers, thus enhancing their populations. No doubt the advent of the automobile also has made its contribution to their increase. Thus in a variety of ways the village has enlarged its relative sphere of influence in rural society.

No law of growth for villages has been stated. The author of *The Little Town* suggests that the growth of cities is "as rapid and limitless as the multiplication of human desires," while little towns "cannot possibly grow faster than the rural population."¹⁴ But one thing is clear; village populations do not correlate in growth with the farm population. They grow faster, and hence seem to be independent of the latter. With fewer people upon the land, the villages as a whole are adding more people. The explanation must be sought in other forces. Some of these we have already mentioned. They are much the same causes as account for urban growth. The real connection with the farms is not in the number of people, but in their standard of living, i. e. in the growth of wealth and the multiplication of wants. It is, therefore, probably not far wrong to say that the growth of the country villages depends upon the increase of local production and a rising standard of living on the farms.

¹⁴ Douglass, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

SALIENT CHARACTERISTICS OF COUNTRY VILLAGES

1. *Incorporation* is one characteristic, not of all, but of a majority of villages. This includes especially the larger ones. Local government was originally a village matter. It is still that in New England. When, however, government was established over the other sections of America, a new mode was generally invented, i.e. local government without regard to villages. The county was the chief unit. Where the township was also created, as in many states settled by New England emigrants it was a local unit of government for a territory, with no regard for village groups. The territory was first and not the village, as originally in New England. The village was thus left without power to do a number of things that compact communities need to do. Incorporation was the device whereby they could get this power. Hence villages generally resort to it, and so acquire a status independent of the open country population of their counties.

Incorporation confers municipal powers upon the town, involving privileges and prerogatives denied the open country neighborhood. In this respect the village becomes allied with urban interests and tends to identify itself with them in dominating and exploiting the farming class. Except in this particular, the incorporated may not differ from the unincorporated village.

2. The *composition* of villages differs from that of both the open country and the city. The Institute of Social and Religious Research made a study of 77 typical villages, distributed thruout the various sections of the country, and reached certain conclusions as to the nature of villagers. By and large, this group tends to reflect the general population conditions prevailing in the section of the country in which it is located. In villages of the West there is a preponderance of men and relatively few unmarried women. In those of the South is found a fairly normal age and sex distribution and a large Negro population. In those of the Middle West a great mixture of

nationalities obtains. In the East villages have a great excess of women and aged people and a high percentage of married men.¹⁵

Compared with middle-sized cities in the same areas, villages show two or three distinguishing traits. Everywhere a larger percentage of the village population is native white stock than is found in the cities. There is also a larger percentage of old men and women in villages. This means that village groups are both more homogeneous and conservative than cities.^{15a}

Significant differences between open country people and villagers also appear. The open country always shows a far higher ratio of males to females than do villages. The villages, on the other hand, show a far larger number of old people and fewer children. They also have fewer married people fifteen years of age and over, and a great excess of widowed.^{15b}

3. The *occupations* pursued by villagers are a third characteristic to be noted. (1) Everywhere the *largest group* of the gainfully employed is engaged in *manufacturing* and *mechanical* industries. This includes, roughly, from a third to a half of all employed males and females above ten years of age. (2) *Trade* is the second important occupation, except in the Far West, where agriculture is second and trade third. (3) In the South and Middle West *agriculture* takes *third rank*, and in the Middle Atlantic region, transportation. (4) The *fourth largest group* in the last mentioned region is engaged in agriculture. In the other three regions, it is found in *transportation*. There is great uniformity in all areas as to the number in this class, it being about 12 per cent. (5) The next group is that in *professional service*. From six to seven per cent of the men in all villages are in this class.

One surprising thing in the situation is that villages have so few engaged in agriculture. Another is that manufacturing and not trade is the leading occupation, since

¹⁵ Fry, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-68.

^{15a} *Ibid.*, p. 44.

^{15b} *Ibid.*, pp. 101-104.

villages are the trading centers for the country. The greatest variation is with reference to the numbers engaged in agriculture, not only as between the four great areas, but between villages within the same areas as well.¹⁶

A notion is abroad that in country villages dwell many retired farmers and absentee landlord farmers. Altho the data before us do not fully reveal the facts, it is clear enough that the active element of the villages is not the agriculturists. In this respect the country villages have departed widely from the Colonial villages already described. Studies of New England villages made by the author show that agriculture still preponderates. One example of a community of a thousand population fairly illustrates the situation. Of the heads of 172 families in this village, only 19 were engaged in trade, transportation, manufacturing or other pursuits. The remaining 153 heads of families were cultivating land either as owners, renters or agricultural laborers. Much the same thing would be found in Utah villages, and to some extent, in those of the irrigated regions of other Far Western states.

By using what is called a "social economic" classification of workers, still more light on village life can be obtained. This classification, suggested by Alba M. Edwards of the Census Bureau, and employed by the Institute whose study we are following, divides the gainfully employed into eight classes. They are: proprietors, officials and managers; clerks; skilled workers; semi-skilled workers; laborers; servants; public officials; and professional persons. Measured by these categories, the largest group of village males in all areas is that of laborers, it being from 28 to 31 per cent. The next class is proprietors, officials and managers, ranging from 18 to about 25 per cent. The third is skilled workers, which includes from 14 to 19 per cent. The fourth is clerks, which has from 9 to 14 per cent. The fifth is semi-skilled workers, to which belong from about 8 to over 16 per cent of the employed. Among women there is far greater variation. In the Middle Atlantic region semi-skilled workers lead, followed

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.

by clerks, then servants, then professional people, with proprietors taking fifth place. In the Middle West and Far West clerks are the largest group, followed by professional persons. In the Middle West servants take third place, proprietors fourth and semi-skilled workers fifth. In the Far West proprietors have third place and servants fourth, with semi-skilled workers in the fifth rank. In the South servants hold first place, clerks second, professional persons third, and proprietors fourth, with semi-skilled workers and laborers close rivals for the fifth rank.¹⁷

Comparing city and village populations as to occupations, the agricultural class is higher and the manufacturing class lower in villages than in cities. The villages have a relatively high percentage of those in professional service, but a much smaller portion of those in clerical occupations. The proportion engaged in trade is about the same in villages and cities.^{17a}

More fruitful is the comparison of villages and cities as to social-economic status. In villages of all sections the percentage of male proprietors is at least 70 per cent greater than in the cities. Laborers are also more numerous, but clerks and semi-skilled workers are less numerous. Women proprietors are likewise relatively more numerous in villages than in cities, and so with servants. It is otherwise, however, with clerks and semi-skilled workers.¹⁸

Altho villages and cities are much alike in the kinds of occupations that prevail, they differ widely in the social-economic status of the employed. The village, like the open country, is the place where independent proprietors flourish. The occupational similarity of the village to the city sets it apart from the open country. But what differentiates even more is the fact that villagers are consumers of food and farmers are producers. Conflict inevitably rises out of this situation.

4. *Leadership in villages* compared with cities, is reflected in the relative number of professional persons.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-87.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

^{17a} *Ibid.*, p. 95.

They have a larger proportion of teachers, clergymen, physicians, and, at least in county seats, lawyers than have the cities. Generally, outside of these professions, however, villages have a relatively low proportion of professional persons. In other words, within a limited range villages are rich, but beyond this poor in men and women of the learned professions.^{18a} Being thus proportionally well supplied in number, if not in variety of potential leaders, the village ought to be efficiently organized and directed in its community affairs. As a matter of fact, it is not. Why this is so, is a matter for speculation. Unfortunately we do not know what makes groups function efficiently.^{18b} Perhaps the reason why genius does not burn on Main Street, is because the quality of the professional talent is low. The village parson, teacher, doctor and lawyer are generally the culls or indifferent specimens of their class. Most first-rate talent is claimed by the city. This is preeminently true of the doctor, the lawyer and the clergyman. Another reason may be the hindrance imposed by too intimate and personal association. For, under prevailing conditions, this engenders jealousy and conflict, thus frustrating effort. Overorganization of the community and the consequent dissipation of talent in too many fields may render leadership relatively inefficient. Possibly there is lack of challenge to talent in the very limitations of the village. Douglass suggests that the little town "reduces the demand for active life to the scale of the average man's native capacities, just as its less exacting demands fit in with the limited power of the aged."¹⁹ Whatever the cause, leadership does not function adequately. Mediocrity is at home on Main Street, as its relatively static life and frequently misdirected efforts witness.

I have elsewhere shown that country villages are stimulated to such changes as they experience, not so much by forces inherent within, as by extraneous sources, such as

^{18a} *Ibid.*, pp. 112-126.

^{18b} See J. C. Almack, "Efficiency in Socialization," *Am. Jour. Sociology*, Vol. 31, pp. 241-249.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

crises and the coming in of new personalities from the outside.^{19a} Insofar as this may hold true generally, it connotes the failure of leadership as indicated.

5. The *organization* situation is another distinguishing characteristic of villages. Its outstanding features are overorganization, lack of coördination, duplication of effort, and futility of endeavor. The evidence gathered by the Institute referred to reduces to a quantitative basis well-known facts. Notorious among these is overchuraching. The sample study of 140 villages revealed an average of 5.6 churches per village, with no village having only one church, but with two having fifteen, and sixty having seven or more.²⁰ Counting their auxiliaries, there was an average of over sixteen church organizations per village.²¹ Neither the open country nor the city begins to be so church-ridden as does the village.

Much the same condition holds thru a wide range of other forms of association. Of these the lodges head the list, averaging six to eight per village. The Far Western communities averaged nearly ten. Altogether, seventy-six varieties were found in the several regions.²² Next in importance are civic organizations of numerous kinds, with the villages averaging 32 each.²³ Occupying third place are purely social organizations, which average 2.7 to the village. Here again the Far West, closely followed by the Middle West, had the largest number. One Iowa village boasted 18 clubs and as many rival cliques. Such cliquing prevails widely and constitutes a disturbing factor in village life.²⁴ Economic organizations of eight or ten types, such as Chambers of Commerce, Rotary Clubs and the Grange, are common. These are fourth in rank. The greatest number of dead organizations are of this type. So called patriotic societies, such as the American Legion and the D. A. R., are also found in the villages. An aver-

^{19a} N. L. Sims, *A Hoosier Village*, Chap. VII.

²⁰ Brunner, Hughes, Patten, *American Agricultural Villages*, p. 175.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 196-197.

age of 1.25 organizations per village devoted to education was listed. The Parent-Teachers' Associations were the most numerous.²⁵ A small per cent of village organizations are devoted to athletics and a still smaller number to music.²⁶ About two-thirds of the villages had socio-religious organizations, usually Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts.

On the average for all four sections of the country, there were 21.1 community organizations²⁷ of the kinds just described per village. Adding these and the 16.1 church organizations gives the typical village at least 37 organizations. If one were to include the absolutely unnecessary duplication of retail businesses found in villages, the problem would loom still larger. Veblen has estimated that four-tenths of the retail trade organization could be written off as wasteful duplication.²⁸ Thus the overorganized situation becomes evident. What it means is not difficult to understand. For one thing, organizations will be small and weak. And in the almost universal absence of any coordination, the community ends will be ignored. Each lodge, club or church will be duplicating the work of the others and expending several times the effort to do poorly what could be better accomplished at a fraction of the cost. The same people will supply the majority of the members of all the societies. These are the well-known "joiners." Whatever their resources, they parcel them out in so many relations that there is little return anywhere. The whole situation amounts to social waste and community neglect. The contrast between the little town and the agricultural village of ancient or Colonial days is striking. The latter was a community indeed, where joint action ruled; but the little town is an organization where joint action is often reduced to the minimum.

6. *Social democracy* may fairly be set down as a village characteristic. At least this is so when comparison is made

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

²⁸ Thorstein Veblen, "Farm Labor for the Period of the War: *The Public*, July 20, 1918, p. 920.

with the city, if not with the open country. In cases where the group is not racially homogeneous, as in the South and Southwest, with a Negro and Mexican population, there isn't much democracy. But even there class distinctions are not so harsh or rigidly enforced, as in cities. It is indeed difficult for them to be, where there is mutual acquaintanceship and personal association.

Villages often have their cliques and clans, but these usually signify merely congenial association rather than stratification. There is inequality of wealth, but it rarely leads to segregation of any importance. Unless complicated by racial heterogeneity, villages do not have a leisure class. Everybody works and is expected to. Common labor does not stigmatize. Pride of position, which normally fosters aristocratic tendencies, is not tolerated. Conspicuous display and superior ways are subject to too much open ridicule to survive very long. The democracy of the village thus allies it more with the open country than with urban life.

7. Finally, the village is unique in that it is a *concentrated neighborhood*. "It may fairly be called the residuary possessor of neighborliness," says the author of *The Little Town*.²⁹ In this the ancient agricultural community finds its successor. There are, to be sure, open country neighborhoods and neighborliness, but under circumstances of isolation and infrequent association. In the city there is neither neighborhood nor neighborliness. Hence it is correct to say that these phenomena today are practically confined to country villages. Here people dwell in close proximity and constant contact. They know and are known by their fellow villagers. Life is highly personal—doubtless too much so for certain purposes—but after all, richer and more satisfying than otherwise. Taking things as they are, the village affords the most normal type of existence for the average citizen. It gives him about a fifty-fifty chance of owning his own home—something that the city does not do. It gives him membership

²⁹ H. P. Douglass, *ibid.*, p. 54.

in a primary group to a degree not afforded by open country or city. This group has more variety of types and greater diversity of occupations pursued by these types than a neighborhood of farmers. The villager is thus reasonably assured of a good social heritage. The primary social virtues, growing up as they do "about simple, direct and personal interrelationships and exchange of services between people," are his birthright.³⁰ It gives him withal a chance to be somebody, to have place and value in the eyes of a little world. Prosaic, narrow, homely, wasteful of its energies, and without vision of its possibilities, the country village is yet the most human and perhaps the most valuable part of the social order.

RELATIONS OF VILLAGES AND FARMS

Villages and farms are mutually dependent in several ways. However, the village is more dependent upon the farming area than is the latter upon the village. It would not be incorrect to describe the farming area as an independent variable and the village as a dependent variable. A detailed analysis of these relations will make this clear.

1. The first relation has to do with *marketing agricultural products*. The typical village is a shipping center thru which the farms reach the larger markets of the world. This process involves not only transport but storage and credit, with some packing and selling agencies. The handling of hay and grain, fruit, cotton, wool, dairy products, tobacco, live stock, or whatever the farms yield, becomes one of the chief occupations of the village. Apparently, in the light of the data presented on occupations, the marketing function is not the most important. Moreover, this function is being revolutionized in respect to many products thru the development of farmers' coöperatives. In a sample of 140 villages studied by the Institute cited, over three communities out of four had coöperative agencies.³¹ The effect upon the villages is probably a cur-

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³¹ Brunner, Hughes, Patten, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

tailment of activities. Whether or not it is also thereby limiting the accumulation of wealth in villages cannot be said. If there is direct loss, it may be made up indirectly by larger purchases on the part of farmers.³²

2. *Manufacturing*, which, we have already found, is the chief occupation of villages, is closely allied with the marketing process. Most village industries are engaged directly in the transformation of farm products, the local plant affording the market. These industries are chiefly concerned with preserving agricultural products, working wood and fabricating other local materials. The food-producing establishments, such as canneries, drying plants, creameries, flour and grist-mills, account for fully one-third of all; and those utilizing wood in one way or another account for another 42 per cent.³³ Of strictly manufacturing plants there is an average of 3.3 per village.

It is important to note that these industries are largely dependent upon the raw materials that grow or are produced on the farms. Very little capital or material is drawn from outside their localities.³⁴ These facts are little appreciated by the ambitious village. It often has visions of attracting manufactures quite beyond the range of its local resources. But efforts of this sort have almost invariably been in vain or proved disastrous. The story of numerous little towns, like that of Aton related in my *Hoosier Village*, is one of voting bonuses, buying stock and squandering hard-earned savings in support of industrial schemes that failed.³⁵ And the failure in most cases is due to venturing outside the limits of its farm products and into fields dominated by urban forces.

It is hard to say whether or not manufacturing is the chief source of income for the village. Judging from its average importance among occupations, there is a presumption that it is.

3. *Merchandising goods and services needed by the*

³² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-122.

³⁵ N. L. Sims, *A Hoosier Village*, pp. 40-41.

farmers and villagers themselves is a third function performed by the village. Goods from the cities and the world at large are distributed to the local group. Next to manufacturing this is the chief function of the village and its greatest source of income. Each village has a more or less well-defined trade zone lying about it. However, under modern conditions it is unable to monopolize the trade within this zone. Villages become competitors for the trade of one another's territory. Nearby cities draw from all. Moreover, the farmer gives much patronage to the mail-order houses in distant places. And he is also beginning to buy some supplies coöperatively. So the village tradesmen always face difficult problems of competition. Add to the severe rivalry among themselves, excessive duplication of establishments and inefficient management, and the little town's economic relations to the country are likely to be unsatisfactory.

4. *Recreational and social services* also are rendered. As the automobile has come into general use among farmers and good roads have been built, the village has become more of a social center for its farm constituency. Many schools have been consolidated and located in villages. The town high school is generally the only one available, and this has drawn the country youth to the town. The village churches have also attracted. Likewise the clubs and lodges in increasing measure. Then the moving picture, and the band concert, the pool halls and bowling alleys and ball games offer facilities for pleasure that the farmer must come to town to get. The social and recreational life of the open country community is tending to disintegrate under present day conditions of travel. The village is taking advantage of and catering to the countryman's needs in this direction.

Too often certain services of this nature are but sugar to catch flies for the benefit of village tradesmen. Despite the drawing together of town and country on these lines, the relation is not always mutually happy.

5. That *agriculture* is the chief foundation of the village must be evident from the foregoing analysis. More

exact proof of this has been worked out in a coefficient of correlation. The value of village property per household was correlated with an index of the value of farm lands and improvements. The resulting figure was $+ .75$, showing a marked influence of land values upon village property.³⁶ The economic dependence of the village upon farm conditions makes it an integral part of the rural order. The village is apt not to realize this nor to wisely adjust itself to the situation, so that the relation of the two groups creates important problems.

6. Certain *laws of town and country relations* remain to be stated. (1) Since village growth and prosperity depend upon the wealth and standard of living of the farmers in its trade zone, it may be said that a low-standard-of-living farm population will give a low-standard village; and conversely, a high-standard-of-living farm population will give a high-standard village. (2) A corollary of this law, stated by C. J. Galpin, is to the effect that social relations are meagre and superficial between the two groups where low standards prevail, and numerous and full where they are high. In the first case, contacts will be confined largely to immediate purchases, "just because the wants and therefore interests of the purchaser are restricted." Hence there will be little mutual association in schools, clubs, churches, libraries or community events. Where the standards are high, relations do not end with mere trade, but tend to spread into the field of other interests. The two groups thus become linked in various institutions and activities.³⁷ (3) Another principle also follows, viz., that where for any reason whatever, the standards of village and country became unequal, conflict tends to prevail. The village as a trade center may lag behind the country, failing to meet its needs or satisfy its demands. Irritation and antagonism result. Or the village may forge ahead of the country under some internal stimulation, set higher standards in its institutions, health, sanitation and personal con-

³⁶ Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-265.

³⁷ C. J. Galpin, "The Village in Relation to the Surrounding Country": Paper issued by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

duct than the farmers are used to, and thus precipitate conflict. The disparity will manifest itself in either case in various concrete acts of aggression and retaliation. Sometimes it approaches open and organized hostility when complicated by personal animosities and political issues. Not infrequently the village precincts become the battle ground. An instance of this sort in North Dakota, reported from a source which I cannot now identify, will illustrate: A citizen describes his community as an armed camp. He says there is no open warfare except that of backbiting and knocking one another, but all things in readiness; both sides have been making preparations for some months back. They are waiting for the season to open, and then there will be din, trouble and loss on the keen competition that must ensue from having two banks, two farm implement companies, two hardware houses, two groceries, two or three garages, two electric plants, all in a small village of about two hundred inhabitants. All of this has come the past three months. Both sides are pretty well armed, provisioned and their credits are first rate. The line separating the camps is "The Non-partisan League," plus some personal friction of years' standing.

The data gathered by the Institute of Social and Religious Research from a sample of 140 villages indicated that over one-fifth of them were in actual conflict with their farm areas. About the same percentage were in active cooperation, while the remainder were in neutral relations. The tendency seemed to be for the chances of conflict to increase with the size of the village.³⁸ The neutral relations may be looked upon as cases of stable equilibrium. However, it does not follow that a happy or satisfactory adjustment exists between the two groups, merely because relationships are neutral.

It is probably true, as Galpin suggests, that if both groups are on a relatively high plane of living, the chances of estrangement will be fewer than otherwise. The more numerous points of contact give more assurance of harmonious relations. Where standards are low, occupations

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

play a more direct and greater psychological and sociological rôle than where they are high; for there is little to act as a corrective to the distortions incidental to the monotonous and divergent pursuits of village and farm life. Hence the sheer difference of occupation tends to thrust the groups apart.

Cooperation between village and country is mutually advantageous. Its promotion ought to be a positive program. The village by virtue of its compactness and therefore greater ease of unified action, may well take the initiative. However, as a rule it will have to right its own attitudes and outlook first, before it can successfully appeal to the farmer.

In the first place, it needs to turn its face away from the city and smile upon those of its own locality. The urban aspirations of the little town involved in aping city ways and copying city business practices, need to be suppressed. Specifically, price-supporting and combinations designed to sustain prices and destroy price cutters, have crept into the villages. The motive back of it is profits for all, regardless of farm conditions. Perhaps the village tradesman is often a victim of circumstances imposed by city manufacturers and wholesalers, who more and more fix retail prices. Even so, it behooves the villagers to combine against the city rather than with it against the farmer. They would gain by cutting loose from the alliance made with the cities thru Chambers of Commerce, Rotary, Lions and Kiwanis clubs, and cultivating clubs formed of villagers and farmers. The Farm Bureau should concern them more than the Rotarians.

Again, the village must abandon the notion that free band concerts and tickets for prize drawing are adequate means to secure coöperation. They are obviously only devices for getting trade. A full participation in the organized life of the community should be offered to the farmer, instead. His advice should be sought and his assistance invited in all enterprises.

Until the village gets away from the idea of something for "us" instead of something for "all" in the village and

farm together, not much progress will be made. Where the village has a high standard and a wholesome outlook in the midst of a low-standard farm area, its procedure must be exceedingly patient and tactful if the farmers are to be won and eventually lifted up to an equally high plane of living.

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XXVI

PLANNED COMMUNITIES

IN this chapter it is proposed to present the development of a new tendency in rural settlements. The term "planned communities" is used to describe them in order to emphasize their departure from the prevailing mode. Strictly speaking, we were talking about nothing but planned communities in the first two chapters of this part, for nothing could be more a matter of design than the ancient village. Similarly, the New England town, the Communistic Societies, and the Mormon villages were all laid out according to a preconceived pattern. There is thus nothing new in the idea involved in the term. It is rather the revival of an old idea under new circumstances and its application by new agencies, that makes it significant, planned communities shall, therefore, be restricted in our usage to certain new efforts about to be described.

A GREAT AMERICAN BLUNDER

As we have seen, colonial American communities were settlements projected on the lines of Old World models. They were tried and true forms of living together on the soil. Unfortunately they did not generally propagate themselves in the colonization of the American hinterlands and frontiers. Instead, those regions became the seat of a rural civilization that grew up virtually without social plan or purpose, in keeping with a *laissez faire* policy. That civilization came to be characterized by a haphazard, solitary, communityless manner of living that neither satisfies man's social needs nor fosters the most successful type of agriculture. If we ask why this happened, several factors must be included in any adequate answer.

1. In the first place, *land hunger* played a part. Those who pushed out of the New England towns into the wooded wildernesses and later on to the prairies of the West desired land. It was about the only means of livelihood. To get more of it and a better quality meant a better livelihood. Moreover, the very abundance of available land tended to create a certain greed for it. Furthermore, early in the nineteenth century, and even in the latter part of the eighteenth, land had acquired a speculative value. This doubtless did much to sharpen the appetites of many who saw possible fortune in the possession of numerous acres. Thus the quest for land became the main economic motive of the dwellers in the compact settlements of the East. This motive was sufficient to lead many to forego the advantages of communal living and venture into the solitudes. In the eagerness for possession they did not wait to go in colonies, or if they did, it was not to preserve the colony at the expense of possession. So community was sacrificed for self-aggrandizement by the pioneers to the hinterlands.

2. There were, of course, *difficulties in the way of assembling congenial groups* for colonization. Such consanguinity, or religious, economic or social idealism as was necessary for coherence of a sufficient number to form a colony was not often at hand. In the settlement of New England these factors had been leading ones. They had brought the Pilgrim and Puritan companies. And for a hundred years and more, similar bonds had united the groups that had gone out to establish the new towns in the back country. So true was this that it has been said that each New England town once represented a distinct idea. But by the time of the great westward movement of population this idealism had lost force. The country had become safer for the solitary family. Membership in a homogeneous body had become less exigent for the average individual. Under these circumstances, group colonization ceased to play the part it once had.

3. These forces were not, however, the only nor the most important causes of the development of a communityless rural civilization. *The land survey system* under the Ordi-

nance of 1787 and the government policy that followed of disposing of the public domain were more responsible. The vast territory acquired by the Federal Government at the founding of the Republic was surveyed after a rectangular or checker-board plan. Thus it was divided into sections and quarter sections and in such fashion it was offered for sale. At first only large tracts could be purchased, but later, quarter sections were available. Always, however, it had to be taken in blocks as surveyed. The effect of this was to foster the isolation of farmsteads.

4. At no time during the first eighty years of the nation's history did the Government have any plan for the development or guidance of the civilization that was forming on its wide areas. Its only motive was to sell land for revenue with which to pay its debts. There was no effort to foster home building or to direct the mode of settlement. Even when the policy of offering the public lands for homesteading in preference to other purposes was finally adopted, *no scheme for the planning* of communities went with it. Nor has there been any since. Hence the configuration of rural society was to the land survey pattern.

Thus, zeal for land ownership, a survey system, and an unplanning government were the factors mainly responsible for the rural situation. They fostered a civilization of isolated living, destined to become inadequate and burdened with problems. The seasoned experience of ages which had taught men the proper mode of dwelling on the soil was forgotten. And now we are paying for the folly with a country-life problem that is the plague of the nation. We are compelled to face the fact that in certain important respects the lot of the average American farmer has become about the most disheartening and tragic to be found among agriculturists anywhere in the Western World.

Students of rural society are just beginning to appreciate the enormity of our blunder in the checker-board land survey, the land sale policy, and the *laissez faire* attitude of our government. They are just beginning to appraise the evils that trace to this blunder, and to see how they

might have been obviated. And now that our country life is set in fixed moulds, they are beginning to seek ways of bettering it. One of these ways that is receiving serious attention of late has to do with directed land settlement and the planning of rural communities according to models that wisdom dictates are best for the happiness and welfare of soil tillers. To a study of these efforts we may now turn.

UNSETTLED LANDS

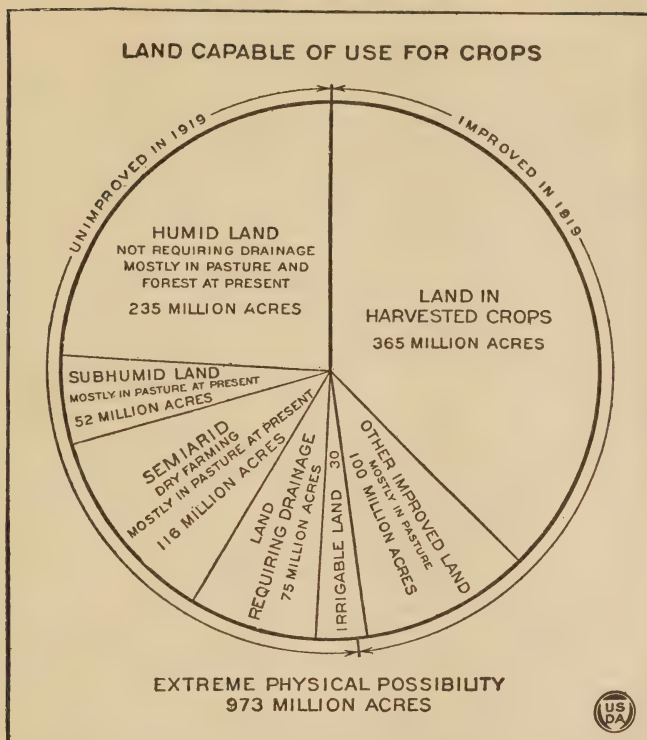
The basis of rural society is, of course, land. When, therefore, the question of planning communities is up for discussion, we need to know how far there is land available on which to establish them. Altho practically all of the great public domain suitable for farming was long ago disposed of, there still remains land for colonization. Of the public domain there remains about 186,000,000 acres located chiefly in the arid inter-mountain regions of the West and the Southwest. In the main these are grazing lands. Some, however, are irrigable. Perhaps 30,000,000 acres can thus be reclaimed and settled.¹ Another small portion of these public lands outside the irrigable areas may perhaps prove suitable for colonization. But at best there is not great promise from the public domain.

Other sources offer more. In the humid regions of the South and the Great Lakes there are 235,000,000 acres of unoccupied lands. These are largely cut-over timber areas, only a part of which, however, can be made suitable for farming. In Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, for instance, it is estimated that 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 acres of good land may be reclaimed for agriculture. There are, in addition to these lands, drainable areas in Florida, Louisiana, Georgia, Texas, North Carolina and Minnesota, aggregating 75,000,000 acres that can be reduced to agriculture.

Thus the undeveloped and unoccupied areas offer considerable room for colonization.

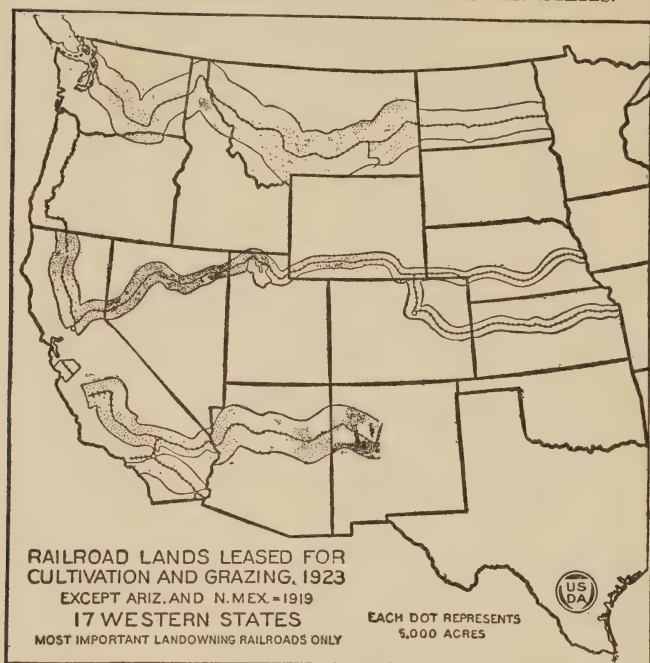
¹ *United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook, 1923, p. 427.*

FIGURE 80.—POTENTIAL CROP AREAS.²



In addition to the 365,000,000 acres of land in harvested crops in 1919, it is estimated that there are also about 600,000,000 acres physically capable of being utilized for crops some time in the future. This includes practically all the land that is not too rough, rocky, sandy, cold, or dry, or that is not now employed for uses other than agriculture and forests. Consequently it includes some land that it will not be economical to reclaim for crops even when we reach our maximum population. It also makes no allowance for pasture, except semi-arid pasture too dry for crops and a small amount of humid pasture too rough for cultivation, nor for land needed for the expansion of urban areas, roads, railroads, etc. Undoubtedly, a part of this potential crop area will always be employed for pasture. Most of the figures are based on estimates.

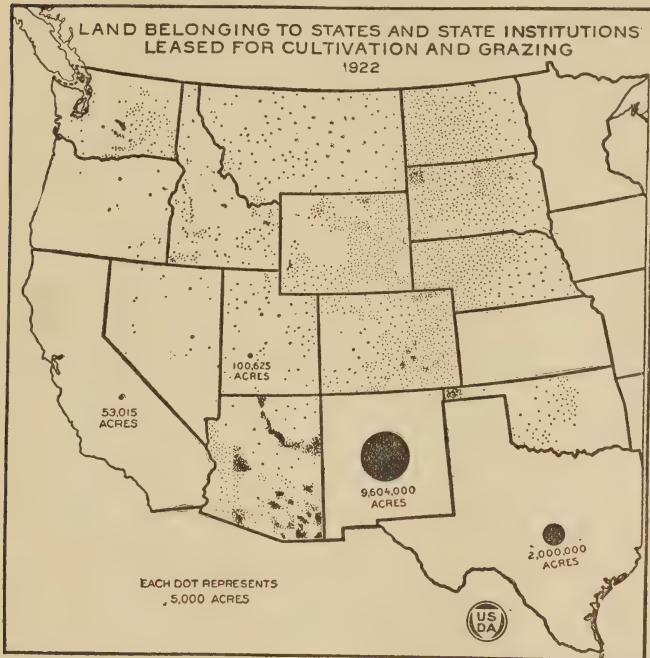
²L. C. Gray, O. E. Baker, F. J. Marschner, and B. O. Weitz, "The Utilization of Our Lands for Crops, Pasture and Forests," *United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook, 1923*, p. 427.

FIGURE 81.—RAILROAD LANDS IN 17 WESTERN STATES.³

Approximately 17,000,000 acres of land leased for cultivation and grazing is owned by the principal landowning railroads in the 17 Western States. Nearly all of this area is leased for grazing. The information was made available thru the courtesy of the officials of the railroads concerned. Outside of the area shown above it is probable that less than 3,000,000 acres is leased for cultivation or grazing by other railroads in the United States. For location see *Farmers' Bulletin No. 1271*, page 43.

Another possible source is state lands, ceded to the commonwealths at one time and another from the Federal Government. These amount to 30,000,000 acres, and are confined almost wholly to seventeen states of the West.

³ L. C. Gray, Charles L. Stewart, Howard A. Turner, J. T. Sanders, and W. J. Spillman, "Farm Ownership and Tenancy," *United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook, 1923*, p. 425.

FIGURE 82.—STATE-OWNED LANDS LEASED FOR CULTIVATION.⁴

Practically all of the state-owned lands leased for cultivation and grazing are in the 17 Western states, amounting to about 30,000,000 acres. In Texas, New Mexico, and California the available information does not admit of the location of the land by counties. In Texas the 2,000,000 acres shown belong to the State University. The information shown in the map was obtained partly from published reports and partly thru the courtesy of state officials.

These areas are at present leased for grazing and cultivation.

In these same Western states the railroads own not less than 17,000,000 acres given them by the government when

⁴ L. C. Gray, Charles L. Stewart, Howard A. Turner, J. T. Sanders, and W. J. Spellman, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

they were built. This land is leased for agriculture and grazing. Here too is territory that might be recovered for colonization.

A great deal of the unoccupied land that can be developed for settlers is privately owned in large tracts. The same is true of other occupied lands that might conceivably be acquired and colonized by owner operators in place of tenants. Between the occupied and unoccupied tracts, thus concentrated in a few hands, no distinction can be made for the want of data. Nevertheless, this concentration needs to be considered, for it bears upon the availability of land for the purposes in view. By way of illustration, the State of California has found that more than 4,000,000 acres of its cultivatable lands are owned by 310 proprietors.⁵

The Great Lakes region shows a similar concentration of ownership of unoccupied lands. In Minnesota eleven owners hold 596,000 acres or an average of 54,000 acres each. In Wisconsin twenty-five persons hold 1,428,000 acres, or an average of 57,100 acres to the person. In Michigan there are twenty-six individuals owning 836,700 acres, or an average of 32,000 acres to each owner.⁶ The Industrial Relations Commission in its report of 1914 stated that farms of 1,000 acres and over, comprising 19 per cent of all farm land, were owned by one per cent of the farm owners of the United States.⁷

Professor J. L. Coulter states that "over 200,000,000 acres in the United States are owned by 47,276 persons, an average of 4230 acres each, which means that already one-fourth of our agricultural area is owned by six-ten-thousandths (.0006) of our population."⁸

It is apparent from this brief survey that in the aggregate a great deal of land as yet unoccupied can be made available for settlement. It is also apparent that a considerable area owned by the states and railroads, altho in

⁵ Report of the Commission on Land Colonization and Rural Credit of the State of California, 1916, p. 7.

⁶ United States Department of Agriculture *Bulletin No. 1295*, p. 17.

⁷ Commission on Industrial Relations, Final Report, p. 30.

⁸ Report of the Commission on Land Colonization and Rural Credit of the State of California, 1916, p. 101.

part occupied by renters, might conceivably be acquired for land settlement projects. And as a final source, we note the great amount of land held in large tracts and plantations. These estates are for the most part occupied by tenant farmers or landless men, but it is possible that such estates could be reorganized and peopled by owner operators.

There is no question that abundance of privately controlled land is readily available. The Secretary of the Interior, in a recent statement on the question of land settlement in the South, tells of 80 unoccupied tracts that have been offered. These are located in North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee, and range from a few thousand to 250,000 acres in size.⁹ Elsewhere many large-tract owners are eager to dispose of their holdings for settlement purposes. Taken together with what public lands there are, these lands offer ample opportunities for extensive colonization enterprises.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MAY CORRECT OUR BLUNDER

Responsibility for communityless rural America must be charged chiefly to the Federal Government, and to it we may justly look for some great corrective movement. Such a movement would naturally spring from the agency having charge of the public domain. This agency is the Reclamation Bureau of the Department of Interior. Under this Bureau falls the work of reclaiming waste lands by drainage and irrigation, and opening them to settlement. When created, twenty years ago, it was definitely committed to the task of developing farms for home-seekers on the soil. That policy promised new possibilities for planning rural communities. Meantime much money has been spent on reclamation projects. The sum already aggregates more than \$205,000,000. It has gone into great irrigation and drainage undertakings that private or local state initiative could not or would not have attempted. But so far as land

⁹ "Reclamation and Rural Development in the South," *House Document No. 765*, Part I, 69th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 2-3.

has been reclaimed, it has been disposed of to individuals on the basis of first come, first served, and without regard to community building. In fact the Bureau's projects have been concerned with engineering primarily. The reclamation work has therefore failed humanly and socially. It has missed its real object.

The Reclamation Service itself has recently become aware of this failure. An investigation of future reclamation possibilities recently carried out by a committee appointed by the Secretary of the Interior has significance. In his instructions to that committee, the Secretary said it was necessary to determine how rural communities could be created. He expressed the opinion that they must be planned and organized as a corrective to the rural exodus. In its report the committee reacted to that suggestion in certain very significant conclusions at which it arrived. They are stated as follows:

"The experience of the United States and of other countries has led to a new view of reclamation. Reclamation is not complete when engineering works have been constructed, but only when successful and happy farming communities are established on the land reclaimed."¹⁰ "Without them, water charges cannot be paid, irrigation will cease, drainage canals will fill up. Obviously, reclamation is a human as well as an engineering problem. The main object of reclamation therefore must be to establish farming communities with a fair chance of success. Engineering works and all other technical aid must be directed to this end."¹¹

If this new interpretation of reclamation is put into force and wisely carried out, it will mark a new attitude on the part of the government. It may usher in a new era of country life. The lands that can possibly be improved and settled will make millions of farms. These would give homes to millions of people. Thus a great opportunity presents itself for the government to demonstrate how a

¹⁰ "Reclamation and Rural Development in the South," *House Document No. 765*, Part I, 69th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

model society may be established on the land. The creation of numerous successful communities of farmers here and there might prove the means of initiating a complete reorganization of the rural social order.

There are good signs that the government will in the near future attempt this new program. The Commissioner of Reclamation, Dr. Elwood Mead, is himself a champion of it, as well as the leading expert in land colonization in America. Moreover, the advisory committee to the Secretary of the Interior on Rural Development in the South, already cited, specifically recommended that the Bureau of Reclamation undertake demonstration colonization. It studied suitable areas in the cut-over lands of the states of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi, and suggested the establishment of six model communities. It recommended the coöperation of the various departments of the government in this project, believing that a few successful colonies would give impetus to the movement as a remedy for the rural problem. This committee also emphasized the fact that the Reclamation Bureau has full power and is the only Federal agency that has the authority, requisite skill, experience and organization for executing work of this kind.

This report outlines the principles that experience has shown to be necessary for successful land settlement under the new program of reclamation. Briefly stated, these "require sufficiently low prices for land; easy purchase terms on an amortized basis; preparation of the farms for cultivation before the arrival of settlers; adequate capital or credit for improvements; implements and supplies; an agricultural program expertly prepared in advance of settlement; careful choice of settlers; guidance of the colony after it starts; proper economic organization; provision for community facilities."¹²

A fuller statement, couched in the language of Dr. Mead, is quoted and approved by the Committee.¹³ It is as follows:

1. Settlers must be selected. Developing farms requires

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

a certain amount of capital and certain definite qualities. Without these only disappointment can result.

2. They must be settled on the land, not in isolated units, but in groups or colonies of sufficient size to secure economic and social advantages.

3. There must be aid and direction in the preparation of the land. In this, coöperation is important. Settlers working as a community can do many things better than as individuals working alone.

4. Many settlers who love farming and who, if given a chance, will become good farmers, have inadequate capital. They should be helped to get a start by means of credit banks or other special arrangements.

5. Markets must be studied, crop rotations suggested, and a program of marketing worked out suited to the conditions which govern transportation from the producers to markets.

6. Payments of the initial years must be made as easy as possible.

7. The aim should be ownership of small farms rather than tenancy on large estates.

SOME SUCCESSFUL PLANNED COMMUNITIES

Land settlement under governmental direction has been extensively developed in several countries. During the last generation notable success has been achieved in Ireland, Germany, Australia and Denmark. In these countries large estates and feudal holdings have been turned into prosperous colonies of small-holders. Many millions of acres and thousands of people have been involved in the projects of the Australian states. And by this means little Denmark has been able to lift herself from bankruptcy and poverty to become the most happy and prosperous agricultural nation of the globe. Land colonization has, therefore, the successful achievement of other countries to guide it. In the United States there are already a few projects in operation. These are of three kinds, viz., state enterprises,

private enterprises under state guidance, and exclusively private.¹⁴ Examples of each are worthy of study.

1. *The state enterprises center in California.* Work was begun there in 1917. The first colony was established at Durham in the Sacramento valley. A site of 6,129 acres was irrigated, prepared for cultivation, and laid out as a model farm community. It was designed for general agriculture and dairying. One hundred and twenty-five farms and twenty-eight farm laborers' allotments were created out of the estate. The farms ran from ten acres to one hundred and sixty acres in size; the laborers' allotments from one to two acres.¹⁵ The price of the land varied from \$48 to \$250 an acre. Each farm was made an economic unit, the size necessary for profitable cultivation being determined by the nature of the soil and other factors.

The site was made sanitary and freed from malaria by creating a mosquito-abatement district. Other features of the physical layout involved a village center. In an oak grove of twenty-two acres were located fair-grounds, tennis court, ball field, auditorium, clubhouse and swimming pool and an agricultural high school. The clubhouse was an old bunk-house, converted into ample quarters for community meetings, and equipped with dining hall and kitchen facilities. A majority of the houses of the village lie within a radius of a half-mile from the school.¹⁶ This center is based on the best models of New England villages.

The people admitted to the Durham Colony were carefully selected by the State Land Settlement Board. They had to be landless, and have character, industry, and a past record that seemed to guarantee success. The purchaser of a farm was required to have at least \$1,500 capital. The remainder could be paid over a period of thirty-six and a half years on an amortization plan at the rate of six per cent annually. In case of farm laborers, homes could be purchased without capital. A credit system also provided money for both farmers and laborers to enable them to

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁵ Elwood Mead, "The New Forty-Niners," *The Survey*, Vol. 47, pp. 651-658, 702-703.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

purchase live stock and equipment. Of all settlers actual residence is required for at least eight months of the year and lasting for a minimum period of two years. No one could sell except to an actual settler.¹⁷

A farmstead engineer is employed to help the colonists plan buildings and lay out gardens and fields. An expert agriculturist also is employed as advisor and to act as agent for the Board.¹⁸

Certain regulations, reminding one somewhat of the rules of commonage in the ancient village, are imposed upon all colonists. All must conform to health and sanitary regulations made by those in charge. Every one is obligated to observe certain rules as to the manner of cultivating the land and keeping up improvements in order to avoid depreciation. All stock-breeders had to unite in a coöperative breeders' association for the purpose of maintaining a high quality of stock. Cooperative buying and selling was also encouraged. This provision has led to a cooperative creamery and also a cold storage plant.¹⁹

After seven years, the Durham Colony is firmly established and working successfully. Altho not conforming exactly to the earlier type of village community, it has many essential features, such as compact settlement, a community center, and coöperation, if not commonage, in the major interests of the group.

A second colony was established at Delhi, California, in 1920. A tract of 8,600 acres, in the heart of one of the best developed sections of the state, was purchased. This is destined to be a fruit-growing community. It has been projected along the same lines as those followed at Durham. This community is likewise flourishing.²⁰ Dr. Mead says: "One hundred Delhis and Durhams would occupy less than one-tenth of the irrigable land of California, but if they existed they would shape its future civilization."²¹

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

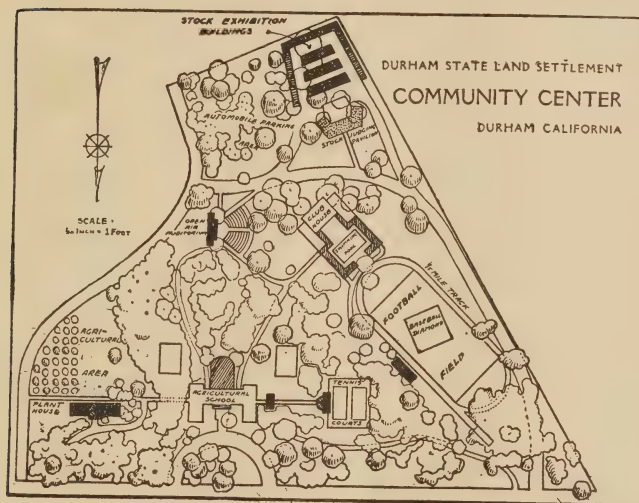
²⁰ *Ibid.* Also Report of the Land Settlement Board of the State of California, 1920.

²¹ Quoted by Marion C. Calkins, in "Men and Land," *The World Tomorrow*, July, 1922, p. 212.

The pioneer work of this state has led to the creation of Land Settlement Commissions in other states. Among these the commissions of North and South Carolina are notable examples.

2. *The second type of land settlement* is found in Wisconsin. Here laws have been passed to prevent the ex-

FIGURE 83.—COMMUNITY CENTER, DURHAM, CALIFORNIA.²²



ploitation of those seeking land. An attempt is made to bring colonization under the supervision of the State Department of Agriculture. The state does not take the initiative in establishing settlements. It seeks only to guide by furnishing information, by laying down conditions that land agencies must observe, and by providing credit facilities for purchasers. Colonization thus remains a private matter under state supervision. The only sig-

²² Elwood Mead, "The New Forty-Niners," *The Survey*, Vol. 47, No. 18, Jan. 28, 1922, p. 653.

nificance the situation has for us lies in the fact that some private companies have undertaken group settlement.²³

Such companies have occasionally laid out village settlements in an admirable way, but the proper mode of locating people does not of itself secure community. The people must be aided and guided thru the trying period of subduing the wilderness and bringing their farms to a paying basis. For the lack of such help the settlers usually fail.²⁴ It is to obviate this that the state has acted and is attempting to encourage sound community planning and financing of settlers on the part of land companies.

3. *The third type of community settlement in America* is by private enterprise. Of this there is but one conspicuous example to be cited. That is near Wilmington, N. C., and under the guidance of Hugh MacRea. This man, by following the best knowledge relative to land settlement, has reared three prosperous colonies on an uncultivated tract. They are known as Castle Hayne, St. Helena, and New Holland, and comprise over 300 families, owning some 5,000 acres. The farms are small, few being over 20 acres. Market gardening is the type of agriculture.

Mr. MacRea has himself financed the development, selected the settlers and provided expert direction to the colonies. It has not been a philanthropic project in any narrow sense, for, while affording landless men unusual opportunities to become independent farmers, it has at the same time proved profitable to the man behind the undertaking.

The success of these colonies, both economically and socially, turns upon scientific planning and direction. In this the following factors are involved:

"Low land prices and easy terms of payment.

"Ample credit for improvements and operations.

"Careful selection of settlers, with special attention paid to securing expert farmers in various lines, whose example may be followed.

²³ See *op. cit.*, *Reclamation and Rural Development in the South*, and United States Department of Agriculture *Bulletin*, No. 1295.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

"Expert advance planning, followed by experimentation on the part of the settlers themselves.

"Small acreages, intense and diversified cultivation.

"The development of community activities, social and economic."

"Supervision and guidance after the colony is established." ²⁵

The splendid example of Mr. MacRea has not been followed by other large land holders. Few have the vision, the ambition, or the good will necessary for such adventure. The profit motive rules too widely. Hence little is to be expected from private initiative in rural community building. Federal and state efforts are the real source of hope. What California has already done and what the Reclamation Bureau is planning to do, illustrate what must be done on a large scale if planned communities are to become matters of general concern.

Land settlement in Australia and Europe is a matter of governmental paternalism. It is the same in California, and such must it be under the Reclamation Bureau. And there is seemingly no alternative, if country life is to be sanely reconstructed. If government indifference and neglect gave us this problem, let government initiative and planning solve it! At least let it demonstrate the solution far and near thruout the land till it becomes a popular movement. In the very nature of the case, however, the task will remain too big for landless men to essay for themselves. They will always need to be aided and directed by agencies that can furnish the necessary resources. And these will long remain governmental.

Thus far, no one has proposed rural community planning for any except the landless classes. But it is just as essential for the landowning farmers, if country life is to be made satisfying and adequate. It will be a social calamity if the movement, once it gets under way, shall concern itself only with salvaging a society composed of farm tenants and landlords. The owner-operators in their solitary habitations need to be saved to country life. They need

²⁵ *Reclamation and Rural Development in the South*, op. cit., p. 29.

to be brought from their solitary homes together in compact settlements as a means of saving them to country life and saving country life itself. The inspiration and initiative for this accomplishment may have to be provided by a paternal government. Howbeit, the proposal involves such a tremendous task of social reconstruction that success probably depends upon its becoming a self-directing movement. As yet this is, of course, only a dream; but, let us hope, not altogether an idle one.

MERITS AND DEMERITS OF COMPACT FARMING COMMUNITIES

Emphasizing as we have the desirability of village settlements for farmers, it may be well to face the possible shortcomings of such communities. That shortcomings exist cannot be doubted. The ancient type as it is found in Europe or America has them.

One is the distance between farmsteads and fields. This is often sufficiently great to consume an extraordinary amount of time in going to and fro. Attention has been called to this difficulty in Utah villages.²⁶ Where agriculture involves large farms of several hundred acres, as in the wheat belt of the West and Northwest, to group the population would put the farmers many miles away from their fields. However, in a type of farming so highly seasonal as wheat growing, this would not be so serious.

Another disadvantage has to do with sanitation. There is unquestionably more danger from filth and pollution for a group of people living close together than for a family in isolation. This is especially true if live stock is raised. The New England town has suffered from stables and pigsties. Small country villages of the ordinary non-agricultural type are often unsanitary. But all facts seem to indicate that the village, bad as it may be, is not as unsanitary as millions of isolated farmsteads. The close settlements can, of course, more easily abate its nuisances

²⁶ Nelson, "A Social Survey of Escalante, Utah," *Brigham Young University Studies* No. 1, p. 41.

and create wholesome conditions, than the same number of people scattered over a wide area can do it. The planned communities of California have done this.

A third disadvantage grows out of the virtues of association itself. As has often been said, man "has difficulty in getting on either with or without his fellows even in neighborhoods."²⁷ Association tends to be too close in the village, where nothing is hidden from one's neighbors. Thus life becomes for many too personal, and petty conflicts over small things are thus easily engendered, often ripen into bitter feuds. The village in consequence has been described as the home of "petty cussedness" and "cussed pettiness." Much of this arises because of the emptiness and dullness of ordinary village life. In a rightly planned village of farmers cooperating in all things for the common good, there ought to be far less difficulty of this nature than in the unorganized trading-center run of American towns.

A fourth evil also springs from the virtues of compactness, namely, the greater possibilities of foolish group action. Suggestion and imitation have free play and the community is likely to be carried away by proposals which are more often unwise than sound. I have called attention to this in my *Hoosier Village*²⁸ and others have noted the same phenomenon elsewhere. But most of this evil is traceable to the commercial ambition of our Main Streets. And I cannot help thinking that purely farmers' villages would not be so subject to the promoter's arts.

The advantages of compact settlement have been partially stated in this and other chapters, and may be summarized at this point:

One advantage is that of having near neighbors. Man is a herding animal. He may habituate himself to a solitary existence, but it is abnormal. Naturally he wants association, and the isolated farmstead palls for the lack of it.

A second gain from compactness is the possibility of having certain things better and cheaper than in the open

²⁷ John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems*, p. 131.

²⁸ H. P. Douglass, *The Little Town*, p. 92.

country. I refer to a water, sewage disposal, electric current, and an ice supply in particular.

A third gain is in better institutions, such as school and church. As one has said: "The buying power is more highly concentrated in the community since distance is minimized, and for the same reason—distance and roads—they are able to concentrate their social energies particularly in the direction of schools, churches, sociability, and social welfare."²⁹

In the fourth place, mutual aid is facilitated thru the exchange of tools and work. Genuine neighborliness more readily flourishes among those living in close proximity.

In the fifth place, close settlement gives greater assurance of dependable professional service. This is particularly true of physicians. The village is always preferred to the open country by them; moreover, their services are less costly.³⁰

*A sixth advantage comes from a real community consciousness—a "we feeling."*³¹ The weakness of life in the open country is the absence of such feeling. There is no doubt greater richness of personality where it is present. In addition a whole train of social consequences flows from it. Two of these we shall mention under the following heads.

The seventh advantage of community living, and one which rises directly from the "we feeling" is the growth of organization. Open country dwellers do not organize much. It is as G. W. Russell, editor of the *Irish Homestead*, has said: "Our rural populations are no more closely connected for the most part than the shifting sands on the seashore. There are personal friendships, of course, but few economic or social partnerships. Everyone pursues his own occupation without regard to the occupation of his neighbors. If a man emigrate it does not affect the occupation of those who farm land all about him. They go on ploughing and digging, buying and selling, just as

²⁹ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

before. They suffer no perceptible economic loss by the departure of half a dozen men from the district. A true community would, of course, be affected by the loss of its members. . . . That is the difference between a community and an unorganized population.”³² In the compact group the “we feeling” fosters acting together and leads men to organize their efforts.

The eighth advantage may be designated as the rewards of coöperation. I mean the economic gains from buying and selling collectively, together with numerous things the group may secure by its more efficient coöperative efforts.

Thus, the advantages of village life seem to be so great that its disadvantages would not appear, by comparison, to be of much weight.

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³² Quoted in “Reclamation and Rural Development in the South,” p. 9.

XXVII

FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION— COÖPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

SECONDARY GROUPING

WHILE treating of the community, we have been concerned chiefly with grouping of the primary order. The village and open country neighborhood rest on personal contact and intimate acquaintance among a few people dwelling in a limited locality. Under such circumstances association is normally of persons as wholes. Collective activities in pursuit of a few major interests tend to embrace all members of the group. Ideally at least, and at times practically, all individuals in their total social relations are involved. This is why such groupings are called primary.

In another sense we have also been considering organization by position. For the village and neighborhood are basically of this sort, especially when we employ these terms to describe organization with respect to territory. Commonly, all persons dwelling in such areas are by virtue of their location or position included in the existing organization. In these areas, territory, people and interests tend to coincide and permit organization to be at once all-inclusive by position and by interest or function.

In this chapter, however, we turn to a different type of organization that is arising in the rural environment. It is one not based essentially on personal association but largely upon interests. Because it does not necessarily depend upon contact between all persons involved, it is called secondary grouping. Instead of correlating all individuals who chance to dwell in a given area, merely

because of their position there, it embraces only those who have like interests. It is, therefore, called functional rather than territorial organization.

Reference was made in an earlier chapter to the fact that country life is undergoing this regrouping along secondary and functional lines. In many ways the most significant aspect of the development is the cooperative movement. In dealing with this movement, we are chiefly concerned, not with its economic aspects, but with it as a phenomenon of grouping. This does not mean that we shall ignore the economic effects, fundamental as they are, but rather look thru and beyond them to what is happening to the farmers themselves under these new relations.

MAKING THE MOST OF THE OLD MAP

On the basis of the existing isolation, the coöperative movement is seeking to project a new map. It cannot be said to propose any regrouping by location, but only a regrouping thru interests. It raises no serious question as to the adequacy of the old foundation, but proceeds to make the most of it by attacking its problems in a new way. Out of isolation, out of individualism, out of independence and out of self-seeking, the effort is to build correlated activities in things economic and for economic ends. The movement is logical enough, and sound in that it grapples first with the fundamental problem of making a living. It is quite natural, too, in that it is one phase of an inevitable reaction to the forces of present-day civilization. Nevertheless, the peculiar conditions under which it must operate in rural America make its ultimate success problematic. Can wide-scale functional organization prevail among widely scattered people? For certainly, as Miss Irvine has said, "In the country, geography is an obstacle to the organization of society on the basis of function."¹ And if such organization does succeed, will it be the means to an adequate

¹ *The Making of Rural Europe*, p. 170.

society in the country? These are the crucial questions to be faced.

THE RISE OF COÖPERATIVE ORGANIZATION

As organization for marketing, buying, credit and other purely economic interests, coöperation represents the response of agriculture to commercial conditions. It represents the venture of farmers into commerce. In America and Europe alike it has this significance. Before the era of world markets, under a self-sufficient economy, buying and selling were not problems of the farmer. But with the industrialization and urbanization of a large part of the nation, everything has changed to a commercial basis. Farming has been included in this great revolution. Therefore commercialization of agriculture is the *first* factor in the rise of coöperation. A *second* one, reflecting another phase of the change, is specialization in production. Until the producer could profitably raise a single product and find a market for it, specialization did not exist in farming. A commercial order gave the needed markets and hence fostered specialization. Specialization in turn presently found itself in difficulty and now seeks relief through coöperation. A *third* factor is the profit motive in the commercial world. It has led to the exploitation of farm products by numerous middlemen. Such exploitation has worked to the disadvantage of the farmer and inspired him to seek control of the middleman function thru his own agencies and for his own gain. A *fourth* factor is the increasing cost of marketing, due to the growing complexity of society. This has caused a tremendous spread between the prices at the farm and those in the marts of the city. The farmer has seen the consumer's dollar shrink to only thirty or forty cents in his own pocket. So he seeks to recover a larger part of the dollar thru organizations of his own. In the *fifth* place, his growing familiarity with the trusts and monopolies that prevail in urban life has suggested the possibilities of agricultural monopolies to fix the price of farm prod-

ucts. Altho often denied by farm leaders, this aspiration has doubtless influenced to some extent the rise of coöperation. A *sixth* factor has been the revolution in communication and transportation that was ushered in by the twentieth century. The telephone and automobile have mobilized American farmers to an amazing degree. They have found it possible to get together as never before. Large scale organization has thus been facilitated. It is since this revolution in particular, as we shall presently see, that coöperative organization has become a wide-spread movement. A *final* factor is the coming into vogue of specialization in social organization, which urban and industrial life has fostered. Special organization for advancing special needs is a practice carried over from the city to the country. The coöperative association is but one illustration of it.

The rise of this movement has been a gradual development of nearly fifty years. Its present phase seems like a sudden outburst, but back of it lie several stages of growth. As O. M. Kile has said, "It is but the culmination and latest expression of a crusade which had its inception back in the dark days following the Civil War, and which with varying degrees of vigor and success has pushed forward the farmer's fight for free and equal privilege and opportunity."² He further calls attention to the close association of the movement with the rise and decline of the Grange, the Farmers' Alliance, the Agricultural Wheel, the Farmers' Union, the Equity Society, the Gleaners, and various independent political parties that have had agrarian origin. All of these efforts gave more or less impetus to the development of coöperative organization.³

Four stages of growth have been described by Professor Hibbard.^{3a} Altho Hibbard's analysis pertains to marketing organizations alone, there is every reason to think

² O. M. Kile, *The Farm Bureau Movement*, p. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

^{3a} See B. J. Hibbard, *The Annals*, Vol. 117, No. 206, pp. 201-207.

that it applies equally to marketing and buying, for much of the latter is done thru marketing associations.

The *first stage* he calls the *experimental period*. It covered the thirty years ending in 1901, and was characterized by strictly local organizations. These were largely dairy concerns, in which only a minimum of co-operation was present. Probably less than five hundred locals of all sorts came into existence in, and survived, that period.

The *second stage*, 1902 to 1911, is described as the beginning of *coherence* among local associations. Loose state federations were formed. The first centralized agencies also appeared. There was considerable growth, for between 1,100 and 1,200 locals began operation in that decade.

The *third period*, 1912 to 1921, was the *boom* era of organization. About 3,200 new associations originated during this time. There was a rapid expansion of local coöperatives, an extensive multiplication of federations, and a marked growth of great centralized agencies. Grain, fruit, vegetables, cotton, tobacco and live stock marketing companies were the outstanding lines of development.

The *fourth period*, from 1921 to the *present*, has been one of *reorganization* or readjustment. There has been continued growth, but on the whole at a slower rate than in the preceding period. The large regional associations have encountered many difficulties. A number have failed. All have faced the problem of adopting new methods.

With the great expansion of the last dozen years, co-operative marketing organization has attained to large proportions. The number of associations, membership and volume of business, taken together, make it the most significant development in rural society today. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture has surveyed the situation from time to time and made report of its findings. There has been difficulty in getting accurate data and keeping them up to date, for the movement is subject to constant

change. The number of associations varies, as new ones are born and old ones die. The membership likewise fluctuates by the tens and perhaps even hundreds of thousands from year to year. The same is true of the volume of business. At best, therefore, general impressions are about all that is possible.

In 1924 there were 10,160 local business associations listed by the Bureau referred to.⁴ About 1,000 of these did buying only. Of the other 9,000 devoted to marketing, a few were joint stock corporations without coöperative features.

The following table indicates the distribution of these associations and the volume of business conducted.⁵

TABLE 76.—FARMERS' COÖPERATIVE BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS.⁶

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	ASSOCIATIONS		ESTIMATED BUSINESS 1923	
	No.	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent
West North Central.....	4,579	45.1	\$ 635,800,000	28.9
East North Central.....	2,620	25.8	338,800,000	15.4
Pacific	634	6.2	413,600,000	18.8
Middle Atlantic	531	5.2	275,000,000	12.5
West South Central.....	492	4.9	92,000,000	4.2
Mountain	387	3.8	41,800,000	1.9
South Atlantic	363	3.6	145,200,000	6.6
East South Central.....	298	2.9	189,200,000	8.6
New England	256	2.5	68,200,000	3.1
United States ¹	10,160	100.0	\$2,200,000,000	100.0

¹ Not including \$200,000,000 of business by coöperative selling agencies in 19 live stock terminal markets.

At the close of 1925 the estimate from the same source placed the number at 12,000, and this is probably about

⁴ R. H. Elsworth, "Development and Present Status of Farmers' Co-operative Business Organizations," United States Department of Agriculture *Bulletin No. 1302*, p. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

where it stands at present. Of this number 5,386 were engaged in buying as well as selling.

The Bureau estimates that at this time there were 2,700,000 memberships in the coöperative associations of the United States. This membership was distributed among some thirteen different types of organization as follows: Grain, 490,000; dairy products, 374,000; live stock, 330,000; cotton, 300,000; tobacco, 300,000; fruits and vegetables, 125,000; wool, 47,000; poultry and its products, 31,000; nuts, 19,000; forage crops, 3,000; those engaged in retail activities, 100,000; miscellaneous selling, 135,000; miscellaneous buying, 125,000.⁷ The total membership is believed to represent 1,800,000 individuals. This fact indicates that farmers are joining more than one organization. In the Northern and Western states 46 per cent belong to two or more; 29 per cent are found in two associations; 12 per cent in three; 4 per cent in four; and one per cent in five or more. In this count, we are told, membership in credit societies, mutual insurance and telephone companies is not considered. Only marketing and buying associations are considered.⁸ This number is equivalent to at least one-third of the farm operators of the United States.

The amount of business done by the coöperatives in 1923 equaled about one-sixth of the total value of all crops and live stock marketed in that year; or in other words, some two billion dollars out of twelve billions. In reality, this equals about one-fifth the value of all farm products sold on the public market.⁹ For the years 1926 and 1927 the percentage is probably considerably in excess of this. Undoubtedly there is absolutely more coöperative marketing among farmers in America today than anywhere else in the world, with the possible exception of Russia.

⁷ "Agricultural Cooperation," United States Department of Agriculture, March 15, 1926.

⁸ "Agricultural Cooperation," News-Letter of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, June 25, 1927.

⁹ Hibbard, *op. cit.*

Coöperative intensity varies from state to state but centers in the Northern states. Judged by the number of active association members and amount of business handled, the ten chief states in the order of their relative importance are: Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, California, Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, Michigan and New York. To these states, during the period of 1915-25, belonged 63 per cent of the active associations, 50 per cent of the membership, and 60 per cent of the business done. The last half of the period witnessed the rise of a great number of cotton and tobacco agencies in the South, but this did not bring any Southern state into the front rank.

TYPES AND METHOD OF ORGANIZATION

What constitutes a coöperative organization? The answer is difficult, if it is to be broad enough to include all agricultural associations that go under the name. Widely varying conditions in the several states as regards laws, the nature of agriculture, and local preference, have produced several types. Some are elaborately organized and others are informal. Some are but slightly coöperative, while others go the limit. Boiled down to essentials, however, coöperation usually means: (1) each member has only one vote; (2) division of dividends from the business is on the basis of the amount of patronage rather than of the amount of stock held; (3) membership is confined, in the case of marketing associations, to producers only.

It is important to note that a coöperative organization is not a joint stock corporation. Democratic control and mutual benefit are the underlying ideas upon which it must rest.

There are three main types of coöperative organizations engaged in the business end of agriculture. *The first* is the *local associations*. These are, on the average, groups of forty to fifty members. As a rule they limit their activities to one commodity. In exceptional cases several com-

modities are handled. One instance of this is reported from New Hampshire, where an association was formed to sell eggs, wool, apples, potatoes and hay. Its aim was to "buy, sell and otherwise deal in all kinds of farm products and their derivatives; to own real estate and equip it for the manufacture, grading and efficient and economical handling of all materials dealt in by the association; and to do all these things incidental to the above enumerated purposes, and to engage in general merchandising and commission business."¹⁰

A variety of commodities, including practically every important farm product, have been the basis of these locals. The chief commodities, however, are dairy products, grain, fruit, vegetables, live stock, cotton, wool and tobacco.

Local associations are generally concerned primarily with the local problems of the farmer's business. Where they work alone, they come into competition with one another in the general market. In consequence they have not greatly benefited their members, for, as locals, they scarcely make any impression on the general economic situation. Apparently a great many fail and disband, while many others have met with sufficient success to justify their carrying on.

Manifestly, the local coöperative is concerned with economic affairs. It is usually organized on a "business only" basis. If any attention is directed to other interests, they must be more or less incidental. A little farther on we shall come back to this question for fuller consideration, for its implications are highly important.

A *second type* of coöperative organization is the *federation*. This represents a union of locals for greater efficiency. The area of union may be a county, district, state, or a wider region. By this means locals eliminate competition among themselves and secure the other advantages that centralization gives. In 1925 some 1,600 to 1,800 locals

¹⁰ Geo. M. Rommel, "Many Products—One Co-op.," *The Farm Journal*, Philadelphia, March, 1925.

were embraced in federations. The other three-fourths or five-sixths of them remain unfederated.¹¹

The California Fruit Growers' Exchange, organized in 1895, was the first of this type. In it 192 locals were joined, first by districts and then in a state central. The local packs the fruit, the district exchange stores and ships it, and the central exchange sells the product. This plan had been copied by about twenty-five other federations reported in 1923. One of the largest is the Minnesota Coöperative Creameries' Association, Inc., with 425 affiliated locals.¹²

The rise of federations depends upon well-established local associations. They represent the slow integrations of local groups into larger units. Such integration necessitates the surrender of certain powers to the central agency. Apparently the local is often reluctant to yield these. Nevertheless, this has been the method followed by the coöperative movement in Europe, where its wisdom has been fully justified. The real test of the strength of the coöperative motive would seem to lie in the measure to which we are willing to carry it into secondary association.

The third type of coöperation is known as the *Regional Associations*. The first of these was formed among the California raisin-growers in 1912. For a half-dozen years this type was confined to the Pacific coast, then it spread to other parts of the country until there were perhaps ninety associations. The movement for regional organization has been a highly spectacular one, holding the center of country life interest during the past few years. Into these organizations upwards of a million farmers were swept in a short space of time.¹³ This number equalled the membership of both the other types. This form over-

¹¹ B. Y. Landis, "Social Aspects of Farmers' Cooperative Marketing," Federal Council of the Churches of Christ *Bulletin* No. 4.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹³ The United States Department of Agriculture in a preliminary report on membership, issued in Feb. 1926, gives a grand total for 1925 of 879,190 in 74 centralized associations.

shadowed the whole movement and gave cooperation a tremendous impetus.

The method is to unite all the growers of a commodity, as grain, fruit, cotton or tobacco, over a wide area. A central board of directors is elected by the members. One director is chosen from each voting district into which the area is divided. This board assumes full control of all business. It manages and finances the enterprise without much regard for the individual members. Membership is consummated by growers signing contracts binding them to deliver their crop to the association for a period of, say, five to seven years. These are non-cancellable agreements, and form the chief bond of union.

These associations are promoted by an organizer, who calls a mass meeting of farmers and leads them to constitute the central organization. A membership campaign then follows in which growers are induced to sign contracts, as indicated. The whole procedure is from the top down. It is the work of artificial stimulation instead of natural growth. Associations thus quickly formed of tens of thousands of members who are actuated chiefly by economic motives without understanding of the essentials of coöperation have become dominant. Their ability depends upon legal contract rather than personal contact relations. In this they differ from the federated type which grows from the bottom up and rests on contact relations in local associations.

Since so much depends upon the contract, its purpose should be made clear. Back of it is the belief that farmers will accept coöperation if it can make money for them. Inasmuch as it is necessary for the organization to have a definite supply of produce or perhaps even control most of what is grown in the area, if it is to accomplish anything, the members must be bound to deliver their produce. Thus the contract becomes a guarantee of the organization for a number of years while it demonstrates the validity of coöperative marketing. Hence the regionals started on this basis. To make their foundations sure,

laws were secured in most of the states making the contracts enforceable.

The policy has generally been to sue members for breaking these agreements. In some cases this has been done with good results, while in others it has meant wrecking the organization. Where wholesale disloyalty has arisen, the associations have gone to pieces. The Washington Wheat-growers' Association and the Texas Cotton-growers' Association are cases in point.¹⁴

In fact, the greatest difficulty the regionals encounter is contract-breaking. It is reported that in 1925 half of the quarter-million farmers in the Southern Cotton-growers' Association had failed to deliver their crop.¹⁵

Typical of the situation is the case of the Staple-Cotton Coöperative Association of Mississippi. During the first year 82.3 per cent of the members fulfilled their contracts, but in 1924-25 only 46.3 per cent did so.¹⁶ In the South this difficulty is partly due to the crop lien system. The bank, warehouse, or other holder of a mortgage, can and does often prevent the tenant grower from delivering his crop to the coöperative. But there are other causes of disloyalty, among which are unsatisfied profit motives and a revolt against autocratic control of the association. When, therefore, membership contracts come up for renewal, the association may not be able to secure enough to continue business. This, for example, happened with the Connecticut Valley Tobacco Association in the spring of 1927.

In the face of these difficulties, there is a growing tendency toward abandoning the legal control method for one appealing to loyalty of the membership and based on a short-term cancellable contract. Several associations have made this change in policy.¹⁷

Another main feature of the regional associations, characterizing them from the outstart of their development,

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁵ *Rural America*, Feb. 1926: "A Review of Rural Life During 1925," p. 10.

¹⁶ *Rural America*, Feb. 1927: "A Review of 1926," p. 12.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

was a disregard of local organization. But subsequently many of them found it expedient to foster locals. Use was found for them as centers for keeping members informed on the association's work, for recruiting new members, inspiring loyalty, gathering facts, affording machinery to elect delegates who choose the board of directors of the regional, and in a few cases for improving social opportunities. A notable instance in point was the Burley Tobacco Growers' Coöperative Association of Lexington, Kentucky. A department of community organization was set to work establishing locals. Its aim was declared to be: "The organization of members and their families into community groups for (1) serving as a medium thru which members could be more closely in touch with their association; (2) promoting an interest in the principles and methods of coöperative marketing; (3) fostering a spirit of neighborliness and goodwill as an asset to the association and community life; (4) promoting coöperative enterprises for the enrichment and improvement of rural life."¹⁸

PROBLEMS OF COÖPERATIVE ORGANIZATION

Reference has already been made to some of the problems confronting the coöperative movement. A fuller treatment of them will enable us to appraise better the situation as a whole.

1. The contract bond of union, so prominent in the regional type, has been presented as one problem. We revert to it again, since it underlies this dominant form of coöperation. The necessity of a contract where thousands and tens of thousands of men scattered over a wide area are involved, is obvious. The relation between them must be impersonal and yet have some tangible form. It is not, therefore, the kind of bond itself that is questioned, but the policy of enforcing its observance. For when this is done, coercion is substituted for cooperation. A bit

¹⁸ Quoted from report cited in *Rural America*, Jan. 1925, p. 8.

of coercion may be indispensable to any effective organization, but it should be that which arises from a minority accepting the will of a majority, else it becomes autocratic. Coöperation should be voluntary, if anything. Coercive methods will hardly lead to the permanent establishment of voluntary association. To proceed upon the theory that compulsory adherence for a term of years, when once an organization has been joined, will produce habits of voluntary association, may get some results, but not sufficient ones. That the great regionals are awakening to this, is gratifying.

Coercive methods are not all tied up with the association contract. Their spirit has permeated some local communities in their reactions to the movement. The following instance will illustrate:

"Mr. Carl Williams, president of the American Cotton Growers' Exchange, tells a story of a community in Kentucky where the growers of burley tobacco all were members of the Burley Tobacco Growers' Association with the exception of thirty.

"These thirty farmers had been solicited to join the Association. They had been argued with, pleaded with and visited over and over again by their neighbors, who knew that every pound of tobacco sold outside the Association helped to break the Association prices and to increase the Association cost.

"These farmers outside of the Association did not say it in so many words, but their attitude meant about this: 'Go ahead and market thru the Association if you want to; we can stay on the outside and still get the benefit of the Association market prices without having to pay any of the Association cost, and we are going to do it.'

"(That was a little like milking their neighbor's cow thru the crack in the fence.)

"The members of the Association in that community held a meeting one day and passed an official set of resolutions as follows:

" 'We will not associate with these non-members, and our wives will not associate with their wives. We will

not lend them our tools and our machinery, and we will not exchange work with them. We will not trade with any store which will give them credit, nor will we do business with any bank which will lend them any money.' What would you imagine happened after that? Well, the story goes that the community was cleaned up in a hurry, and it is now 100 per cent loyal to the Burley Tobacco Growers' Association."¹⁹

Social pressure of this kind approaches mobmindedness. Country people are normally too subject to such behavior without its being encouraged by organizations. Certainly, no lasting good can come to a community that resorts to such measures to further its common ends.

2. What shall be the scope of their functions is another problem confronting coöperative associations. They are business organizations, and most of them interpret their function to be business only. Some, however, concern themselves with other interests also, and in one way or another foster them. A study of this phase of the movement by the Research Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, is our best source of knowledge on this question.²⁰ This study revealed but a small minority of the associations doing something other than business only. Often it was very little and without particular significance. In some cases, it was broader and more vital. The type of work included educational programs for the membership and for the community, affiliation with other farmers' social organizations, recreational activities, the promotion of other coöperatives, and the employment of social workers to help member families in local community work, public health and child welfare service. The instances where social workers were employed were confined to four regional associations. The Burley Tobacco Growers' Coöperative Association of Lexington, Kentucky, supported the most notable of the efforts in this direction.

¹⁹ From "Mississippi Farm Bureau and Cotton Associated News, Dec. 15, 1923.

²⁰ B. Y. Landis, "Social Aspects of Farmers' Cooperative Marketing," *Bulletin No. 4*.

It is clear that at least some of the associations recognize that everything human comes within their field. A certain class of leaders emphasize this, while a much larger class stress adherence strictly to business matters. Which policy is the sounder one sociologically? An analysis of the factors involved will show.

The first factor is the economic. Making a living clearly precedes all else, and coöperative organization is rightly committed to its furtherance as the foremost task. Moreover, wisdom dictates that specialized organization is the best means in business enterprises. The coöperatives are, therefore, pursuing a sound policy in emphasizing business only. But the problem does not end so simply. Other factors complicate it. One is the mode of behavior of human beings. They do not behave as divided selves, but rather as units. They pursue, not the getting of bread at one time and the making of fun at another, as activities independent of each other and of the total personality. When, for instance, the farmer goes to the local association meeting to consider his business interests, his whole self goes along also. The man who plays, loves, and wants contacts with his neighbors and recognition from his fellows, who worships and responds to diverse interests, is there. When, therefore, his coöperative excludes all except things economic, it leaves him unsatisfied and compelled to react in his other capacities thru other agencies. Hence, it is clearly a mistake for the coöperatives to assume that the pursuit of economic prosperity is the whole solution. Howbeit, this is not to argue the abandonment of their special functions as business agencies. It is to suggest only that they consider themselves elements in a situation involving the whole individual and his community. I have mentioned the community, since it is a third factor in the problem. Rarely are all social needs adequately cared for in the farmer's community. The same people who are being helped in their business by the cooperative, will be suffering sociological poverty in other things. There may be insufficient organization to provide for the community's social needs. Health, recrea-

tion and child welfare—any or all—may be more or less neglected. So it becomes the duty of whatever organization is on the ground, to look after the unsupplied needs of the community. Let the church, if it will, or the school, or the Farm Bureau; but if none is doing it, then let the coöperative, if it chances to have the opportunity, do what it can to supply the lack. Let it be all things to the community, under such circumstances. Normally, of course, it should stick exclusively to its business task if other agencies are performing the other functions. Even in communities where there is adequate organization of various interests, the coöperative should not hold aloof. It should correlate its work with all other organized activities. It should use its energies on behalf of every other specialized organization contributing to the social welfare. Separate in function but one in purpose, should be the aim of all social agencies.

3. A third problem of coöperative organization has to do with the profit motive. Coöperation for profit has been the great object. Almost nothing else has concerned the movement thus far. In itself this is legitimate enough, but in many instances it tends to defeat its own ends. Where profits are the goal, the farmer is going to take them thru the organization when it offers the most; but otherwise, when the organization does not, he will seek them of private dealers. Thus the organization is undermined by the loss of supporters, enticed away by the very appeal upon which it relies to hold them. The regional type has constantly to meet this situation. So long as immediate gain is the chief attraction, the organization cannot cope with disloyalty. Some deeper motive must be sought. Organization must spring from the knowledge that thru team work, power, independence and a more adequate social life are possible.

EFFECTS OF COÖPERATIVE ORGANIZATION

Since the coöperative movement is practically confined to marketing farm products and buying supplies, its eco-

conomic effects are naturally the first to be noted. Three chief sources of gain in marketing are recognized: (1) the profits that middlemen would otherwise get, go to the farmer; (2) the cost of marketing is reduced; (3) old standards of marketing service are improved and new ones devised.²¹

Gain from the first source is not large. Many have been disappointed in it. From the second source there are much greater returns; and from the third, the greatest of all.²² The better developed coöperatives have secured as much as 25 per cent increase in returns to the farmer. It is doubtful, however, if claims for larger rewards can be substantiated.²³ Even if these conservative estimates fully measure the financial benefits of coöperation, its worth is proved. Altho not a get-rich-quick system, it assures greater prosperity to the agriculturist. However, its economic possibilities have not as yet been fully developed. It has been cautious and conservative thus far. Dealing essentially with questions of distribution, it has left many problems untouched. One is the control of production. This is exceedingly difficult and many think quite impossible for agriculture. Nevertheless, upon the control of production rests the control of prices, say the classical economists. Hence the conclusion is reached that cooperative associations cannot fix prices. But if the associations can acquire control of the markets and the process of marketing, so as to establish monopolies, they can fix prices. In the industrial world, where monopolies rule, supply does not fix prices, nor would it in the agricultural world if monopolies were established there. Fear has been felt in urban quarters lest the regionals set up such monopolies. They have been charged with this design. And why, in a world of monopolies, should they not attempt it? What is fair for urban interests is fair for rural—if fair for any. The logic of the situation would seem to point to agricultural monopolies in the not distant future.

²¹ "Financial Gains of Marketing Successfully through Cooperation," *The Annals*, Vol. 117, No. 206, p. 208.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 210, 213.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

As a matter of fact, the coöperative movement in America must emancipate itself from urban control before it can really become effective in behalf of the farmer. The existing commodity associations perform only such services as the banking and industrial interests sanction. This means that their activities are largely confined to selling pools financed by money loaned by the banks on terms that are profitable to the banks. The associations do not attempt to control the whole marketing process from the producer to the consumer. If they did, they would provide their own banking agencies and credit facilities, and own and operate factories to manufacture agricultural products.^{23a} The successful Danish coöperatives do this. They are thus freed from the obligation to surrender the lion's share of the profits to urban interests, as is inevitably done under the American system of marketing. The Danish coöperative bacon factories, for instance, control the production and marketing of hogs thru every stage until the meat reaches the consumer's table. They allow none of the profits to stray into the pockets of the non-farming class. In consequence they are able to show that from 70 to 75 per cent of what the consumer pays for meat is returned to the hog raiser. The American farmer, even with the best of the coöperatives, probably does not get more than 40 per cent of what the consumer pays. To get an all-embracing coöperation of farmers, for farmers and by farmers in the United States is the thing needed. But to achieve it will mean a battle royal between country and city, for financial and industrial powers will fight to the bitter end to prevent such developments.

In reality, the kind of coöperative organization that will tell, requires a veritable new social order. That indeed the Danish farmers have brought about. They have established a cooperative commonwealth in which the chief rural interests are carried on in common. These include producing, credit, insurance, marketing, buying supplies, and standing together in a class conscious political group.

^{23a} E. C. Lindeman, "The Future of Agriculture and Rural Life," *Rural America*, Oct. 1927, p. 25.

They have made the state a partner in their enterprises. The results are, not a nation of wealthy farmers, but one where they are prosperous, highly cultured and contented. And when the American coöperative movement becomes thoro-going and does something more than merely "take the skim-milk from the small middleman but leave the cream to the larger speculators and bankers,"²⁴ it will initiate a social order for the re-making and redemption of rural America.

The effects of coöperative organization upon the individual and his community are not so tangible. It is more a matter of opinion than of fact. Is the individualistic mode of behavior in those areas participating in coöperatives giving way to a collectivistic attitude? The proof of this should appear in such phenomena as growth in multiple membership in coöperatives, the extension of coöperative organization to other economic enterprises, a deepening sense of social responsibility, as measured by efforts to promote community welfare, etc. The movement has not been under way long enough nor on a sufficiently broad scale to yield much evidence. The most concrete data pertain to multiple membership. In states where coöperation has been of long standing, a government study shows that farmers belong to more cooperative organizations than where it has been but recently developed. Thus, 82 per cent of the farmers participating in coöperative activities in Minnesota were members of two or more associations. Similarly, from 43 to 54 per cent were found in eight or more other states.²⁵ This probably indicates the growth of new types of business cooperation as well as the multiplication of the individuals participating. No data are available to indicate how far the cooperative method is being extended outside economic circles. Nor are there any data showing its bearing on the development of community responsibility. The testimony of observers in local communities is to the effect that where cooperative marketing associations are successfully operat-

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ "Agricultural Co-operation," News-Letter cited.

ing, people are more ready to engage in community enterprises than where there are no such organizations. This is what one would expect, but how extensive it is becoming, no one knows. Prof. C. C. Zimmerman has made a study of the effects of coöperation on the coöperators. He finds that the longer the time people are members, the more hearty they are in support of collective action.²⁶

Eventually coöperation should spread to all sorts of enterprises having to do with social life. Unless it does this, its total effect upon rural society will not be very great.

Its effect upon communities as such remains to be seen. As successful local groups are formed for business purposes, they ought to stimulate cooperation in other functions. And if the main interests thus become organized, it would be natural for people to apply the remedy of mutuality to the problem of geographic grouping. In this way the heart of the problem of country life would be reached. It is doubtful if a satisfying society can be secured for rural America without this regrouping. If, therefore, functional grouping in coöperative organization eventually leads the farmer to see the ultimate problem, we may expect that true community existence will be sought along the lines already set forth.

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XXVIII

RURAL ORGANIZATION, PRINCIPLES AND PROBLEMS

THE chapters constituting this part of the book have dealt mainly with organization by position. The aspects of relation and function have been less emphasized. This is not because they are of less importance, but because it has seemed more advantageous to lead the student first into the broader views of community. A further analysis, particularly of the organization of relations and functions, will add to our understanding of rural society. We propose to consider the general principles of social organization as they apply to these aspects.

THE NATURE OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Social organization is form, structure, orderly relationship, and systematic modes of acting together. There are always three things involved, namely, persons, actions, and ends. Thus Professor Hayes says, "Organization is the purposefully correlated activities of people."¹ Or more formally, "An organization is a set of differentiated activities serving a common purpose and so correlated that the effectiveness of each is increased by its relation to the rest."²

To adequately cover all social activity, structure will have to include passive as well as dynamic conditions. People occupy positions with respect to one another, as in the layout of a village or the plot of a farming area. This sort of relationship is just as much organization, even tho people are not acting together, as are their cor-

¹ E. C. Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, p. 410.

² *Ibid.*, p. 409.

related activities. In fact, taking society as we find it, the passive organization is the first thing encountered, and the dynamic, or that of relations proper, is the second.

Naturally, many degrees and forms of organized relations present themselves in a complex social order. They may be transient, easily formed and quickly dissolved; or they may be relatively fixed. In the latter case we have institutions. As society grows in numbers and complexity, organization tends to become increasingly fixed and institutionalized.

There are various types of organization, viewed from the standpoint of methods of relating persons and activities. Two general types are found springing from the nature of the people and their capacities.

1. One result is where people are alike and have like interests. Under such conditions there is a consciousness of likeness, and activities will be correlated sympathetically. This is the basis of all mutual aid relation and co-operative organization.

2. A second type is found where people are different and are aware of the fact. There organization does not arise naturally, but artificially, whenever they perceive that advantage may be gained by combining efforts. There will in turn be different varieties of these advantage forms, according to who perceives and who seeks the advantage, and the end to be sought in united action. At least three varieties will appear. (1) If all see the advantage in some measure, they will likely correlate their activities on the basis of equality. All will share and share alike in controlling the organization, even tho their functions differ ever so widely. This gives democratic organization. There is a good deal of this in local community association. (2) If all do not perceive the advantage of combined effort, there may still be correlation of activities, but with the organizing group only seeing the utility and coercing others to act in conjunction with them. For instance, a health organization is sometimes of this nature, compelling many unwilling people to join in quarantine and sanitary measures. Not infrequently farmers have fallen into this mode

in other matters, under organization names that belie their true type. Some of the Regional Coöperatives have closely approached this form. (3) A third type appears where only a few see the advantage and are the chief gainers. The participation of the others comes in this case, not by coercion but rather thru inducement. For wages or rewards they will join in. They have nothing to say about the purpose or the direction of the activities. Such organization may be advantageous to the many, or it may exploit them ruthlessly. The Southern plantation system approximates this type of structure.

THE FUNCTION OF ORGANIZATION

Much social organization represents the thought, experience and accumulated effort of past generations. It is thus stored up energy, serving to lighten the labor of those coming into or making use of it. In this sense it is an effort-saving device. *One function* is, therefore, the conservation of social energy, releasing vital resources for other purposes instead of necessitating their expenditure for structure making. In the *second place*, organization makes possible the accomplishment of ends otherwise impossible. A society without adequate structure is like a carpenter without a kit of tools; it is not able to accomplish much. The activities of large numbers of people can obviously be applied to a common task only thru some mechanism. *A third function* of organization has to do with the development of personality. It is thru correlated activities that sociality is mainly acquired. The ordinary person, untrained in associational relations, is like the horse unbroken to the team; he is uncomfortable when hitched with his fellows, will not pull at all or wants to lunge ahead in his own way and in the direction of his own choosing. The "we feeling" that every complete personality must have, is largely the consequence of membership in various groups and institutions. Besides conserving social energy, facilitating the accomplishment of tasks

by numerous individuals, and developing personality, a *fourth function* is to stabilize relations. All organisms attain increasing stability with increasing structural development. Society does the same thing. The more human relations fall into fixed forms, the more mechanisms there are for correlating activities, the less friction and change there will normally be in any social order. So much structure may indeed spring up that stability is secured at the expense of progress. So there may be too much organization or not enough. Whether a given structural development is enough or too much depends upon whether or not the necessary and desirable tasks of the group are being accomplished with the least possible effort, and whether the proper balance between stability and change is being maintained. An overorganized society is quite as inefficient as an underorganized one. In both cases there is waste.

The rural community very frequently suffers from underorganization. There is not enough correlated effort to care for its vital needs and to promote its best interests. Things that ought to be done to advance the common welfare and happiness go by default; organization is wanting. So true is this that organization has often been proposed as the panacea for all the ills of rural life. Again and again, movements have been launched to further a more perfect organization of the farmers on a nation-wide scale. On the other hand, there are occasionally rural communities that have altogether too much social machinery. They are quite as bad off as communities with too little. The country village, as already shown in another chapter, is generally the chief wastrel in this regard. Sometimes the open country neighborhood as well, especially where there are five or six churches in a small area, is a serious offender. In cases of overorganization, the trouble is usually too much of one or two kinds of structure with a deficiency of other kinds. The excess is commonly in religious and economic organization. Thus, in one way or another the ordinary rural community presents organizational problems.

PERSONALITY AND ORGANIZATION

The basic element or crude raw material out of which society is evolved is the individual. Persons are thus prior to and greater than organization. They are indeed the beginning and the end of all things social. They have created organization to serve them. If by any process or under any circumstance they become the means and structure the end, it is time for a social revolution to bring emancipation to the victims. There may likewise be too much tradition and too much wealth for the human good, but there is far less likelihood of this, and far less danger from such a situation, than from an overplus of structure. An analysis of personality in conjunction with structure will make clear our meaning.

There are two theories of personality as it is related to organization. One may be called the theory of suppression and the other of realization.

The realization theory holds that one magnifies and enhances his personality by means of social mechanism. J. K. Hart has stated the case thus: "Every membership in a new group brings some distinctive new touch to the personality of the individual. The group life seizes upon that part of his nature which responds to the group appeal, lifts it out of the inert mass of his sluggish personality, gives it color, warmth, life, appreciation and enables it to grow. On that side of his nature, he becomes a more complete human being. If he can find his way completely around the range of humanizing groups, he will thus find his way around and into all distinctive phases of humanity, he will become a complete human being. At least he will have all the facets of the complete human being."³

Even more can be said than is implied in the above statement. A society with many organizations offers freedom of choice to the socius; aye more, it requires him to

³ J. K. Hart, "Belonging to Too Many Groups," *The Survey*, March 15, 1924.

make choice and thus assert himself. Thus self-determination and initiative are secured; there is freedom for the individual, which is not the case otherwise. When, therefore, modern society, with its multiple structure, is contrasted with Mediæval, where but two or three all embracing and dominating organizations held sway, the advantage lies altogether with the modern in giving conditions favorable to the development of personality. The great individualizing process of history is directly tied up with the growth of organization. The man of the Middle Ages was stultified by his guild, the church and the state, which absorbed his whole personality. The modern man is emancipated by the necessity of adjusting himself to scores of institutions and modes of organized relations, among which he is required to divide himself. In this respect he is the gainer.⁴

The suppression theory of organization holds that it tends to destroy personality, and that membership should therefore be avoided as much as is humanly possible. It is contended that to the extent one belongs to groups or institutions, he is cramped and narrowed, for they impose restrictions, obligations, stereotyped patterns of behavior to make us "play out our lives as if we were but acting a part which some one assigned to us."⁵ Under such conditions, it may be argued, there is no freedom, no individuality, but only subservience and deadening conformity. Rabindranath Tagore in his visit to the Western nations a few years ago was impressed with the prevalence of such evil consequence of our highly organized life. He said, "Man is reducing himself to his minimum in order to make ample room for his organizations." Certainly, our modern city life, clutching, as it does, so many in almost endless forms of association, all but destroys one side of personality.

The question generally turns upon the amount of organization in which one participates rather than upon the

⁴ For a fuller treatment of this subject see the author's *Society and Its Surplus*, Chaps. VI, VII.

⁵ E. D. Martin, *The Behavior of Crowds*, p. 164.

fact of organization, altho it is true that, at least for some, non-participation in any formal association or institutional life is the only safeguard. As Professor Ross says, "There ought always to be reserved a large place for those who in organization feel like squirrels in cages, those to whom freedom and spontaneity are the breath of life. Society should leave a broad footing for the solitary worker who labors when and where and as he pleases."⁶

The undoing of self by membership in too many groups is seen, for instance, in the case of "joiners," who are found in every community where many organizations prevail. Such individuals have dissipated themselves in memberships to the point of demoralization. To quote Hart again, "The joiner has passed the maximum advantage and is in the disintegrating scale. Every new group that takes him in but adds to his complete demoralization. He has no time nor energy nor mind for anything that the group might profit him in personality, he takes in the 'horse play' of the new group, and misses all its vital qualities."⁷

Each of the theories emphasizes an important truth. We need to evaluate them in relation to the open country people. On the whole these have lived in communities with only a minimum of organized association. Institutions have not had much place with them. Often the family has been practically the sole group in which they have participated. What of the consequences? Have we a type with undeveloped personalities or, instead, with exceptionally full and rich ones? On the basis of the first theory, which postulates abundant organization as being indispensable for the growth of the soul, we should not expect much of farmers as a class. On the basis of the second theory, which assumes that extensive organization is highly damaging, we should expect the farm people to have singularly rich personalities. As a matter of fact, neither type is found in the extreme.

To be sure, the farmer is described as highly individ-

⁶ E. A. Ross, *Outlines of Sociology*, p. 199.

⁷ *Op. cit.*

ualistic. He is thought of as having too much selfhood, as carrying personality to extreme development. But this individualism does not imply richness and fullness of personality. In fact, it does not imply individuality at all in the true social sense. Just why this is so, we will explain.

By sociality is meant a state of participating in, union with, a sharing of, and adjustment to the common life of the social order. By individuality is meant the quality of being autonomous, self-directive, of experiencing distinct self-valuation.⁸ Country people have an overdeveloped sense of self. There is independence and self-direction and uniqueness of a kind. This is often intense, dogmatic, stubborn, bigoted and lacking in balance. There is ability to make choices and reject them; but power to do it sanely with reference to a wide range of options is not so evident. It is an individuality born of isolation rather than of choices. This, I suppose, is one of the chief consequences of meager associational life in country districts. Such individuality has strength but it is often weakened for want of that balance which comes from the necessity of finding one's way in the organizational maze of an urban environment. Doubtless, for the ordinary man, the danger of having individuality undeveloped or squeezed out, as well as the chance of attaining a better balanced selfhood is greater in the urban world than in the open country of America. The average man in the city is likely to become a colorless, conforming nonentity compared with the countryman. There are, of course, other factors besides organization that are partly responsible for the differences, but our interest lies in emphasizing the importance of the organizational. On the other hand, there are possibilities of attaining a higher type of individuality in the city than the isolated type produced by the country.

On the side of sociality, personality in the country falls short, even as it tends to the extreme in the city. Meager organization has not afforded opportunity for socialization. The sense of unity with fellows is singularly weak.

⁸ N. L. Sims, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

Breadth of sympathy and understanding is little evident. As a consequence, countrymen find it difficult to meet the demands of the society of which they are a part. These demands are for organized activities in a number of directions, since the problems that have arisen cannot be otherwise met. But the initiation of organized effort depends upon the very people who are lacking in sociality; hence there is a sort of vicious circle retarding social progress. This, of course, is by no means absolute, for not all countrymen are equally unsocialized. Some have had good opportunities and have made the most of them. Not all rural communities are structurally impoverished. We therefore find organization rising in many sections in response to the needs of the community. But as a general fact, more highly developed organization is a necessity for rural society, if there is to rise a generation of country folks with full and well-balanced personalities.

ADEQUATE ORGANIZATION

Two especially important criteria for judging the adequacy of organization have been mentioned. One is its sufficiency relative to the needs of the community; the other is its sufficiency for the development of personality. Altho some reference has already been made to the extent of organization among rural people, the subject merits further consideration. We can only generalize as to the needs of communities, as a great many factors enter to make the needs widely different.

Needs imply human interests. Of these there are a few major ones, such as those associated with sex, food, health, wealth, religion, education, recreation, social and æsthetic demands. These can be variously expressed, but the gamut of human need is pretty well covered by them, and a community may be judged as to whether they are met or not.

Hawthorn has taken a classification from R. Shepherd's *Essentials of Community*, and set over against each item the appropriate organizations or institutions thru which

the interests express themselves.⁹ Following his method a more complete table has been arranged.

Health	Community Health Service, Red Cross.
Parenthood	Child Welfare Association, Parent-Teacher Association.
Religion	The Church.
Fraternity	Farmer's Clubs, Lodges.
Education	The School, The Library, Literary, Debating and Study Clubs.
Agriculture	The Farm Bureau, The Grange, Equity Society, The Gleaners, The Farmer's Union.
Business	The Cooperative Marketing and Purchasing Association, together with organizations mentioned under Agriculture.
Citizenship	The Civic League, League of Woman Voters, Taxpayers Association.
Adolescence	Boy's and Girl's Clubs.
Recreation	Playground and Recreation Association, Athletic Club.
Aesthetic.....	Community Improvement Association.

How far rural communities are adequately supplied, is difficult to say. There is but little evidence available on which to base conclusions. Lively's study of social agencies in Ohio confirms the general opinion that organization is altogether inadequate in a very large proportion of rural communities. He took twenty agencies and studied their frequency of appearance in the trade area communities of the state. His list did not include such important agencies as schools, churches, health and business organizations. Of the agencies studied he found an average of three to each community. Doubtless all these communities had schools and churches also, and adding these would make at least an average of five organizations to the community. However, nearly 13 per cent of the communities had no organizations included in his list. Another 17 per cent had but one, 14 per cent had two, and over 11 per cent just three. Thus more than half of the trade areas did not possess more than five or six

⁹ H. B. Hawthorn, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, p. 440.

organizations thru which the basic interests were being met. Less than 20 per cent of the communities reported seven or more of the list.¹⁰

From this study it would seem that only a small proportion of the communities were sufficiently organized to provide services that every community should have. It is not reasonable to think that the others were providing for their interests without organizations or thru a very few comprehensive ones of unusual efficiency. If, therefore, this study correctly reflects existing conditions in the state, and if the state is at all typical of rural areas in the United States, the fact of organization inadequacy is clearly indicated.

The number of organizations must be checked by their nature. If, as sometimes happens, a community has two or three whose activities overlap or duplicate, the number does not signify adequacy. This is likely to be the case, for instance, where a Farm Bureau and one or two other agencies, such as an Equity Society, a Farmers' Union, or a Grange are found in the same community.

A recent study of rural organizations in Virginia by W. E. Garnett stresses the point that the social needs are not being met there. A long list of specific problems covering all the basic interests are mentioned as being in need of organized effort. He states that less than twenty per cent of the rural people are found in the organizations at work.¹¹

Apart from the data before us, there is no way of estimating how far organization is sufficient for the development of socialized personalities. Attitudes reflect the type of man. Therefore the extent to which a negative or weak "we feeling" is shown, may be taken as an index of the efficacy of organization. If, therefore, but twenty per cent of the Virginia farmers actively participate in

¹⁰ C. E. Lively, "Some Rural Social Agencies in Ohio," Ohio State University, *Extension Service, Bulletin No. 4*, Vol. 28, 1922-23.

¹¹ W. E. Garnett, "Rural Organizations in Relation to Rural Life in Virginia," Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 256* (1927), pp. 27-28.

organized activity, it appears that there is wide-spread personality deficiency.

SOME LEADING RURAL ORGANIZATIONS

In the preceding section mention was made of agencies serving various interests in the rural community. It will be useful to add a brief description of a number of the more important ones. Schools, churches, lodges and purely political agencies will be left out of account in this connection. Moreover, only those movements and associations that have local organizations will be noticed.

There are several types of rural organizations. We shall discuss representatives of each of the main types. The *first* general type we shall notice may be described as *National Farmers' Organizations*.

1. Of these the oldest is the Grange or Patrons of Husbandry. It was organized in 1868 by O. H. Kelley, a government clerk in Washington, D. C., who had previously been a farmer in Iowa and Minnesota. Sent at the close of the Civil War by President Johnson to gather statistical data in the West and the South, Kelley was deeply impressed by the hard conditions he encountered among the farmers. As a remedy, he conceived the idea of a secret society modeled after the Masonic order, which should devote itself to the improvement of country life, and have as its aim reform by intellectual and social rather than by political efforts. The first permanent society to be established among farmers was at Fredonia, New York. During the four years following this, a few other locals were founded in other states. Then, in 1872, the farmers began to take interest in the movement and to flock to it in great numbers, till within the space of a year or two the Grange became established in every state of the Union with the exception of Rhode Island. By 1875 it had reached the zenith of its power, with upwards of 21,000 locals and three-quarters of a million members. It then began to decline, and the disintegration was as rapid as its growth had been. In a short space its num-

bers had fallen to barely 100,000. About 1890, however, there was a revival in the Northeastern section of the country. The Grange began to grow and continued to expand, till today it has attained to nearly as large a membership as it had in 1875. Its claims are somewhat inflated, however, for information is constantly given out to the effect that it has over 1,000,000 members. But a careful tabulation of data gathered directly from the state organizations by the writer in 1923 showed only about 6,100 locals in twenty-eight or twenty-nine states, with a membership aggregating 610,000. The leading states in order of membership were as follows: New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, and New Hampshire. Thus, the Grange is found chiefly in the Northeastern part of the country.

The purpose of this agency is educational, social, legislative, and cooperative. Its weekly or fortnightly meetings are divided into business, lecture, and social periods. It has exerted much influence in securing the enactment of laws advantageous to rural interests. Among these are laws providing for railway regulation, as the Interstate Commerce Commission Act; and laws for the improvement of Agricultural Colleges and for numerous other beneficial measures. One praiseworthy cause championed by it was that of equal rights for women. This it put to practice in its lodges. Today the Grange seems to be more distinctly social than anything else.

2. The Gleaners is another organization of this national group. It arose in 1894 in Michigan. Like the Grange, it is a fraternal order. Its aim is to foster coöperation in buying and selling and to further the welfare of its members thru various benevolences. The region of its operation is confined to Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois and Iowa. There are now probably about 1,000 locals, with 80,000 members.

3. The American Society of Equity, and the Farmers' Equity Union are two factions of another organization. The Equity society was started in Indiana in 1902. It sought economic protection for the farmer as the fore-

most object, but it was also concerned about more equitable conditions for the laboring masses. The movement was frankly class-conscious and closely akin to the labor union. It has made use of the union label and advocated coöperation with the American Federation of Labor. In the space of four years, organizations had been founded in thirteen states, chiefly in the North and West. In 1910 the society split into two factions, as indicated above. Both are distinctively business associations, with no great difference in their activities. If anything, the first mentioned society emphasizes marketing more than the second, which stresses purchasing supplies also. The first society has specialized in handling various products according to the needs of the sections in which it is working. The second makes each local or exchange a joint share company in which the members hold stock. It maintains stores, elevators and warehouses. The union is small, having not far from 155 exchanges and a membership of 25,000. It is found in ten states, chiefly in the central region, with Ohio and Illinois leading.

4. The Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union is to the South what the Grange and Gleaners are to the North and East. The local of this Union is all-important. Its activities are economic, fraternal, educational and political. It has undertaken numerous enterprises connected with marketing, manufacturing and storing farm products. The organization was started in Texas in the same year the Equity society arose in Indiana. The founder was Newton Gresham, who, like other originators of similar organizations, was moved by the hard lot of the farmers. It was the cotton growers that concerned him immediately. He hoped to improve their condition by means of his Unions. The idea spread rapidly and in eight years there were locals in twenty-seven states. The movement continued to grow thruout the next decade, with the center of its influence shifting from Texas to the South Atlantic states and then toward the West South Central. At present Nebraska, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas and Kansas, in the order named, take the lead

among the nineteen or twenty states where the Union has any strength. The organization claims to have locals in thirty-one states, but the membership waxes and wanes from year to year, judged by the number who pay dues. The number was once very large, variously estimated from one to three millions, but now it is reported to be only about 300,000.

Another general type of organizations consists of *those fostered by the Federal Government*.

1. The Farm Bureau is the foremost representative of this group. It is a local association of farm families devoting itself to all aspects of the farm problem. The unit of organization is sometimes a neighborhood or township, but there is always a county organization also. Where neighborhood locals prevail, the County Farm Bureau is made up of the chairmen of the locals, with an occasional general meeting of all members in the county. The counties unite in a State Bureau thru delegates, and the states in turn have formed a national Farm Bureau Federation. The latter came into existence in 1919.

This organization is classified as governmental, since it derives part of its support from the Federal Treasury, another part from the local county and state, and the rest from membership fees. A law of Congress in 1914, known as the Smith-Lever Agricultural Extension Act, made Federal money available.

The Farm Bureau idea originated independently in Broome County, New York; Bedford County, Pennsylvania, and Pettis County, Missouri, at about the same time. However, it was the New York county which gave it, in 1913, the name it now bears. The Smith-Lever Act for the support of county agents became the chief stimulus to the movement, since in the Northern states generally the Bureau was established to support the agents' work. In the South the Bureau did not develop so generally as elsewhere. From 80 to 90 per cent of the counties having agents have Farm Bureaus also. That means about 1,800 of the 3,000 counties of the United States. At present the Bureau is found to some extent in forty-four states, and

has upwards of 500,000 farm families enrolled in its membership.

This organization is the most effective of all farmers' associations. It has united local groups with the state and Federal departments of agriculture and the agricultural colleges, so that the services of these agencies are now available to the farmer as never before. From these sources information and other assistance flow freely to the local community for its betterment. The Bureau has been the greatest force in promoting the coöperative marketing movement. In this respect it ran away from government control. The Farm Bloc, which held the balance of power in Congress under the Harding administration, was directly traceable to the Bureau's influence. Altho claiming interest in whatever concerns farm life, it must be said that the Bureau too often ignores everything but economic interests. Its growth seems to have weakened the first class of farmers' organizations, not so much perhaps because of opposition as because of a more effective program.

Boys' and Girls' 4-H Clubs are developments of the extension service provided for in the Smith-Lever Act. These clubs are constituted of local groups of boys or girls ranging from ten to twenty years of age. A club is usually a group of ten to twenty individuals, who are working at some project, as, growing plants, fruits or animals; canning products; preparing clothing; keeping accounts; or doing something else connected with the life of the farm home. The groups have adult leaders and meet to discuss their work, give demonstrations and play games. They aim to educate by doing, and thus to produce a more capable generation of farm folks. They also afford wholesome social and recreational opportunities. In 1926 there were about 41,000 of these clubs, enrolling 565,000 rural boys and girls.

As useful as they are, these clubs sometimes tend to sacrifice the development of youth for the growing of a crop and to set false ideals by too much stress on prize

winning. Rightly directed, however, they promise much for the future.

A *third* general class of organizations are *various kinds of national societies* not primarily interested in things rural but nevertheless giving some attention to country problems.

1. The Parent-Teachers' Association is one. It has locals in rural communities of nearly every state. The membership is made up of teachers and school patrons. The organizations devote themselves to the improvement of school and home relationships, and to promoting child health and welfare.

2. The American Red Cross has local associations in some small towns and villages and thus touches in a limited way the open country people. In 1924, for instance, the national headquarters reported 424 chapters in counties where there were no towns of over 8,000 population. Most of these probably did not reach the farm people extensively. Lively found that Ohio in 1921 had ten counties with chapters in villages under 2,500.¹²

The chief work of the Red Cross involves public health nursing, family case work, recreation, and community improvement projects.

3. The Playground and Recreation Association of America, altho essentially urban, has in a slight measure touched village communities. It is mentioned here more because it is an available agency than because of its actual work.

4. The Young Men's Christian Association, and the Young Women's Christian Association are other organizations with a rural program. The former in its county work reaches a few rural communities. It organizes high school boys into what are called "Hi-Y" clubs, standing for the ideals of the "Y." Summer camps and athletics are also promoted. There are, for instance, eight counties in the State of Ohio where rural work of this nature

¹² E. C. Lively, "Some Rural Social Agencies in Ohio," *Ohio State University Extension Bulletin No. 4*, Vol. 18.

is being done.¹³ The "Y. W." has a somewhat similar program for girls, but rarely gets outside good-sized towns. It is therefore all but negligible in so far as the distinctively rural field is concerned.

5. The Boy Scouts of America, Girl Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls are organizations for boys and girls in their teens. They endeavor to train in nature study, outdoor life, health habits, handicrafts, and patriotic attitudes. The locals of these organizations are found in rural villages, but make only a very limited appeal indeed to open country boys and girls.

A *fourth* major class of organizations are *purely local associations*.

1. Farmers' clubs are the most important of this group. They are very numerous thruout the Northern states. It is probable that they exceed in number all other organizations that come under the four groups mentioned. They are of a miscellaneous nature, covering a wide variety of activities. There are those interested in production, marketing, financing and purchasing. Examples of these are "Cow-testing associations," "Threshing-rings," and "Purchasing Clubs." Another group are those given to culture, recreation, and welfare interests. Such names as "Welfare Association," "Mothers' Club," "Music Club," "Literary Society," "Singing Society," "Farmers' Association," "Community Club," "Picnic Club," and just "Farmers' Club" appear. Some have serious interests and others are devoted to social and recreational activities.

2. Coöperative Locals fall under this class. These include both the distinctively local associations and locals of the great Regional Coöperative Marketing Associations. There is a growing tendency to establish the latter. Where this is being done, the club becomes interested in many things besides the marketing process. The Kentucky Tobacco Growers' Association, for instance, has developed locals devoted to welfare work.

3. Farm Women's Clubs constitute another group.

¹³ Lively, *op. cit.*

These are listed separately, since in some states they form a distinct group apart from Farmers' Clubs. In a few instances they have joined the State Federation of Women's Clubs or have formed a federation of their own. An instance of the latter is found in Ohio, where 103 locals have joined in a state federation.¹⁴

The four general classes of organization include the chief available forms in rural districts. We have cited the most important representatives of each type. There are doubtless organizations confined to particular states which we have not taken into account. But in the main the list given indicates the resources of the country.

THE BASIS OF ORGANIZATION

There are a number of basic principles that have special validity in the organization of rural people. Some of these we shall now set forth.

1. The first principle regards organizable areas. We have referred to this in several other connections and need only make brief mention of it here. The chief consideration has to do with the territorial basis of rural society. All those dwelling in a given geographic area normally form the constituency of rural organizations. The fact of occupational homogeneity, usually coupled with a high degree of race, economic, and cultural similarity, normally allows of organization on this basis. There are, of course, exceptions. In the South the color line and social stratification among the whites make it impossible to unite all in the same organization. Division has to be respected. Apart, however, from regions where such problems exist, the geographic area is the social area.

The question of size of area is another phase. This depends upon the number of people needed to constitute an efficient organization. Few norms have been established thus far. Surveys of rural churches indicate that fifty families are about the minimum on which a congregation can survive. Consolidated schools need seventy-

¹⁴ Lively, *op. cit.*

five to one hundred families. Other organizations have various requirements, according to their interests and cost of maintenance.

2. The family is generally recognized as the unit of most organizations in the country. This is due to the fact that it is a unit as regards the occupation and interests of its members. It may be said of country people that they act as households, not as individuals. In this there is a marked contrast with urban organization, which is based on individuals in almost total disregard of the family.

3. Another principle to be noted is that individuals behave as unities, and that the activities of organizations must, therefore, regard this fact. This, however, does not require that all interests shall be served by the same agency. To be sure, such was once the way of organizations. In the Middle Ages, when church and state were one and ruled over all spheres of activity, this was especially true. But the mode of the age in which we live is to specialize functions and delegate them to many agencies. Certainly, each interest can best be advanced by its own means. Individuals must, therefore, enter into many separate associations for the satisfaction of their several needs. These associations must, however, be aware of other associations pursuing other interests, and not seek to monopolize the latter. As Professor E. C. Lindeman has put it: "The interest which the specialized program represents will be endangered whenever it is presumed that this interest naturally excludes other valid interests."¹⁵ Contrary to this principle, there is some tendency for rural organizations to attempt all-inclusive programs. The Grange and some coöperatives are cases in point.

4. The conservation of leadership also is necessary in rural communities. At best the supply is always limited. The "saturation point" of organization is likely to be determined, not by community needs so much as by lack of

¹⁵ E. C. Lindeman, "Some Sociological Implications of the Farm Bureau Movement," A paper read at the American Sociological Society meeting, Washington, D. C., Dec. 1923.

available persons for leaders. As we have already indicated, there is a limit to profitable participation on the part of any individual. Much more is this true of leaders, for even tho they have extraordinary capacity, greater things are required of them than of the ordinary person. Hence their range of achievement is soon reached and exceeded. This often happens in rural communities, where one or two persons must furnish the directive ability for all organized activities. As Professor F. S. Chapin has pointed out: "Leadership in the community is usually vested in an inner circle of personnel common to several active groups."¹⁶

There may be a tendency to leadership polarization, if there is enough directive talent. There will thus be more than one inner circle of personnel. Under such circumstances it is suggested that "polarization of leadership within the community as between groups tends to elaborate until some leaders' range of elasticity for participation in group activity is passed, when some one or more groups begin to disintegrate until an equilibrium of group activity is restored."¹⁷ So it appears that the number and capacity of available leaders governs the amount and efficiency of organization.

5. Effective organizations are community grown, not manufactured importations. This does not mean that they may not be fostered by outside agencies, laboring to create a desire for them, but that this desire must be in response to abiding, conscious needs. Too often organization is "sold" to a community, ready made, merely because it seems to meet recognized wants. The people themselves do not formulate the program; they take it because it is guaranteed to work. Then they sit back and expect the machinery to run automatically, only to find that it does not, and to feel that they bought a gold brick. It is not that the organization is spurious, but that the people have not made it their own. They have participated from

¹⁶ F. S. Chapin, "Leadership and Group Activity," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, January-February, 1924, p. 145.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

a sense of duty, more than of need. This difficulty is both old and common. Too many excellent agencies make their appeal with just this outcome. Not a few coöperative associations, for instance, have had a brief day and gone to pieces from this cause. During the Great War and immediately following, several volunteer agencies of city origin sought to extend their activities into rural districts. Under war-time stress, they made headway. The Red Cross was a notable example. But, imposed from without, such agencies failed to take root. They did not grow out of rural mores; they were "put over" on the rural people, but not into their lives.

6. The principle of equality must be respected in rural organization. This is because the rural community is usually homogeneous, and people are conscious of likeness. They are united in sympathy before they are in utilitarian interests. Anything that disregards or offends the sympathetic sense hinders the forming of utilitarian bonds, and, conversely, anything that recognizes and fosters the sympathetic sense makes easier utilitarian relations. The democratic form of organization meets this requirement. By democratic we mean a system in which everybody has a voice and a vote; where all policies are openly arrived at thru discussion. The New England town meeting is the model organization of this type. Altho most organization in the country inclines to the democratic, there are tendencies to resort to other methods on the part of some agencies. This is particularly true of organizations whose interests are mainly urban, with headquarters in the cities.

7. Paternalistic methods do not create satisfactory conditions for organization. The independence of the farmer ought to safeguard him against the weakening influence of paternalistic forces, but it seems not to have done so. He has been the recipient of a great deal of service of one kind or another from state and Federal agencies. The departments of agriculture, the agricultural colleges and experiment stations, the States' Relation and Extension Services, The Farm Bureau, and government commissions

for the control of pests and diseases and the promotion of other projects have all been catering to the farmer for many years. In turn, the farmer has developed the habit of depending upon these agencies or other aid from the same sources when he is confronted with any problem. In a measure this is good, for there are problems too big for local groups or private movements to handle. And yet, if a disposition of dependency is built up so that when any need is felt it is to be assumed that the government should supply it, the result is a state pauperization. Much of this attitude is encountered among farmers. It is expressed in the notion that, since taxes are paid to secure services, from the tax receiver all services should issue. Thus volunteer effort and community initiative come to be discounted or neglected. Wherefore, if government does not act, important needs go by default. The farmer is not altogether to blame for this growing attitude. Government agents and field workers too often consciously and unconsciously encourage it. They view with jealous eyes the work of volunteer societies seeking to stimulate self-help. The government agent is not infrequently more interested in promoting his job than in the permanent good of the people among whom he is working. But the development of effective organization and of a socially self-reliant country folk must rest on self-help and not on paternal aid.¹⁸

8. The full utilization of existing organizations before new ones are essayed is another principle to be regarded. By this means a much needed conservation of community resources is secured. At first thought this principle might seem to be at variance with the third one mentioned, but this is not necessarily so, since it does not ignore the advantages of diversified structure. It would seek only to forestall overorganization and social waste. Naturally, every new agency costs effort and money. Therefore, so long as old ones can meet new demands without sacrificing the gains of specialization, they should do so. Often

¹⁸ N. L. Sims, "Social Programs and Rural Life," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, June-July, 1922, pp. 17-25.

a church, a school or a coöperative society must temporarily be a "Jack-of-all-trades" in community affairs. Activities can thus be nurtured till they can stand alone, if a separate organization becomes desirable. This method ought always to be followed with reference to a new organization in the rural community. There is, of course, much inclination to think that a new need must be met by some new agency. So an organization is launched that draws its strength from existing ones and adds to the community load unnecessarily. Overorganization thus arises and the community becomes a victim of its wasteful methods.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

So far in this discussion we have had in mind only special interest organizations. We have pointed out that normally there must be as many such groupings as the community has fundamental interests. It has also been suggested that there may be duplication and overlapping, resulting in unnecessary competition and waste. The problem of community efficiency, therefore, arises. It is that to which we now come.

If in forming groups to meet their needs, people acted with social wisdom and foresight, we might find communities aplenty with inadequate organization and neglected interests, but we would hardly find them with numerous special interest groupings engaged in the same activities while other needs suffered. Nor would we find them working at cross purposes to their own harm. It so happens, however, that rural communities, open country and village alike, have developed in a purely haphazard fashion. There has rarely been any engineering of the enterprise on the part of the whole for the larger good. Private, special, rival caprice instead of public, general, harmonious plan has run riot. So the problem of community confronts us from a new angle. How can collectivity be secured and the greater communal interests be furthered where people are organized in many special interest groups? This is the question to be faced.

The answer is found in what is called community organization as distinguished from special interest organization. Such a scheme looks to a unity of the whole with diversity of parts. It involves the correlation and harmonization of all organized agencies of the community, so that they may act unitedly in all that concerns the collective life. The aim is communal welfare, or, as Dean A. R. Mann has put it: "It is to relate the forces, organized and unorganized within a community . . . that the best economic and social standards of that unity shall be maintained, and that intelligent direction and continuing united effort shall be brought to bear upon the essential economic and social needs so that they shall be promoted toward well-considered goals."¹⁹

Community organization calls for some sort of centralized agency or council. There are different ways of securing this. One provides for a council or directorate chosen at large by a meeting of the whole community. Special interest organizations, as such, are ignored in selecting the body. Once chosen, the council creates committees to look after the various interests. Thru these interest committees an effort is made to get the coöperation of all agencies in a common program. This plan might work under favorable conditions, but it has serious faults. One arises from the fact that it ignores the existing adherence of individuals to special interest groups. A second objection is the lack of any definite integration of these groups as groups. A third comes from the danger that the council will be looked upon as just another organization of the special interest class instead of being considered an all-embracing agency.²⁰

A second form of council is secured where representatives of the several organizations sit in a central body. Members not identified with any special agency are not sought. The plan is thus a scheme of federation. This

¹⁹ Address July 4, 1918, before National Community Center Association.

²⁰ Dwight Sanderson, "Some Fundamentals of Rural Community Organization," *Proceedings Third National Country Life Conference*, 1920, pp. 74-76.

council, like the first, may carry on its work thru special interest committees, seeking to unite all organizations with similar interests in common undertakings. Here again there is weakness, for the first allegiance of each member of the federation is to the organization he represents and not to the federation. Moreover, the federation is of agencies only and not that of interests.²¹

A third type is secured by combining the first two, that is, by uniting in a central body both representatives of organizations as such and members elected at large for the whole community. This plan was worked out in application to rural communities by Morgan and Butterfield at the Massachusetts Agricultural College, and applied in a few towns of that state.²² It has all the advantages of the first two types and avoids most of their faults.

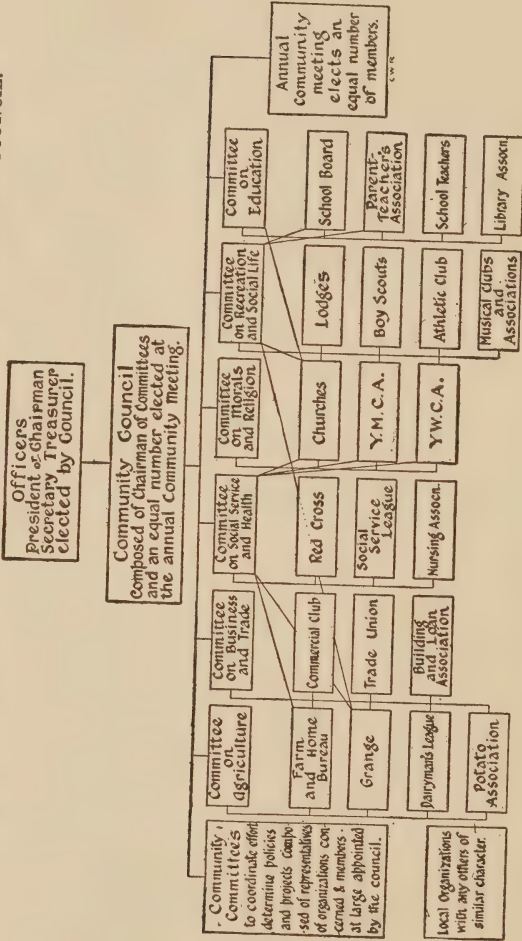
A fourth type has been proposed by Professor Dwight Sanderson. His plan calls for a council made up of representatives of common interests rather than of existing organizations. The following diagram reveals the scheme in detail.

It will be observed that the special interest committees are basic. Each is composed of accredited delegates of all organizations having anything to do with the given interest. This means that any organization may be represented on several committees, for obviously many existing agencies are not so highly specialized as to be mutually exclusive. Thus, the committee on Recreation and Social Life might be composed of delegates from a dozen or more organizations, if perchance there were so many in the community giving some attention to this interest. In the assumed case of the diagram, we have the lodges, Boy Scouts, Athletic Club, Musical Associations, Grange, Churches, School Board, Parent-Teachers' Association, the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. In a community of

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² E. L. Morgan, "Mobilizing the Rural Community," The Massachusetts Agricultural College, *Extension Bulletin No. 23*.

FIGURE 84.—SUGGESTED PLAN OF ORGANIZATION FOR A COMMUNITY COUNCIL.²³



²³ Dwight Sanderson, "Some Fundamentals of Rural Community Organization," *Proceedings Third National Country Life Conference*, 1920, p. 67. University of Chicago Press, 1921.

few agencies a single organization would often furnish the special interest committees.

The council proper is then made up of the chairmen of the committees and an equal number elected at an annual meeting of the community. In this way it is developed out of the fundamental concerns of the community and not from the activities of organizations and interested persons.

These plans of organization would seem to be sufficient for securing united action by community agencies. But they are better on paper than in operation. As a matter of fact, there are almost no open country or village communities where any schemes of this sort are in use. The Institute of Social and Religious Research reports that it found no village in its surveys where a council was successfully coördinating the social groups and organizations, and it had found only one case in all its rural studies where such a scheme was successfully functioning.²⁴ In Massachusetts after years of faithful effort on the part of a field specialist in organization no enduring council was established in any town.²⁵

What is it that hinders such highly desirable enterprises? Leaving out of consideration the lack of knowledge of such schemes, there are a number of difficulties in the way of their being established.

1. One is no feeling of need. Sanderson thinks that people do not desire community organization until they realize that special agencies are not achieving results wanted. Even conflict and antagonisms that consume their energies may be enjoyed and perpetuated until some needed end cannot be attained without joint action. When a community of itself discovers its failings, then it may be prepared to act unitedly.²⁵ But communities, like individuals, do not habitually see their own faults and set out to remedy them.

2. A second cause is lack of socially-minded leaders

²⁴ Brunner, Hughes and Patten, *American Agricultural Villages*, footnote p. 206.

²⁵ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

either from within or from without the community, who will point out the unmet needs calling for joint action and arouse the various agencies to enlist in the joint enterprise.²⁶

3. But given a feeling of need and leaders who can show how to meet the situation, and still the scheme may not work. For every coördinating enterprise must have a program. It must somehow get into action and keep at it or else lapse into desuetude. The purpose of the several committees is, of course, to push each interest. But here we find the chief trouble, for it is rare indeed to find a village or open country community with enough capable people to man five or six committees. They will not ordinarily be specialists in any line of leadership, nor will they have the time required for the work. The result will be one or two active committees and a number of dead ones. Thus the program breaks down and the coördinating scheme comes to nought.

4. Another difficulty lies in the artificiality inherent in such organization. The constituent agencies are mostly natural functional groups and the bond by which they are united in committees is at best only a program of projects. As such it is always in danger of being looked upon as something artificial, and, however important, will have enough of the artificial about it to render it insecure. If the committee finds no work to do or does not succeed in doing any, its bond is quickly dissolved.

These strictures on community organization are presented to explain why it has failed to take root, not to condemn the idea. In cities, where there is abundant talent and funds to be had for hiring specialists, organizations can be coördinated in this manner. Chambers of Commerce are, as a matter of fact, organized with project committees, which carry thru successful programs. Even special interest organizations like the Farm Bureau find it possible to have project committees working on their problems. But to integrate a whole community seems to

²⁶ *Ibid.*

be quite another matter. It is somewhat like uniting independent nations in a world federation—something highly intriguing, easily planned, but most difficult of realization.

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INDEX

- Abel, J. F., 324, 392
- Activities, Collective, 631
- Adams, H. B., 536, 551
- Addams, Jane, 219-20
- Advancement, 502, 504-505
- Age, Distribution, 56-57, 61
- Agents,
 - County, 450
 - Demonstration, 194, 450-451
 - Farm, 167
- Agricultural,
 - Almanac, 165
 - Art, 277 ff.
 - Blocs, 230
 - Commission of Inquiry, 435
 - Community, 511 ff., 532 ff.
 - Experiment Stations, 437
 - Extension, 294
 - Fair, 380
 - Group, 107
 - Laborers, 208
 - Ladder, 178-179
 - Machinery, 137
 - Management, 463
 - Marketing, 602
 - Population, 45
 - Production, 483
 - States, 46
 - Units of Production, 445
 - Workers, 196
- Agriculture,
 - Basis of Culture, 158
 - Beginnings of, 156-157
 - Census of, 32
 - Commercialized, 235, 242-243, 584
 - Department of, 22, 46, 103, 117, 119, 126-128, 209, 470, 493, 495
 - Depression, 11, 136
 - Difficulty with, 468
 - Employed in, 120
 - Foundation of Village, 604-605
 - International Institute of, 529
- Agriculture—*Continued*
 - Mechanization of, 239-240
 - One-drop, 353
 - Process, 10
 - Scientific, 525
 - Self-sufficient, 584
 - State Department of, 623
 - Villages engaged in, 595
 - Yearbook, 65
- Almack, J. C., 598
- Alpine, 110, 518
- Amana Community, 545-546
- America, 111, 121
 - Spanish, 181
- American,
 - Agricultural communities, 532 ff.
 - Agriculture, 54
 - Blunder, 609 ff.
 - Citizenship, 6
 - Civilization, 65
 - Conditions, 15
 - Country Life Association, 563
 - Farmer, 23, 84, 167, 232
 - Farm home, 263 ff.
 - Federation of Labor, 665
 - Ideals, 12
 - Leaders, 103
 - Library Association, 290
 - Marital state, 250
 - Myth, 102
 - Nation, 4
 - Picture of, 5
 - Stock, 65, 67, 347, 352
- Ammon, 110
- Amusements, 139, 383
- Anderson, Mary, 276
- Anglo-Celtic stock, 350
- Apprenticeship, 278
- Areas,
 - Crop, 613
 - Neighborhood, 579
 - "Rurban," 567, 583
 - School, 570

- Armentrout, W. W., 198, 203, 213
- Army,
 German, 79
 Mental tests, 84
 Rural, 82
 Urban, 82
- Aronson, Hugh, 269
- Art,
 Of cultivation, 158, 164, 277 ff.
- Arvold, A. G., 400
- Ashley, 185
- Association,
 And play, 374
 Burley Tobacco Growers', 642-644
 Coöperative, 336, 438, 630 ff.
 Forms of, 599
 Local, 669 ff.
 Mississippi Staple Cotton, 641
 Recreation, 668
 Sunday School, 336
 Texas Cotton Growers', 641
 Washington Wheat Growers', 641
- Assyria, 6
- Atlas,
 Rand McNally's, 32
- Attitudes,
 Changing, 238 ff.
 Educational, 279 ff.
 Psychological, 215 ff.
- Australians, 157
- Automobile, 381, 452, 493, 604
- Bagley, W. C., 301, 308, 321, 323
- Bailey, Illena M., 265
- Bailey, L. H., 12, 13, 16, 244, 257, 301, 318, 396, 398, 400, 439, 580, 582
- Bailey, Dr. Pearce, 87, 112
- Baker, O. E., 65, 271, 274, 613
- Baker, Ray S., 181-182
- Balance,
 Principle of, 442-443
- Bankruptcies, 473-474
- Barrett, C. S., 436, 681
- Bashore, H. B., 267-268
- Bateson, Mary, 520
- Bathtubs, 271
- "Bees", 376-377, 379
- Behaviorists, 217-218
- Behavior mechanism, 217
- Belgium, 65
- Belknap, Helen O., 355
- Belt,
 Corn, 270
 Cotton, 270
- Bernard, L. L., 236, 244
- Betts, G. H., 301
- Bing, P. C., 301
- Birth,
 Control, 258
 Rates, 69 ff.
 Registration area, 74-75
- Bizzell, W. B., 182, 187-188, 267, 270, 466
- Black Death, 524
- Bogardus, E. S., 244
- Bookwalter, J. W., 444
- Bordeau, M. L., 156, 158, 161
- Borders, Karl, 531
- Boy Scouts, 371
- Bradley, F. S., 200, 203, 213, 286
- Brannen, C. O., 117, 169-170, 551
- Branson, E. C., 180-181, 188, 390-391, 529, 531, 534
- Brim, O. G., 296-297
- British Isles, 65, 67, 512, 515-516
- Brues, Thomas, 405-406, 463,
- Brunner, E., 348, 358, 365
- Brunner, Hughes and Patten, 599, 602, 605, 608, 679
- Bücher, Carl, 430, 588
- Buell, R. L., 131
- Busk, S. J., 444, 681
- Bureau,
 Children's, 198
 Farm, 292, 336, 607, 662, 666, 673
 Federation, 438
 Of Agricultural Economics, 13, 32, 46, 119, 123, 175, 184, 634, 636
 Of Economic Research, 478
 Of Education, 289
 Of Reclamation, 617 ff., 625
 Weather, 232
- Burr, Walter, 330, 337, 681
- Burritt, M. C., 681

- Butterfield, K. L., 12, 16, 168,
188, 297, 336, 581-582, 677,
681
- Byrne, Harriet A., 213
- California Fruit Growers' Ex-
change, 639
- Calkins, Marion C., 622
- Campbell, J. C., 330, 349
- Campfire Girls, 336
- Cance, A. E., 114, 148
- Capital,
Farm, 471
- Capitalist, 477
- Carney, Mabel, 322
- Carver, T. N., 155, 161, 163, 213,
254
- Castle Hayne, N.C., 624
- Catholicism, 327
- Cattell, J. M., 105-106, 109-112
- Census
Analysis, 60
Federal, 22, 46, 132
Period, 124
- Census Bureau, 43, 45, 137, 307,
596
- Chambers of Commerce, 680
- Change, 230
And play, 376-384
Deterministic, 452
In territory, 592
Methods of, 446 ff.
Of Church, 334
Rural, 445 ff.
- Chapin, F. S., 672
- Chapin, R. C., 500
- Characteristics,
Mental, 83 ff.
Of communal village, 542
Of country villages, 594 ff.
Of farm family, 252 ff.
Physical, 54 ff.
Religion, 327 ff.
- Chautauquas, 380, 386
- Children,
At work, 196 ff.
Defects of, 80, 89
Farm, 59, 103, 109, 203
Health of, 79
Injuries to, 201-202
Number per woman, 71-72
Play, 391
- Children—*Continued*
School, 281
- China, 155, 251, 512
Empress of, 454
- Chinese, 62, 251
- Christensen, C. L., 650
- Christianity, 326 ff.
- Church,
Abandoned, 344, 353
Disintegration, 18
Duplication, 344, 599
Equipment, 359
Membership, 338 ff.
Mission, 352
Missionary societies, 13
Of the New Day, 335 ff.
Pastorless, 354
Rural, 10, 332-336, 338 ff.
United, 364
- City—see Urban also
- Center of society, 5
- Church membership, 341
- Drift, 18, 121
- Environment, 221 ff.
- Manufacturing, 54
- Streets, 4
- Suicide, 98
- Tyranny of, 430-431
- Versus country, 432 ff.
- Wealth, 16
- Civil War, 10, 114, 434
- Civilization,
American, 65
Ancient, 6
Beginning of, 158, 512
Commercial, 6
Country, 21
Dual, 3
Measure of, 403
Old World, 513
Phases of, 24
Progress of, 490
Retarded, 350
Urban-industrial, 7
Western, 215
- Clannishness, 251-252
- Clark, Taliaferro, 79
- Clarke, E. L., 107-111
- Class,
Conflict, 441
Land-owning, 145
Peasant, 533
Professional, 109, 127-128, 133

Class—*Continued*

- Social, 490
- Tenant, 184
- Clay, Henry, 433
- Clopper, E. N., 213, 373, 391, 393, 413
- Clubs,
 - Boys' and Girls', 295, 336, 382, 397, 450-451, 493
 - Farmers', 382, 399, 669
 - Women's, 292, 315, 669-670
- Coats, T. J., 305
- Colonial,
 - Communities, 532 ff.
- Colonization, 612
- Commission on Country Life, 12, 135
 - Report of, 13
- Commodities, Consumption of, 469
- Communal life, 528 ff.
- Communication, 241-242, 453
- Community,
 - Amana, 545-546
 - Among Negroes, 575-576
 - Among whites, 573
 - Ancient, 511 ff.
 - Buildings, 398-400
 - Center, 583
 - Churches, 362, 365
 - Council, 677 ff.
 - Decay, 186
 - Defined, 580 ff.
 - Established, 141
 - Functions, 300 ff.
 - In America, 532 ff.
 - In the West, 545 ff.
 - Merits and demerits of, 626 ff.
 - Model, 619
 - Mormon, 547 ff.
 - Names of, 574-575
 - Neglected, 357
 - New Harmony, 545
 - Oneida, 545
 - Organization, 18
 - Planned, 512, 609 ff.
 - Playgrounds, 398-400
 - Present day, 552 ff.
 - Rural, 8, 132, 552
 - "Rurban", 552 ff., 567
 - Social agencies of, 390
 - Spirit, 451
 - Uninstitutionalized, 221

Community—*Continued*

- Village, 139, 512 ff.
- Welfare of, 145
- Zoar, 545
- Companionship, 222
- Compulsory Schooling, 323
- Comte, Auguste, 7
- Connecticut Valley, 114
 - Tobacco Association, 641
- Conservatism, 229-231
- Contacts, 17-18, 220, 229
 - Method of, 453, 583
- Conway, New Hampshire, 542, 545
- Cooley, C. H., 140
- Coöperation, 17-18, 212, 243, 352, 361-362, 374, 455, 529, 622
 - Rise of, 632 ff.
- Coöperatives, 602
 - Business only, 645
 - Effects of, 646 ff.
 - Membership in, 636
 - Number of, 635
 - Types of, 637-639
- Cotton Kingdom, 492
- Coulter, J. L., 616, 650
- Council, Rural, 269
- Country,
 - Child, 218 ff., 222
 - City versus, 432 ff.
 - Districts and health, 404 ff.
 - Life, 140, 299
 - Life Association, 563
 - Population, 50-51
 - Villages, 587 ff.
- Countryman, 445-446
- County unit, 427
- Croppers, 66, 117, 174, 180-181
- Cross, E. A., 308, 310
- Cubberly, E. P., 324
- Culture, 67, 148, 155, 186
 - Medium, 226
 - Rural, 299, 453
 - Urban, 453
- Curry, Ida, 681
- Curtis, H. S., 394, 400-401
- Customs,
 - Farmers, 493
 - Labor, 189 ff.
 - Play, 372
 - Social, 591

- Dairymen's League, 563, 566
 Davenport, C. B., 143
 Davenport, F. M., 329, 337, 331
 Davies, George R., 105-106
 Davis, Barnes and others, 368, 373
 Death rates, 69 ff., 403-404
 Deerfield, town of, 542-543
 Defects,
 Causes of rejections for, 78
 Mental, 87-89, 95
 Of children, 80
 Physical, 75, 77
 Delhi Colony, 622
 Demesne, 521
 Democracy, 431
 Social, 600
 Demonstration, 294-295
 Method, 415-416, 449-450
 Denmark, 170, 400, 446, 528, 620
 Denominations, 340 ff.
 Denune, Perry P., 608
 Dewey, Evelyn, 280-281, 297, 324, 445, 456
 Dewey, John, 627
 Diarrhea, 406-408
 Dickey, J. A., 181, 188
 Disease,
 Cause of, 413 ff.
 Cost of, 423
 Record of, 416
 Ditchfield, P. H., 515-517, 520-521, 531
 Divorcee, 249 ff.
 Domestic Science, 299
 Douglass, H. P., 148, 394, 591, 593, 601, 608, 627
 Drebert, Ernest, 425
 Dresler, F. B., 164
 Drift—See Migration and Movements
 Dunn, F. W., 324
 Durham Colony, 621-623
 Ecclesiasticus, 111
 Economic,
 Activities, 221
 Conditions, 11
 Factor, 645
 Influences, 557
 Organization, 599
 Pressure, 135
 Stratification, 578
 Education,
 And work, 205
 Betterment of, 313 ff.
 Method of, 456
 Of teachers, 309
 Purpose of, 296 ff.
 Religious, 360
 Retardation, 206
 Rural, 139, 277 ff.
 U. S. Bureau of, 103
 Vocational, 278 ff., 294-295, 437
 Edwards, Alba M., 596
 Egypt, 6, 155
 Elements,
 Cultural, 153 ff., 223
 Ethnic, 63-65
 Extra-personal, 461
 Structural, 511 ff.
 Vital—see Population
 Elsworth, R. H., 635
 Emotions, 374, 377
 Engel, Dr. Ernst, 500
 England, 104, 120, 121, 161, 269, 514, 516
 New, 533 ff.
 Nobility of, 534
 Norman, 518
 Old, 533
 Thirteenth-century, 522
 Environment, 221, 223, 225, 226
 Epileptics, 91-93
 Equity Society, 662, 664-665
 Escalante, Utah, 548 ff.
 Europe, 104, 120, 161, 431, 526, 528, 529, 625
 Evans, Anne M., 681
 Everett, Marcia A., 324
 Exodus, Rural, 122, 123-124
 Expenditure, scale of, 489
 Experiment Stations, 14, 437
 Exploitation, 429, 432-433
 Extension,
 Agricultural, 294
 Service, 295, 673
 Fagel, E. M., 164
 Fairs, 380
 Falconer, J. L., 469
 Family, 191, 246 ff.
 And standard of living, 491
 As unit of organization, 671
 Democratic, 255

Family—*Continued*

- Expenditure of owner, 499
- Expenditure of tenant, 499
- Needs of, 261-262
- Of workingmen, 501
- Patriarchal, 255-256
- Problems of, 259 ff.
- Size of, 247
- Solidarity, 258
- Typical, 253

Farm,

- Abandoned, 10-12, 142
- Bloc, 438, 452, 667
- Bonanza, 464
- Bureau, 167, 336, 397, 452, 666
- Capital, 471
- Children, 203
- Developing, 619-620
- Dwellers, 31,
- Family, 191
- Homes, 194, 271 ff.
- Journals, 292 ff.
- Labor, 189, 208
- Laborer's income, 470
- Management, 467
- Modal size, 465
- Operators, 208, 284
- Owners, 177, 185
- Owners' incomes, 482
- Property, 179
- Relation to villages, 602
- Size of, 351
- Tenants, 171 ff.
- Units, 138

Farmers, 23, 30

- American, 648
- As capitalists, 477
- Danish, 648
- English, 168
- French, 168
- Gentlemen, 148
- German, 168, 530
- Income of, 461 ff.
- Italian, 168
- Number, 31
- Owner, 141, 287
- Play, 368 ff.
- Regrouping of, 584-585
- Religion, 327 ff.
- Retired, 133, 184
- Scientific, 167

Farmers' Alliance, 11

- Children, 109

Farmers' Alliance —*Continued*

- Clubs, 382
- Income, 474 ff.
- I. Q.'s, 84-86
- Marketing, 212
- Net worth, 472
- Savings, 434
- Savings Psychology, 215 ff.
- Taxes, 433-434
- Union, 662, 665
- Wife, 254

Farming

- Business of, 221
- Capitalistic, 526
- Commercial, 10, 443
- Community, 626 ff.
- Hazardous, 202
- Types of, 170

Farmstead, 5, 191, 193, 222, 263,
412, 414, 526-527, 611

Fate, 225

Fay, C. Luther, 608

Fecundity, 68

Federal,

- Board of Vocational Education, 295
- Bureau of Education, 306, 312
- Census, 307
- Children's Bureau, 199
- Department of Agriculture, 194
- Farm Loan, 146, 435
- Government, 617-618

Federal Council of Churches of
Christ,

- Research Committee of, 644

Feebleminded, 87, 89-93

Ferrell, J. A., 411, 418, 419, 427

Field,

- Common, 536-537
- System, 515

Fifteenth century, 7

Finney, 331

Fisher, Dorothy Canfield, 315

Fiske, G. W., 112

Flies, 406 ff.

Food, 411-412

Foreign-born, 61-62, 63, 65, 67,
73, 76, 129

Foster, R. G., 386

France, 65, 104, 120, 526, 528,
529

Frankness, 237-238

- Friday, David, 147, 191, 192,
 435, 464
 Frontier, 137
 Fry, C. L., 32, 60
 Fuller, Raymond G., 198

 Galpin, C. J., 17, 148, 213, 239,
 245, 276, 371, 552, 553, 581,
 585, 605, 606
 Galpin and Nassen, 53
 Games, 368, 369, 374
 Ring, 379
 Garland, Hamlin, 373
 Garnett, W. E., 662
 Gaston, Herbert, 444
 Gault, R. H., 79
 Genius, 105, 109, 598
 Germany, 58, 65, 120, 400, 430,
 512, 526, 528, 529, 620
 Gibbs, Winifred S., 508
 Giddings, F. H., 216
 Gill and Pinchot, 331, 337, 365
 Gillette, J. M., 24, 46, 51, 53, 69,
 80, 112, 121, 122, 129, 148,
 161, 188, 213, 402, 581, 593
 Gillin, J. L., 374, 401
 Gleaners, 664, 665
 Gobineau, Arthur, 279
 Goldenweiser, E. C., 174, 188
 Goldsmith, Oliver, 525
 Good Roads Act, 437
 Goods,
 Consumed, 496
 For advancement, 502, 504, 505
 Furnished by farm, 494, 495,
 498, 499
 Merchandising of, 603-604
 Value of, 497
 Government, 594, 617 ff.
 Fostered farm organizations,
 666
 Paternalism, 625
 Grange, 11, 223, 291, 336, 380,
 397, 438, 563, 566, 581, 582,
 662, 663-664
 Granger movement, 11
 Gras, N. S. B., 161, 188
 Gray, L. C., 141, 175, 177, 178,
 183-184, 188, 470-472, 478,
 480, 481, 613-614
 Great Society, 23
 Greece, 6
 Greeley, 137

 Greenbackism, 448
 Greist, O. H., 324
 Gresham, Newton, 665
 Group,
 Factors in, 558 ff.
 Functional, 584-585
 Play, 219
 Primary, 218 ff., 563, 569, 571
 Rural, 556 ff.
 Secondary, 571, 630-632
 Territorial, 584
 Groves, E. R., 139, 148, 217, 244,
 260-262
 Gumpłowicz, Ludwig, 430

 Haber, Dr., 87, 112
 Hadley, town of, 537 ff.
 Haggard, H. R., 268
 Hamlets, 34, 552
 Harmony, 441
 Harris, A. L., 124-125
 Harris, Corra, 225, 226
 Hart, Hornell, 86, 87, 116, 125,
 126, 143, 144
 Hart, J. K., 324, 401, 656, 658,
 681
 Harvey, Mrs., 456
 Hatch Act, 437
 Hawthorn, H. B., 21, 660, 661
 Hayes, A. W., 318, 320, 392
 Hayes, E. C., 652
 Health, 402 ff.
 Means of improving, 415 ff.
 Heritage,
 Agricultural, 223
 Cultural, 15,
 Social, 153
 Hesiod, 156
 Hibbard, B. J., 633, 636
 Hieronymus, R. E., 580
 Hired Girl, 195
 Hired Man, 206 ff.
 Hoffer, C. R., 24
 Holmes, G. K., 127, 148, 188
 Homes, 194, 218, 263 ff.
 Conveniences in, 270 ff.
 Farm, 258
 Hospitality of, 258
 Needs, 273 ff.
 Overcrowding of, 267
 Hone, N., 520
 Hooker, Elizabeth R., 365
 Hookworm, 408, 411, 417-419

- Hospitals,
 For mental diseases, 99 ff.
 Rural, 425-427
 House, red school, 305
 Housing, 264 ff.
 Howe, F. C., 650
 Howells, Owen, 567, 581, 583
 Hrdlicka, Ales, 67
 Hudson, W. H., 540, 542
 Humanitarian forces, 7
 Husbandry, 163, 381

 Illiteracy, 282 ff.
 Immigrants, 127, 129-132, 136,
 141, 342
 Income,
 Current, 474
 Farmers', 461 ff.
 From investments, 475-476
 Laborers', 470
 Of occupational groups, 479
 Range of farmers', 481
 Tenants', 480
 India, 512
 Indians, 62, 512
 Individual, 216, 218, 222
 The habitat of, 225
 Individualism, 226-228, 332, 394,
 453-454, 631
 Industrial,
 Belt, 34
 Relations Commission, 616
 Industry, 138, 468
 Inexperience, 311
 Ingalls, W. R., 470
 Instability,
 Institutional, 186
 Population, 186
 Institute of Social and Religious
 Research, 14, 54, 61, 119, 339,
 358, 363, 385, 590, 592, 595,
 606, 679
 Institutions
 As neighborhood factors, 568
 Awakening of educational, 398
 For epileptics, 91-95
 For feeble-minded, 91-95
 Instability of, 186
 Property, 224
 Religious, 349
 Interechurch World Movement,
 339

 Inter-community movements, 116
 ff.
 International Institute of Agri-
 culture, 529
 Interstate Commerce Commission,
 664
 Irrigation, 355, 358
 Irvine, Helen Douglas, 513, 523,
 524, 529, 531, 631
 Isolation, 223, 352, 491-492
 Italians, 130
 Italy, 529

 Japanese, 62, 131
 Jefferson, Thomas, 431
 Jenks and Lauck, 131
 Jews, 130-131
 Johnson, R. H., 90, 91, 112

 Keller, A. G., 162, 448, 453, 457
 Kelley, O. H., 663
 Kile, O. M., 633
 King, L. R., 309
 King, W. I., 470, 473
 Kirkpatrick, E. L., 487, 491, 493,
 495-496, 498, 500, 502, 503,
 504, 505, 506, 507, 508
 Knapp, S. A., 294, 450, 681
 Kolb, J. H., 289, 554, 556, 563,
 585
 Kropotkin, Peter, 513
 Ku Klux Klan, 22, 234, 331, 393

 Labor,
 American Federation of, 665
 Child, 196 ff.
 Customs, 189 ff.
 Farm, 136
 Hired, 195
 Human, 463
 Manual, 191
 Saving devices, 274
 Seasonal, 128, 209 ff., 371-372
 Laborer, 178
 LaFollette movement, 448
 Laissez-faire, 609, 611
 Lammas Day, 515, 537
 Land,
 Colonization of, 620 ff.
 Dear, 132
 Hunger, 610
 Monopoly, 186, 616
 Source of wealth, 462

- Land—*Continued*
 Speculation, 13, 146
 Survey, 610
 System, 168 ff.
 Tenure, 171
 Unoccupied, 137
 Unsettled, 612-617
 Landis, B. Y., 343, 346, 365,
 639, 644, 651
 Landlordism, 176
 Absentee, 10, 133, 145, 269
 Laws,
 Of conduct, 455
 Of socialization, 455
 Of town and country relations,
 605-607
 Leaders, 103
 In villages, 597-598
 Polarization of, 672
 Leisure, 370
 Lescohier, D. D., 209, 210, 211,
 213
 Lever Act, 437
 Library,
 Facilities, 289 ff.
 Service, 290
 Lighting, 272
 Lindeman, E. C., 648, 671, 681
 Literature, 284
 Lively, C. E., 50, 52, 289, 344-346,
 386, 389, 427, 661-662, 668,
 681
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, 110, 111
 Lumsden, L. L., 402, 404, 408,
 427, 428
 Lundberg, Emma O., 88
 Lundquist, G. A., 207
 Luxemburg, 65

 McClenahan, B. A., 681
 McConnell, C. M., 205
 McCullough, R. W., 363
 MacDougall, John, 138
 MacGarr, L., 23, 681
 Maciver, R. M., 580
 MacLear, Anna B., 535, 551
 McMahon, Theresa S., 508
 McNary-Haugen Bill, 483
 MacRea, Hugh, 131, 624, 625
 Machinery, Farm, 434, 464, 483
 Magazines, 292
 Magical, 164
 Maine, Henry Sumner, 513
 Maitland, F. W., 516, 531
 Malaria, 406-407
 Management, Farm, 467
 Mann, A. R., 676
 Manors,
 Feudal, 6, 516 ff.
 In America, 534 ff.
 People of, 520 ff.
 Manu, 156
 Manufacturing, 463-464
 Class, 597
 In villages, 595, 603
 Map, 631
 Marital state, 247 ff.
 Marketing, 212 ff., 602
 Markets, world, 443
 Marschner, F. J., 613
 Marshall, Alfred, 488
 Martin, E. D., 657
 Martin, O. B., 301
 Masters, V. I., 348, 349
 Matthews, Ellen N., 197, 198
 Maxey, K. L., 405, 407
 Mead, Ellwood, 188, 619, 621,
 623, 629
 Mecklin, J. M., 255
 Mental picture, 4, 5
 Michigan University, 12
 Middle Ages, 6, 430, 657
 Middle West, 8, 9, 10, 11, 29, 40,
 55, 115
 Migration,
 Amount of, 121-122
 Cause of, 132 ff.
 Effects of, 139 ff.
 Farms to villages, 118 ff.
 Inter-community, 116 ff.
 Inter-state, 114, 116
 Of farm families, 119-120
 Of labor, 209 ff.
 Rural, 114
 Mind,
 Magical, 231 ff.
 Of hoe-farmer, 240
 Peasant, 239
 Rural, 215 ff.
 Static, 224
 Ministerial vivisection, 352, 358
 Ministers,
 Rural, 338 ff.
 Salaries of, 356
 Ministry, absentee, 348
 Mir, 526-527

- Missionary aid, 351
 Mitchel, W. C., 433
 Mobilization, 240-241
 Modernism, 332
 Morality, 145
 Mores, 162, 164, 448
 Morgan, E. L., 567, 581, 582, 583, 585, 677, 681
 Mormonism, 331, 355
 Morrell Act, 437
 Morse and Brunner, 32, 34, 338, 339, 359, 365
 Mosquitoes, 405-406
 Movements,
 Agrarian, 442
 Back to land, 127, 128
 Causal factors, 132 ff.
 Effects of, 139 ff.
 Granger, 442
 Of rural people, 113 ff.
 Play, 399-400
 Moving pictures, 383, 392
 Mt. Horeb, 119, 133
 Muerman, J. C., 306
 Müller, Max, 157
 Mutual aid, 513

 Nason, W. C., 383, 428
 National,
 Board of Farm Organizations, 438
 Bureau of Economic Research, 478
 Child Labor Committee, 199, 265, 282
 Dividend, 432
 Educational Association, 108
 Income, 479
 Industrial Conference Board, 434, 468, 474, 478, 482
 League ball, 368
 Menace of bad health, 305
 Natural harmony, 441
 Nature, 463
 Nearing, Scott, 105, 106
 Negro, 62, 73, 74, 114, 124-125, 181, 200-201, 266, 271, 284, 312, 347, 534, 594
 Neighborhood, 139, 219, 233, 374, 554 ff.
 Criteria, 563
 Distinguished from community, 583
 Neighborhood—*Continued*
 Gatherings, 564
 Names of, 557, 562
 Negro, 568
 Types of, 564-565
 Nelson, L., 547, 548, 549, 551, 626, 628
 Netherlands, 65
 New England, 11, 40, 63, 91, 106, 114
 Towns, 29, 90, 97, 375
 Villages, 533 ff., 535 ff., 591, 596
 New Holland, N. C., 624
 New York, 11
 College of Agriculture, 12
 News, 292 ff.
 Newspaper, 282, 292 ff., 439
 Nineteenth century, 7
 Non-partisan League, 230-231, 439, 448, 606
 Nordic Myth, 66, 67, 518
 Norman,
 Conquest, 518
 England, 518
 Manor, 518 ff.
 Norris, Frank, 444
 North, C. C., 428
 Northwest, 40

 Occupational,
 Activities, 226
 Groups, 84, 85, 107, 139
 Interests, 147
 Occupations, 197, 370-371, 479
 Classification of, 596
 Farming, 190, 221
 Landlords, 183
 Non-agricultural, 185
 Urban, 224 ff.
 Village, 595
 Odin, Alfred, 104, 107, 109
 Officers, truant, 324
 Ogburn, W. F., 457, 502
 Ogden, H. N., 428
 Old World, 104, 148, 167-168, 193, 445, 512, 513
 Olmstead, F. L., 259
 Ordinance of 1788, 611
 Organization,
 Adequate, 147, 660 ff.
 Basis of, 670 ff.

Organization—*Continued*

- Church, 347
- Community, 550, 600
- Coöperative, 632 ff.
- Experimental social, 7
- Farmers', 223
- Function of, 654-655
- Functional, 630 ff.
- Health, 416-417, 419 ff.
- Metropolitan, 8
- National Farmers', 663-666
- Paternalistic Methods of, 673
- Permanent, 140
- Personality and, 656-660
- Principles of rural, 652 ff.
- Social service, 454
- Types of, 653-654
- Village, 599
- Orthodoxy, rural, 331
- Over-churching, 343 ff., 354
- Owen, Robert, 7
- Par Standards, 358 ff.
- Parent-Teachers' Association, 600
668
- Park, Robert E., 231
- Parsons, F. G., 67
- Pastors,
 - Resident, 346
 - Rural, 345 ff., 361
- Peake, Harold, 514, 515, 516, 517,
518, 519, 523, 531
- Pearl, R., 73, 74, 75, 82
- Pearson, Karl, 402
- Peasantry, 170, 239, 532-533
- Peffer, Nathaniel, 442
- Peirce, Paul S., 384
- People, elderly, 60
- Period,
 - Classical, 9, 333
 - Exploiter, 10, 380-381
 - Frontier, 234
 - Horse-farming, 190
 - Land-farming, 9, 377-380
 - Pioneer, 8, 376-377
- Periodicals, 287 ff.
- Personality, 659-660
- Phelan, John, 24, 112, 213, 245,
276, 302, 324, 366, 401, 428,
681
- Physicians, 420, 424-425
- Pierceton, N. Y., 566
- Pillsbury, Hobart, 545
- Pioneer,
 - Economy, 9
 - Period, 8, 376-377
- Piper, E. F., and Gardner, Eme-
lyn E., 380
- Plantations, 169, 170, 185, 534
- Planter, 161, 181, 258-259
- Play, 220, 317, 367 ff.
 - And school curriculum, 394
 - Condition determining, 368-
372
 - Function of, 372 ff.
 - Inventoried, 384 ff.
 - Means of, 371-372
 - Team, 394
- Plunkett, Sir Horace, 17
- Poles, 130
- Population, 6, 17, 18
 - Age of, 56-57
 - Change, 42-43
 - Classes of, 59
 - Density, 42-43
 - Distribution of, 34
 - Ethnic composition of, 62, 63-
64
 - Farm, 103
 - Heterogeneity of, 357
 - Increase and decrease of, 40,
45, 46, 47-52
 - Movements, 114 ff.
 - Physical characteristics, 54
 - Race, nativity and parentage,
68
 - Rural, 29 ff., 74-75
 - Sex distribution, 60
 - Static, 123
 - Urban, 29, 34, 74-75
 - Village, 593
- Populist, 442
- Porter school, 280, 314, 456
- Poverty, 8, 353, 532
- Powell, G. H., 651
- Preaching, 333
- Primary group, 218
- Problems,
 - Of coöperatives, 644, 645
 - Of income, 482
 - Of life, 402
 - Of organization, 652 ff.
 - Pluralistic analysis, 19
 - Rural, 11, 16, 312, 333, 511
 - Social, 11, 12, 511
 - Statement of, 17, 18, 19

- Process,
 - Agricultural, 10
 - Chief, 441
 - Major social, 429 ff.
 - Synthetic, 19
- Production,
 - Amount of farm, 466, 483
 - Farm, 138, 168
 - Methods of, 185
- Programs, 8, 230, 361, 447, 672
- Property, 224-225, 415
- Protestantism, 327
- Prowess, physical, 240
- Psychology—see Mind
 - Of farmers, 215
 - Of play, 374
- Public Health Service, 79, 81, 408, 414, 418 ff., 493
- Public opinion, 227-228, 281
- Purnell Act, 14
- Quick, Herbert, 24
- Radicalism, 230-231
- Radio, 139, 440
- Railways, 435
- Rankin, J. O., 116, 176, 188, 265, 270, 271, 273 ff., 276, 284, 302, 385, 386
- Rapeer, L. W., 324
- Rauschenbusch, Walter, 335
- Ravenstein, 149
- Recreation, 367 ff.
 - Improving, 397 ff.
 - Needs, 392 ff.
 - Village, 604
- Red Cross, 336, 668, 673
- Reese, Madge J., 276
- Region,
 - Appalachian, 251, 347
 - Colonial, 40, 339-343
 - Middle-western, 40, 343-346
 - Northwestern, 40, 351-352
 - Pacific, 40, 356-358
 - Prairie, 40, 352-353
 - Range, 354-356
 - Southern, 40, 346-349
 - Southern mountain, 349-351
 - Southwestern, 353-354
- Relations, 653
- Religion,
 - Characteristics of, 327 ff.
 - Institutional, 332 ff.
 - Nature of, 325 ff.
- Remedies, 147
- Renters—see Tenants and Tenantry
- Report, Provost marshal's, 77, 82
- Reuter, E. B., 112
- Revivalism, 233, 329 ff.
- Revolution,
 - Agrarian, 10, 137, 524, 525
 - Industrial, 9, 431
 - In travel, 593
 - Russian, 527
 - Transportation, 9
- Ridgeway, 206
- Ripley, W. L., 110
- Robinson, James Harvey, 229, 446, 447
- Rural,
 - Areas, 42, 552 ff.
 - Association, 15
 - Change, 230
 - Council, 269
 - Development, 619
 - Diseases, 404 ff.
 - Family, 246 ff.
 - Illiteracy, 282
 - Industrialists, 30, 32
 - Insanity, 97-98
 - Mental defects, 90 ff.
 - Migrations, 113 ff.
 - Mind, 215 ff.
 - Pastors, 345 ff.
 - Physicians, 420
 - Play, 367 ff.
 - Population, 29 ff., 45-47, 54, 628
 - Psychology, 217
 - Regrouping, 583 ff.
 - Rejections, 77
 - Religion, 325 ff.
 - Sociologists, 215
 - Sociology, 8 ff.
 - Standards, 235
 - Structure, 16
 - Suicide, 96-98
 - Teachers, 307 ff.
 - Telephones, 274
 - Type, 144
- Ruralist, 22, 24
- Rurbanist, 22, 23, 24
- Russell, G. W., 628-629
- Russia, 512
 - Revolution in, 527
 - Village of, 526-527

- Rockefeller Foundation, 416
 Roman villa, 517
 Rome, 6, 120
 Rommel, George M., 638
 Roosevelt, 12
 Ross, E. A., 144, 145, 250, 658
 Ross, J. B., 8
 Rossiter, Wm. S., 53, 123
 Roth, H. L., 157

 Sanders, J. T., 614
 Sanderson, Dwight, 25, 559, 581, 582, 585, 676, 678, 679, 681
 Sanitation, 402 ff.
 Improvement of, 416 ff.
 Index to community, 406
 Neglected, 412 ff.
 Sawtelle, Emily H., 256, 263, 276
 Saxon England, 514 ff., 537
 Scandinavian, 65, 120, 351, 529
 Schools,
 And play, 392
 City, 220
 Consolidated, 303 ff., 316 ff.
 Curriculum of, 314-315
 Equipment of, 304-305
 Function of, 300-301
 Local, 220
 Normal, 321-322
 One-teacher, 309
 Rural, 10, 13, 103, 280 ff., 303 ff.
 Status of, 303-304
 Scientific
 Farming, 381
 Method, 243-244
 Scientists, 106, 107
 Scouts,
 Boy, 669
 Girl, 669
 Screening,
 House, 273
 Scudder, Myron T., 375
 Secretary of Interior, 617
 Seeböhm, F., 531
 Service relationship, 561
 Sessions, Mina A., 89
 Sex distribution, 54, 55, 60, 61
 Shambaugh, Bertha M. H., 546, 551
 Shepherd, R., 660
 Sherman Anti-Trust Act, 438
 Shonle, Ruth, 98

 Sims, N. L., 20, 112, 149, 262, 302, 324, 336, 366, 401, 428, 444, 455, 457, 531, 551, 586, 588, 589, 592, 599, 603, 608, 659, 674, 682
 Skinner, Mary E., 214
 Slavs, 130, 513
 Smith, C. B., 450
 Smith, W. C., 245, 252
 Smith-Hughes, 294-295
 Smith-Lever Act, 294, 450, 666
 Snedden, D., 302
 Snyder, Melissa F., 265
 Social,
 Adequacy, 16
 Agencies, 389, 390
 Conditions, 353
 Consequences of Community, 528 ff.
 Customs, 591
 Degeneration, 11
 Drainage, 11
 Effects of play, 374-375
 Effects of tenantry, 186
 Homogeneity, 584
 Mind, 217
 Order, 659
 Power, 443
 Problem, 333
 Process, 429 ff.
 Service, 604
 Stratification, 186
 Structure, 461
 Tradition, 277 ff.
 Socialization,
 Law of rural, 455
 Through community, 528 ff.
 Society, 14-15, 21, 154
 Dynamic, 113
 Factors in, 530
 Grouping in rural, 571
 Sociologists, 215, 553, 581, 582, 583
 Sociology, 22-23, 154
 Comparative, 15
 Defined, 20, 461
 General, 10
 Origin of, 7, 8
 Pure, 20, 21
 Rural, 6, 10, 11, 14, 16, 20-22, 511
 Theoretical, 7
 Urban, 6

- Soil,
 - Mining, 170, 185
 - Pollution, 411
- South, 114, 117, 227, 259, 590
- Spaces, vacant, 4
- Spencer, Herbert, 8, 145, 373
- Spillman, W. J., 103-104, 175, 177, 213, 614
- Spykman, N. J., 222, 245, 444
- Stabilization, 19
- Standard of Living, 485 ff.
 - Adequate, 19, 502-507
 - Comfort, 264
 - Definition of, 487
 - Factors determining, 489-493
 - Improving, 507
 - Low, 141, 185
- State,
 - Land settlement, 621 ff.
- Status, "Social-economic", 596-597
- Stereotypes, 3, 657
- Stern, R. B., 401
- Stewart, C. L., 117, 141, 149, 175, 177, 614
- St. Helena, N. C., 624
- Stratification, 578
- Suggestibility, 233 ff.
- Suicide rates, 95-97
- Sumner, Wm. G., 449
- Sunderland, town of, 542, 544
- Superintendents, school, 323
- Superstition, 164, 232
- Surplus Energy, 369-370
- Surveys,
 - Farm, 282
 - Farm readers, 287 ff., 288
 - Field, 13
 - Health, 81, 413, 416
 - Home, 194, 271 ff.
 - Housing, 265 ff.
 - Iowa, 384
 - Mental, 88
 - Neighborhood, 578
 - Sanitary, 409-410, 413
- Suspiciousness, 236 ff.
- Switzerland, 65, 529
- Tagore, Rabindranath, 657
- Talented, 102 ff., 598
- Taxes,
 - Farmers', 434
 - System of, 433
- Taylor, C. C., 192, 266, 271, 284, 286, 291, 389, 573, 586
- Taylor, E. A., 577, 578, 586
- Taylor, E. B., 154
- Taylor, H. C., 188
- Teacherages, 306
- Teachers, 307 ff.
 - Characteristics of, 307 ff.
 - Salaries of, 311-312
 - Transiency of, 310-311
- Telephones, 273, 274
- Temperament, 490
- Tenancy, 19, 62, 171 ff.
 - Change of, 176
 - Effects of, 185 ff.
 - Not excessive, 356
 - Summarized, 183 ff.
 - Types of, 174
- Tenants, 66, 132, 287-288, 347
 - Colored, 66
 - Expenditures of, 499
 - Income of, 480, 482
 - Prevalence of, 351
 - Shifting, 117 ff.
- Term, school, 313
- Teuton, 110
- Thomas, D. L., 164
- Thomas, L. B., 164
- Thomas and Znaniecki, 232
- Thompson, H., 228, 328
- Thompson, W. S., 69, 71, 73, 82, 249, 559
- Thorndike, E. L., 109, 110
- Thriftiness, 234 ff.
- Toilets, 272
- Tolley, H. R., 469, 483
- Towns, 90, 588-589, 610
- Trade centers, 581, 584
- Trade zones, 559
- Tradition, 162
 - Scientific, 167
 - Social, 277, 372
- Treadway, W. L., 88
- Trollope, Mrs., 329, 393
- Truesdell, L. E., 53, 59, 60, 68, 82, 174
- Tsu, Ye-yue, 251
- Tuberculosis, 411, 418
- Turner, Erda Larson, 119, 134
- Turner, Howard A., 614
- Typhoid, 406, 411, 418

- United States,
 Bureau of Education, 289, 308
 317, 319
 Congress, 436-437, 438
 Department of Agriculture, 13,
 634
 Industrial area, 431
 Public Health Service, 408
 416, 419 ff.
 Weather Bureau, 232
 Urban,
 Area, 54
 Contacts, 15
 Drift, 9, 120, 132 ff.
 Groupings, 584
 Groups, 15
 Health, 403-404
 Illiteracy, 283
 Industries, 9
 Institutions, 434
 Minds, 5
 Monopoly, 434
 Morbidity, 411
 Occupations, 15, 54
 Population, 29, 34, 35, 46
 Power, 431
 Registrants, 76-78
 Religion, 327
 Society, 15
 Sociology, 6
 Structure, 16
 Suicide, 98 ff.
 Talented, 103 ff.
 Wealth, 432
 Work, 370
 Zone, 34
 Urbanization, 24, 440
 Urbanocracy, 430 ff., 439
 Vacation, 195
 Veblen, Thorstein, 600
 Village, 5, 55
 Age and sex in, 61
 And play, 378
 Center, 593
 Community, 512 ff.
 Composition of, 594-595
 Country, 587 ff.
 Decay of, 523 ff.
 Deserted, 525
 Differentiated from ancient,
 589
 Drift to, 118 ff.
 Village—*Continued*
 Health Association, 425-426
 Incorporated, 42
 In the West, 545
 Landlords, 596
 Leadership, 597-598
 Mode of living, 530
 Mormon, 547 ff.
 Number of, 590 ff.
 Occupations, 595
 Of Salem, Mass., 535
 Of today, 526 ff.
 Origins, 588 ff.
 Population, 30, 32, 40
 Rural, 54
 Russian, 526-527
 Saxon, 514
 Stock, 595
 Studies, 60
 Types of ancient, 514
 Wiltshire, 540
 Zone of, 359
 Villagers, 30, 32, 54, 143, 596
 Villeins, 6, 181
 Vinogradoff, Prof., 517, 531
 Visser, Stephen S., 108, 112
 Visiting, 378
 Vital element—see Population
 Vital index, 73, 74, 75, 76
 Vogt, P. L., 116
 Wages,
 Iron law of, 7
 Nominal, 136
 Wallas, Graham, 153, 154, 161
 Wants, 469
 Warbasse, J. P., 651
 Ward, Florence E., 194, 213, 276
 Ward, L. F., 104, 112
 Water, pollution of, 408
 Wealth,
 Farmers' 461 ff.
 Inventoried, 470 ff.
 Of the nation, 434
 " We "—consciousness, 568, 628
 Weitz, B. O., 613
 Wellington, Duke of, 374
 Wells, H. G., 153
 West, 115
 White, R. Clyde, 104, 112
 Willey, M. M., 292-294, 302
 Williams, Carl, 643
 Williams, Dorothy, 214

- Williams, J. M., 229, 232, 233,
 235, 237, 245, 262, 454, 457
 Williamson, Margaretta, 200, 203,
 213, 286
 Wilson, L. R., 286-287, 370
 Wilson, Warren H., 8, 127, 339,
 366
 Wissler, Clark, 161
 Wolfe, A. B., 230, 231
 Women,
 Clubs of, 315
 Farm, 193 ff., 254
 University, 315
 Wood, Dr. Thomas D., 79-80,
 305
 Woofter, T. J., Jr., 124-125
 Work,
 And play, 367
 Children's, 196 ff.
 Work—*Continued*
 Exchange, 192, 193
 Farm, 189
 Women's, 194
 World War, 75
 Yoder, F. R., 381, 577, 578, 586
 Young, E. C., 149
 Y. M. C. A., 336, 397, 668
 Y. W. C. A., 397
 Youth, 305
 Zadrugas, 513
 Zimmerman, C. C., 109, 112, 120,
 122, 127, 149, 192, 266, 271,
 284, 389, 573, 586, 650
 Zinthee, C. J., 214
 Zones of trade, 559

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